

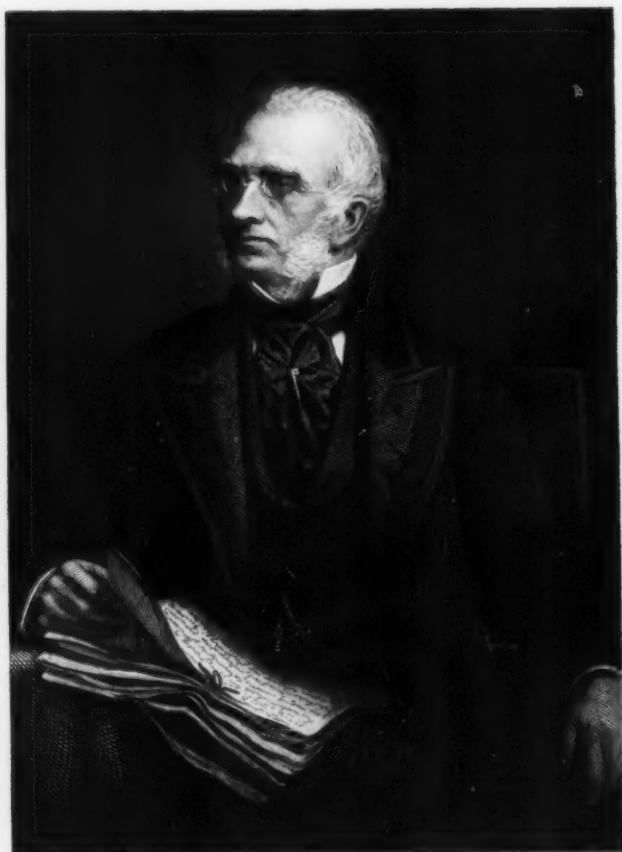
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.
ALEXANDER McKENZIE.
CHARLES C. SMITH.



D. Huntington, Peas.

J. A. J. W. W. W. W.

Robt. C. Winthrop.



81.093.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Massachusetts Historical Society.

SECOND SERIES. — VOL. IX.

1894, 1895.



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PREFACE.

THIS volume comprises the record of eight stated meetings of the Society, from April, 1894, to February, 1895, both inclusive; but owing to the unusual length of the communications made at the meeting in February, the record of these meetings fills very nearly as many pages as were required by the sixteen meetings included in the last preceding volume. It is hoped that the interest and importance of the papers here printed will in some degree compensate for the limited range of subjects covered by them. Every reader will naturally turn first to the tributes to our eminent associates, Dr. HOLMES, Mr. WINTHROP, Dr. ELLIS, and Judge HOAR. There are also memoirs of EDWIN L. BYNNER, by Barrett Wendell; of HENRY W. TORREY, by William W. Goodwin; of HENRY WHEATLAND, by William P. Upham; and of EDWARD J. LOWELL, by A. Lawrence Lowell; each of which is accompanied by a portrait. Other communications which will attract notice are Lieutenant Fitch's Journal at the siege of Boston; Rev. Dr. Pierce's Notes on the Anniversary Celebrations of the Phi Beta Kappa Society; Mr. WINSOR's paper on the

Earliest Sources of New England History; the large collection of hitherto unpublished letters from Rev. Dr. Isaac Watts to correspondents in New England; and Dr. GREEN's elaborate bibliography of the Early American Imprints in the Library of the Society. The likeness of Mr. Winthrop which stands as a frontispiece has been engraved for this purpose from the portrait painted in 1885, on his retirement from the Presidency after a service of thirty years, and presented to the Society by individual members, in October of that year.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

Boston, May 25, 1895.

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OFFICERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 11, 1895.

President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, A.B. LINCOLN.

Vice-Presidents.

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RESIDENT MEMBERS,

AT THE DATE OF THE PRINTING OF THIS BOOK, IN THE ORDER OF
THEIR ELECTION.

1844.
Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D.D.

1860.
Hon. Samuel A. Green, M.D.
Charles Eliot Norton, LL.D.

1861.
Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D.
Hon. Horace Gray, LL.D.
Rev. Edwards A. Park, LL.D.

1863.
William H. Whitmore, A.M.

1864.
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1865.
Josiah P. Quincy, A.M.
Samuel Eliot, LL.D.

1866.
Henry G. Denny, A.M.

1867.
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1869.
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Hon. Theodore Lyman, LL.D.

1871.
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1873.
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1875.
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Charles Francis Adams, A.B.
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1876.
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Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D.

1877.
John T. Morse, Jr., A.B.
Justin Winsor, LL.D.
J. Elliot Cabot, LL.D.

1878.
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Gamaliel Bradford, A.B.
Rev. Edward J. Young, D.D.
Hon. John Lowell, LL.D.

1879.
William W. Greenough, A.B.
Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., A.M.
Henry W. Haynes, A.M.

1880.
Thomas W. Higginson, A.M.
Rev. Edward G. Porter, A.M.
John C. Ropes, LL.B.

1881.

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 Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D.D.

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 Frederick W. Putnam, A.M.
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1883.

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 Rev. Arthur L. Perry, LL.D.

1884.

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 Hon. Martin Brimmer, A.B.
 Hon. Roger Wolcott, LL.B.
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 Edward Channing, Ph.D.

1886.

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 Hon. George F. Hoar, LL.D.
 Rev. Alexander V. G. Allen, D.D.

1887.

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 Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham, A.M.

Solomon Lincoln, A.M.
 Edwin P. Seaver, A.M.

1889.

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 James B. Thayer, LL.D.
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1890.

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 Hon. William S. Shurtleff, A.M.
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1891.

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1892.

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1893.

Edward L. Pierce, LL.D.
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 Barrett Wendell, A.B.
 James F. Rhodes, LL.D.

1894.

Hon. Edward F. Johnson, LL.B.
 Hon. Walbridge A. Field, LL.D.
 Henry W. Taft, A.M.
 Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.
 William R. Thayer, A.M.

1895.

Rev. Morton Dexter, A.M.
 Hon. T. Jefferson Coolidge, A.M.

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MEMBERS,

ELECTED UNDER THE ORIGINAL ACT OF INCORPORATION, 1794, IN THE ORDER
OF THEIR ELECTION.

J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D. | Rev. William S. Southgate, D.D.

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ELECTED SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THE ACT OF 1857.

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Rt. Rev. William Stubbs, D.D.

Hon. William M. Evarts, LL.D.

Theodor Mommsen.

Marquis de Rochambeau.

William E. H. Lecky, LL.D.

Ernst Curtius.

Hon. Carl Schurz, LL.D.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS,

ELECTED SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THE ACT OF 1857.

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Goldwin Smith, D.C.L.
Hon. John Meredith Read, A.M.
Joseph Jackson Howard, LL.D.
William W. Story, D.C.L.
Charles J. Stillé, LL.D.
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Hubert H. Bancroft, A.M.
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Horatio Hale, A.M.
Hon. William A. Courtenay.
Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton, LL.D.
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Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain,
Litt.D.
Alexander Brown, Esq.
John Nicholas Brown, Esq.
Capt. Alfred T. Mahan, D.C.L.
Hon. Jacob D. Cox, LL.D.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died since the last volume of Proceedings was issued, April 20, 1894, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Resident.

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D.	Nov. 16, 1894.
Rev. George E. Ellis, LL.D.	Dec. 20, 1894.
Oliver Wendell Holmes, D.C.L.	Oct. 7, 1894.
Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, A.M.	Apr. 15, 1895.
Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar, LL.D.	Jan. 31, 1895.
Edward J. Lowell, A.M.	May 11, 1894.
Hon. Lincoln F. Brigham, LL.D.	Feb. 27, 1895.
Hamilton Andrews Hill, LL.D.	Apr. 27, 1895.

Honorary.

James Anthony Froude, M.A.	Oct. 20, 1894.
Rt. Rev. Lord A. C. Hervey, D.D.	June 9, 1894.
S. A. R. le Comte de Paris	Sept. 8, 1894.
Sir John Robert Seeley, LL.D.	Jan. 13, 1895.

Corresponding.

William Noël Sainsbury, Esq.	Mar. 9, 1895.
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1894.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at twelve o'clock, M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last stated meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library in the last month.

The Corresponding Secretary said that he had received a letter of acceptance from Mr. John Nicholas Brown, who was elected a Corresponding Member at the March meeting.

The Hon. Walbridge A. Field, LL.D., was elected a Resident Member.

The President announced the death, on the 28th of March, of Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, the distinguished author of the "History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States," and of other works, who was for about four years a Resident Member, and afterward, on his removal to New York, a Corresponding Member for twenty-nine years. His most important contribution to our Proceedings was a thorough and elaborate "Report on Exchange of Prisoners during the American Revolution," submitted at a Special Meeting of the Society, in December, 1861.

The President said that he had received from our associate, Mr. George B. Chase, who is now in Italy, a letter containing notes of a conversation which he had had with two English gentlemen on the subject of the northeastern boundary of the United States, and the Treaty of Washington of 1842. One of these gentlemen had been a commissioner to settle the disputed boundary-line between New Brunswick and

Canada, and he stated, as the result of his own knowledge of the region, "that his Commission had travelled, as he himself had done, over the whole country where Mitchell's map showed a chain of hills, and that there were no hills there at all, only a flat country."¹

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then said : —

Doggerel ballads were formerly more common in New England than they are now ; and the story of great deeds was often told in rude verse, and thus kept alive in the minds of the people. Historical events and acts of personal heroism were recorded by rhymesters, and lines brought forth in this way were either sung or recited by members of the household around the fireside. The words and the sentiment of these homespun productions became a part of the warp and woof of the yeomanry, and ingrained into their very fibre. Notably among such efforts may be cited the Song of Lovewell's Fight, which is said to have been in its day "the most beloved song in all New England." While these attempts at versification were not peculiar to this neighborhood or this country, they served a purpose and helped to perform a part in the literary development of New England. They were the result of a natural force or movement, — and therefore a phase in evolution, — and as such deserve to be noticed in any account of our intellectual growth. Even if they have no poetical merit, they certainly answered the purpose for which they were written. In those days books were few, and newspapers scarce ; and doggerel rhyme helped to keep up the continuity of tradition and to lay the foundation of an American nationality. It was this spirit of common patriotism that conquered the Canadian provinces during the French and Indian War, and afterward wrested the English colonies from Great Britain.

Within a short time our Corresponding Member, Professor Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale University, has sent me the following copy of a manuscript ballad found among the papers of a family at Paxton, Massachusetts. The transcriber of the original was born in 1775, twenty years after the date of the ballad ; and the time of transcription was not later than 1796.

¹ For a very thorough discussion of this subject, see Mr. Winsor's paper in 2 Proceedings, vol. iii. pp. 349-368.

VERSES RELATING TO THE EVENTS OF 1755.

1. We that did live in fifty five,
That were preserved & kept alive,
We may record what god has done
Beneath the circuit of the sun.
2. How he display'd his mighty power,
And pass^d before us in an hour,
In various ways which he did take
By thunder stormes and the Earthquake.
3. First in the spring the wars begin,
To punish men then for their sin;
They beat their drums & so they cry,
Who will unto the battle fly?
4. They list a main with Coarage bold,
Their armour bright & money told;
The time comes on, they must not stay,
But Quit their friends & go away,
5. While husbands parting with their Dears,
And mothers for their sons in tears,
Not knowing but that they must die
Or go into Captivity.
6. They first arive at East-ward shores,
Where drums do beat and Cannons roar;
A hero Spirit they retain,
Which puts the french-men to great pain.
7. They take their forts & so Possess
Their pastures and their Wilderness.
The Joyful News spreads O'r the land
That we have gain'd the upper hand.
8. But then a Cloud o'r spread the sky,
For braddock and his men did die;
They lost the day & so did fly
And fell before the enemy.
9. There foes rejoice & shout aloud,
And Anti-Christ grows very Proud;
While we are mourning in Distress
The widow and the fatherless.

10. The spring is gone and past away,
And then Comes on the Summers day,
While Nature smileth with her Charms,
While we are Clasp'd in her Arms.
11. But yet again there is a Cry
To List and fight the Enemy.
Another Army is gone forth
To meet the Heathen in the North.
12. Towards Crown-pint they also go,
To meet the fury of the foe;
While they have Teachers in the Dark,
Christs ministers to bear the Ark,
13. Which pray unto the god of Heaven
That all their Sins may be forgiven;
And we may hope for Victory,
When we in faith to god do Cry.
14. The Summer now is past away;
And then Comes on a bloody Day;
They go to meet and so do Spy
The faces of the Enemy.
15. A furious fight Comes on a main
And many Valiant men are slain;
Of all the Battles now the third
Was fought with garments rol'd in Blood.
- [16.] A frightful Noise & hideous yell,
As tho it Came from the Jaws of Hell;
The smoke did as a Cloud arise,
While Christian prayers did pierce the Skies.
- [17.] And God did hear when they did Call
And Anti-Christ receiv'd a fall.
O may she bleed & Also die,
That Christ may gain the Victory.
- [18.] They Quit the field with shameful flight,
As tho they saw it dark as Night.
Our men did plunder on the place,
And Smiles returned in their face.

- [19.] But yet our God, Provok'd by sin,
Did Cause the Plague to enter in ;
And those that scap'd the Enemy
Did fall by sickness & did die.
- [20.] While we was sleeping on our Beds,
The Lord did shake our Drowsy Heads,
Saying, awake, ye sleepy fools,
Least ye are drowned in the Pools ;
- [21.] Yea, rise and Call upon your God,
Least he sends fourth his Dreadful rod.
The trembling Earth doth testify
He is displeas'd and angry :
- [22.] Hear the sad Noise from Lisbon town,
Which shook & fell unto the ground ;
And Multitudes there buried were
In the dark Reageons of Dispair.
- [23.] And Now, O Land, New England Land,
Amased be & trembling Stand,
Because the Judge Stands at the Door ;
Forsake your sins, repent therefore.

These are the hints which I have made
In fifty five it Shall be Said.

At the last annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, on October 21, 1893, our associate, Professor Dexter, read an able report on Some Social Distinctions at Harvard and Yale, before the Revolution. It was both interesting and exhaustive, and presented a large amount of original matter. Within a few weeks I have discovered among the manuscripts of the Historical Society a letter bearing on the same subject, which tends to support Professor Dexter's opinions. It is found in the first volume of Belknap Papers, containing "Miscellaneous Letters. 1637 to 1788," leaf 42. The paper contains various erasures and interlineations, and presumably was the rough draft of the letter sent to President Holyoke ; and the following is a copy : —

B[OSTON,] Oct^r 20th 1749Rev^d & Hon^rd S^r

as I am Bound to Sea & Rank in Our way is Look^d upon as a Sacred Thing and it is Generally allowed That The Sons of the New England Cambridge are Placed according to the Degrees of their ancestors I have therefore put in My Pretentions for my Son. begining with the Countrey in which we Breath and for Genealogy Say

That Edward Winslow my Great Grandfather was y^e Eldest of y^e Name in England & of five Brothers First Settlers of What is Now this Province & that the s^d Edward was one of y^e First Planters and in y^e First Ship of w^t was Lately y^e Collony of Plymouth & Some Time Gov^r Thereof & one of y^e Grand Commissions in the Unhappy Expedition against High Spaniolia & Dyed at y^e Taking of Jamaica Leaving one Son (Josiah) who in his Day was Many year Gov^r of s^d Collony & Capⁿ General of y^e United Forces of New England In the memoriable Indion war Cal^d. Philips war in which he Got his Death Leaving one Son Named (Isaac my Father) who had the Hon^r to have the First Place in both Civil & Millitary affairs in the County of Plymouth & many years & Until he Resigned was President of the Council of this Province and that in the year 1738 he Dyed Leaving Two Sons of wth I am the Eldest & have to Say for my Self that From my Early Days I have been Intrusted in y^e Publick affairs of the County & Province until 1740 when I had a Company in y^e Unfortunate Expedition against Cathergenia & have had Since Two Commissions of y^e Same Rank under his Majesty & Intrusted with the Command of y^e Second Garrison in North America which is My Present Station. Pardon my Saying thus Much, offer these Things as Facts and Leave the Events to the Hon^{ble} & Reverend Boddy To and for whome I have the Greatest regard and at all Times with the utmost respect Shall Take Leave to Subscribe y^e and Their Very Humble Serv

J WINSLOW

To the Hon^d & Rev^d
Ed^d Holyoke Esq^r President
of y^e Colledge to be [*line unfinished.*]

[Indorsed] To y^e President 1749

The writer of the letter was afterward known as General John Winslow, and the son therein referred to was Pelham, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1753. The college authorities evidently attached some weight to the opinions of the father, as the son's name now stands second in the list of his class, as published in the General Catalogue, where the old order is still kept up. Pelham Winslow was the second son of John and Mary (Little) Winslow, and born at Marshfield,

on June 8, 1737. He studied law in the office of James Otis, the distinguished advocate and patriot, and afterward practised his profession at Plymouth. In his political opinions he was a tory, and just before the breaking out of the Revolution took up his abode in Boston. When that town was evacuated by the British, he left with the army for Halifax, and soon afterward received from the Crown a commission as Major. He died at Flushing, Long Island, in the year 1783, leaving a wife and an infant daughter.

Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES said : —

In Sewall's Diary, under date of Feb. 8, 1720-21 (vol. iii. p. 279), is the entry, "Merrymak is printed off, about 300"; to which a note by the Editors adds: "This pamphlet, if such it were, has not been found by us as yet." They ask, in a subsequent note (p. 292), referring to a certain tract of Sewall's, "Can this be a re-issue of his 'Merrymak'?"

An earlier entry in the Diary, however, Jan. 16, 1719-20 (p. 240), had alluded to "Verses on Merrimack River finish'd yesterday"; which are also referred to in a letter to Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, of Hartford, under date of Feb. 1, 1719-20 (Letter-Book, vol. ii. p. 104), — "Inclosed Merrimak dry'd up, with the occasion of it."

Recently, in our collection of "Broad-sides relating to New England," 1660-1750 (No. 42), I came upon a copy of these verses, with the title "Upon the drying up that Ancient River, the River Merrymak," dated "Jan. 15. 1719, 20," and signed "S. S." As they are the most considerable of Sewall's poetical efforts in his native tongue, and are in themselves quaint and curious, I would suggest that they be printed in our Proceedings, together with a companion copy of verses, printed in the same sheet, called "Connecticut's Flood on Merrymak's Ebb," dated "Extempore. March 10. 1720, 21," and signed "Anthropos," which, I suppose, were written by some friend and admirer of Sewall.¹

The two copies of verses relating to the Merrimack River, to which Mr. Haynes referred, are here reprinted from the original broadside, given by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in April, 1864.

¹ Both these copies of verses were subsequently printed in "The New-England Weekly Journal" (June 23, 1735); but with the substitution of the initials "J. W." for the signature "Anthropos."

Upon the drying up that Ancient River,

THE RIVER

MERRYMAK.

Long did *Euphrates* make us glad,
 Such pleasant, steady Course he had :
 Fight *White*, fight *Chesnut* ; all was one,
 In Peace profound our River Run
 From his remote and lofty Head,
 Until he with the Ocean Wed.
 Thousands of Years ran parallel,
 View'd it throughout, and lik'd it well.
 Herbs, Trees, Fowls, Fishes, Beasts, and Men,
 Refresh'd were by this goodly Stream.
 Dutiful *Salmon*, once a Year,
 Still visited their Parent dear :
 And royal *Sturgeon* saw it good
 To sport in the renowned Flood.
 All sorts of *Geese*, and *Ducks*, and *Teal*,
 In their Allotments fared well.
 Many a *Moose*, and Thirsty *Dear*,
 Drank to full Satisfaction here.
 The *Fox*, the *Wolf*, the angry *Bear*,
 Of Drink were not deny'd their share.
 The Strangers, late Arrived here,
 Were Entertain'd with Welcom chear ;
 The *Horse*, and *Ox*, at their own will,
 Might taste, and drink, and drink their fill.
 Thus *Merrymak* kept House secure,
 And hop'd for Ages to endure ;
 Living in Love, and Union,
 With every Tributary Son.
 At length, an Ambushment was laid
 Near *Powwaw* Hill, when none afraid ;
 And unawares, at one Huge Sup,
 Hydropick *Hampshire* Drunk it Up !
 Look to thy self ! *Wadchuset* Hill ;
 And Bold *Menadnuck*, Fear some Ill !
 Envy'd *Earth* knows no certain Bound ;
 In HEAV'N alone, CONTENT is found.

S. S.

January 15.
 1719, 20.

CONNECTICUT'S FLOOD

ON

MERRYMAK'S Ebb.

And is old *Merrymak* come to an End?
 CONNECTICUT remains yet to befriend;
 Ancient as *Tiber*, *Sein*, or *Thames*;
 Fertile as *Ganges*, *Nile*, or *Volga's* Streams.
 All Sorts of Creatures Range these Woods,
 And Dainty Fish Dive in these Floods;
 Beside the *Salmon*, *Sturgeon*, and *Tawtauge*,
 Vast Shoales of *Azures* Swim the *Quinebaug*.
 The Stately *Elke*, and Panting *Hart*,
 Drink at *Sunkepaug* before they part.
 The Lowing *Bull*, and Generous *Horse*,
 Up to the Eyes, Eat Clover Grass;
 On these Green Banks, Flowers all Winter do appear.
 Rivers Glide on to *Neptune* with the Circling Year.
 Here's Aged *Oakes* and *Cedars* Tall,
 Which Zealous *Axmen* for the Temple Fall.
 Among the Fether'd Tribe we're also *Teal*,
 An Ample CHARTER too, to Steer the Common Weal.
 This Happyness to Future Ages may Endure,
 Until the *Chiliad* the Saints Secure.
 Instead of *Foxes*, *Wolves*, and Hungry *Bear*,
 That oft the *Massachusetts* Herd do Tear,
Pequott has *Beavers*, *Otter*, and the wary *Hare*,
 With *Noahs Dove!* and *Turtles* many a Pair.
 When first our Fathers in the Desert, Travel'd here,
 Samp with Rich *Shell Fish* was their Daily Chear.
 With Thanks they Supt the Treasures in the Sand,
 Prais'd *Sions* God for *Canaans* Fruitful Land.
 Thus in Great Love they Merry made,
 No Heathen Powwows made them sore Afraid,
 Their Faith was Stay'd on CHRIST our Rock,
 And therefore Fear'd no Tribulations Shock.
 O're Mountains, Valleys, Waters, Peace!
 Content don't Envy the Gay Pride of Græce.
 Famous *Euphrates!* shall Dry up,
 And Martyrs, will Receive the Consolation Cup.

But now I'm on *Wachusett's* Lofly Top,
I'll pass *Monadnuck*, and in HEAVEN Stop.

Anthropos.

Extempore, March 10,
1720, 21.

N. B. *Quinebauge* the Name of *New-London*, River.

Tawtauge an Excellent Fish amongst the Americans.

Sunkepauge the Natives call a Cold Spring.

Pequott the Indian Name for the Town of *New-London*, &c.

MR. GAMALIEL BRADFORD said that in the unavoidable absence of our associate, Mr. Winslow Warren, President of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, he had been desired to present to the Library a complete manuscript copy of the records of that Society from 1783 to 1883, which had been prepared for this purpose, in pursuance of a vote of the Society.

MR. JUSTIN WINSOR said that among the Parkman papers given to the Library of Harvard University was a manuscript copy of the Constitution of the General Society of the Cincinnati, indorsed "The original draft," apparently in a contemporary but unknown hand, differing from the body of the paper.

REV. EDWARD G. PORTER communicated for publication the copy of a letter written from Boston, in April, 1775, a few days after the fight at Lexington and Concord. It was written, he said, by Susanna, widow of William Sheaffe, Deputy Collector of the Port of Boston, and addressed to her brother, Thomas Child, Collector of Customs at Falmouth (Portland), Maine. The letter gives a glimpse of the state of things in Boston on the Monday after the Battle of Lexington.

Boston 24 April 1775

DEAR BROTHER The confusion of this town is not to be described. We are at present in a state of war. M^r Domett & Polly go in the first stage to Salem. From thence by water. Hope they will go from hence the day after tomorrow. At present there is no stage in town.

I will not pretend to give you an account of the horrors of last week, as it would take up time that I can't spare. You will hear all. Rec^d yours of the 18th inst. I said I hop^d they would go the day after tomorrow, but it is impossible to say when, as there has been no communication between the town & country since last Wednesday.

The country centrys are within call of the general, who has not permitted any person to leave the town, though hundreds of families wanted to go.

There was a town meeting yesterday, tho' Sunday, when the general, upon condition that the town would give up their arms, has consented that those that choose shall leave the town. This day they are giving in their arms. There is no trusting a lad out of the town, as he would be taken prisoner as some are. Hope if M^r Domett & Polly go out of this distress^d town, they will get safe to you. Have wrote more than I intended. Love to my sister. Adieu—

S. SHEAFFE.¹

The President having called attention to the new volume of Belcher Papers which was ready for delivery at this meeting, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said that it had been the original purpose of the Committee to confine their publication of Governor Belcher's letters to the period of his official life in Massachusetts, but that they had brought the work down to the end of the fifth Letter-Book, shortly before his embarkation for England to try to obtain some equivalent for his dismissal from the government. Belcher's letters while Governor of New Jersey were copied, more than forty years ago, for the New Jersey Historical Society, from our manuscripts, and have since been printed as a part of the New Jersey archives. In looking over the unpublished letters Mr. Smith had found a letter from Governor Belcher to Col. William Brattle, of not a little biographical interest, which he desired to communicate now, that it might go into the record of this meeting.

Col. William Brattle, to whom this letter is addressed, was born April 18, 1706; graduated at Harvard College in 1722; married Katherine, daughter of Gov. Gurdon Saltonstall, who died in 1752, and after her death the widow Martha Allen, daughter of Thomas Fitch; left Boston when it was evacuated by the British troops; and died in Halifax October 25, 1776. He was a son of Rev. William Brattle, who was for about twelve years a tutor in Harvard College, and for nearly twenty years minister of the church in Cambridge.

Governor Belcher was removed from office in May, 1741, but did not go to England until March, 1743-4, nearly three years afterward. In July, 1746, he received the appointment of Governor of New Jersey. He failed, however, to take out his commission until February of the following year; and it was not until August that he arrived in his new government. His marriage to Mrs. Teal, or Teale, — whom he had known in

¹ See Sabine's *Loyalists*, vol. ii. pp. 280-294; also *Rambles in Old Boston*, pp. 395-402.

England, and who arrived here from London, with her daughter, about a week earlier, — took place in September, 1748. The letter to Colonel Brattle is as follows : —

JONATHAN BELCHER TO WILLIAM BRATTLE.

S^r, — Your wise, ingenious, kind letter of 5 Nov^{br} came to my hands the 9th ins^t by the post, which brings me under a fresh obligation to Col^l Brattle for the renewal of his early regard and respect to one who can no otherwise claim it than as “the desire of a man is his kindness.” I had the happiness in my tender age to be chambermate and bedfellow to my then honoured Tutor, your late learned and pious father, whose judgem^t in men and things was not exceeded in his day. He regarded me as a son and his inculcations for my future conduct in life I shall speak of with the sincerest gratitude till the frost of age benumbs my remembring faculty. They were all apothegms, apples of gold in pictures of silver; his speech distill’d as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb; and if I have made any figure in life, and have done any good in my generation, after lifting up my heart and hands to Heaven, I must give much of the honour to the early impressions I rec’d from his mouth. The world lost in him what’s rare to be found or recover’d, and for his sake as well as your own I wish it had ever fallen in my power to have made some tollerable return of his great goodness to a son that does honour to his father’s memory. I see with pleasure your attachment to my service exprest in the strongest terms; for the world allows self interest cannot lye.

As to my administration of government in two of the King’s provinces where I had the honour to sit chief for eleven years together, what *faux pas* I made must be imputed to my foible, not to my inclination or will. My conscience bears me witness that next to my own eternal welbeing I often askt of God that he would make me in His hands the happy and honourable instrument of good to my dear country. And upon the calmest recollection at this day I don’t know that I ever wittingly and willingly did it any hurt. If private persons could not be serv’d to their wishes because the publick weal was to be preferr’d, that was a virtue in the Governour. The royal prophet, even the man after God’s own heart, sayes, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and as to my private emolument or my family’s, I can solemnly appeal to Him who searches the heart and tryes the reins that it never stood in any the least competition with the welfare and happiness of the people, and because I never could bare the mention of doing a mean, dishonest, dishonourable action I spent largely on my private fortune, and which has since appear’d to the whole world. While I was in the chair yqu was for many years of the Assembly, and I believe are not wholly ignorant of what offers I

had often made me of the grants of tracts of the best land in new townships, but I never took an acre, and large sums of money were offer'd me often, tho' never repeated by the same persons, who found me mail'd and sealed against such barbed irons. Nor can the worst of my enemies tax me with one ill gotten shilling. No, I can appeal with that upright Judge of Israel, 1 Sam. 12. 3. The records of the General Court with the publick offices will alwayes tell to a farthing what Gov^r Belcher received in the eleven years of his administration. Had I, Sir, one corrupted finger I'de cut it off to prevent the hazard of its gangreening soul and body, and thus our blessed Saviour commands his disciples, Mat. 18. 8. Well, then, what was my great sin? why, that I would not indolently and wickedly fall into that vile maxim, *si populus vult decipi decipiatur*. No, by no means! It is the duty of governours and rulers to stand upon the watch towers and warn their people of their danger and to hide them from the evil. A tender parent wont let a foolish, mad child run into the fire. Well their idol was *stamp paper*, and they were so daring as to prophane the word *money* in calling that so. This idol the Gov^r could by no means bow down to, and a few moneths before I was remov'd I receiv'd from the King an instruction full of grace & favour to the Province as a complex body and to the people, high and low, rich and poor, which was to pass no act for emission of paper bills but with a saving for the King's approbation before it should operate, which I should have most sacredly observ'd; and at that time I think there was no more than £160,000 outstanding, and which must have been sunk in three years, according to the several acts for emitting it, and then your money would have been as of old, silver at 6/10½ an oz. and gold *pro rata*. But, alas, your gold is now become dim, and what you call money is but reprobate silver. I think they tell me you have now flying about two millions in your kites. What an abuse is it of good clean paper thus to stain it, thus to defile it, with your empty scrawls! and what an abuse of it to common sense still to call these bits of paper bills of credit, of which they are become quite void, a publick nuisance and the ridicule of mankind. When I was lately walking in Moorfields (London) and seeing numbers of old volumms selling at 5/ the hundred weight, I used to tell gentlemen that were with me I fancy'd they were what they call New England bills of credit. Well, this dreadfull ruin to poor N. England is one of the products of your *new era of justice!* Was ever a poor countrey so cajol'd and stupefied, so deluded!

Cape Breton in the circumstance it now is can't be thought of by any honest, good N. England man with pleasure, but by here and there an officer who has got a commission by it. But I think it wont long remain as it does, for things with me look as if the spring ships from Europe should be freighted with a F. peace, and then farewell that

glorious acquisition. I am sincerely distressed in the distresses of my dear native country, "and when I forget her, my right hand will forget her cunning and my tongue will cleave to the roof of my mouth." No, she is graven on the palms of my hands, and with the point of a diamond on my heart. "May peace be within her walls, and prosperity restor'd within her palaces."

I thank God who enables me calmly to distinguish between my country, as the country, and the few malignants who had arts and influence enough to prevail with the weak Assemblies to treat me in the cruel, unjust manner they did, whereby the Province at this day stands in a large arrearage to me & my family. Upon the strictest scrutiny I can't tax myself with ever having given a reasonable pretence to any person in the Massachusetts to become my enemy. However, "The Lord is righteous in all His ways, but, behold, I am vile, what shall I answer?" I will lay my hand upon my mouth; I will bow down and adore; I will prostrate myself before Him, and say with the utmost humility, — "I have sinn'd, what shall I do unto Thee, O Thou Preserver of Men?" Well, my enemies have had their glorious triumph in my banishment from my dear native country, from my children and from every branch of my family. "They have put me far away from my acquaintance, lover, and friends." Well, I hope they have fully glutted their malice, and their stomachs being thus disgorg'd they are doubtless easy & in great quiet and content, and to make them more so (if they can possibly imagine themselves to have been under any mistake) I am going to say a great thing, and in which I have much satisfaction & serenity, and that is, — I do in the most solemn manner appeal to the Searcher of Hearts and say, I freely and without reserve forgive all, even my bitterest enemies, and this I say, as I myself hope for pardon and eternal life thro' the merits of Christ from that God whom I have so often and am so constantly offending. Amen. And so much for dear N. England.

If it mayn't tire you I will give you as short a sketch as I can of the various scenes that God in his providence has been pleased to draw for my prospect and entertainment since I last saw you at Boston (near 4 years agoe). When we came to sea we soon found we had got into a very leaky ship; were in the pass^d 4 times call'd to arms, and quarter'd to the guns, and once terribly alarm'd with the cry of the ship's being o' fire; and 4 days before we made the land had the news of warr with France; yet God be prais'd we got well into Ireland (Kinsale), from whence I took coach to Dublin (175 miles), and on the road met my dear son (after an absence of 13 years), in health and in good reputation in his profession, with whom I spent 3 weeks, and was there treated by the Lords Justices and by all persons of distinction with much respect and honour; and from thence I went in the King's yacht (45

leagues) to Chester, and from thence by coach (194 miles) to London, where I was kindly rec^d by great numbers of my friends. And after a few days I waited on the King's Ministers, who gave me joye on my safe arrival at a time of so much danger. Then I paid my duty to the King at Kensington and kist his hand. A little after this I paid my compliments again to the Ministers, and told them "my case was very severe to be remov'd from the governm^t of two of the King's provinces, and no complaint made out against me, — that my character & honour would be call'd in question by the world, which I was come to vindicate, and to have justice done me." The answer was, "Mr Belcher, no charge or imputation lyes against you, nor need you give yourself or us a trouble of the nature you mention. It has been the King's pleasure to remove you, and you must submit, as we all must in such cases, and when there may be a proper opportunity we shall not forget to serve you." So I determin'd to wait for a vacancy, and this Province was the first that happned, and I receiv'd his Majesty's grace and favour in his commission for this government with the greater duty & gratitude, as it carrys a publick testimony of the King's well approving my administration of governm^t in two of his provinces for eleven years together. I had good assurance from some of the Ministry of a much more profitable government than this, and on this continent, but then that the climate was bad and would have been a further remove from my family and friends. After taking out my comissions, &c. I waited some time for the opportunity of a man of warr, and the Warwick, Capt. Ereskin, of 60 guns, being the first bound this way, I had orders from the Lords of the Admiralty to the Capt. to take me, my servants, and baggage aboard, and carry me to Cape Breton, and there Mr Knowles was to give me a ship to my government, but when I got to Portsm^o S^r P. Warren told me he expected a ship to go to N. York for his wife and family, and he would have me wait. The next day Sir Peter rec'd an order for the Scarb^o to go to N. York, & I imbarct in her, and altho' we had a long, tedious passage, yet I thank God we got safe at last. And here I must praise Almighty God again, who so overrul'd that I must not imbarct in the Warwick, where I might have lost life or limb.¹

This is a plentiful country, in a fine climate, but a government perhaps of the least profit of almost any in the English America. However, in this I am not solicitous or uneasy. The good people treat me with all respect & honour, and with great kindness; and with much pleasure, devoid of all sinister view, I return it in a constant study and care to do every thing in my station for promoting the welfare and prosperity

¹ For a long account of an engagement between the "Warwick" and a large Spanish man-of-war, July 14, 1747, when the former lost four men killed and nineteen wounded, see "The Boston Weekly News-Letter," August 27, 1747.

of this people and altho' I have mention'd the word *banishment*, yet you must not understand it as my sense of my present pleasant situation, but is what, I suppose, a few of my unkind countrey-men may call it. Joseph, after telling his brethren of their selling him into Egypt, sayes, — "As for you, ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good." Really, Sir, I am quiet and content, and think this government well calculated to my time of life, and my daily prayer is that I may be honoured in my advanced age of being made an instrument of much good to this people in their religious and civil interests. The country is blest with fine rivers and a rich soil, nor do I remember in the course of my travelling life to have seen any country to exceed it in Europe or America. I have fixt this little city for the place of my residence, which is about 16 short miles from the charming city of Philadelphia, and as I keep 4 good trotters I can be there in two hours with ease, for the road is a bowling green, and in that city there are a sett of gentlemen of good virtue, sense, and learning, and where I was most genteely treated in a short excursion I made thither a few months ago, so that in the summer, when tired with my garden and books I may now and then take a turn thither. My letter is vastly too long already; I must therefore refer you to one I lately wrote M^r Kit. Minot, and another to my nephew Byles, for the particulars of my house, manner of living, &c.¹

¹ In the letter to Christopher Minot, which is dated January 8, 1747/8, Governor Belcher writes: "I have, after many considerations, fixt myself in this little city, for so it's call'd tho' but a village of 170 houses. My house is about the size of a first rate's cabin, at a place call'd the World's End, no house within call; stands pleasantly on the fine River Delaware, and looks upon it, up and down for 10 miles. I have a garden, near an acre, handsomely inclosed with a brick wall; an orchard of 50 barr^s cider; pasturing and mowing for horses, cows, and sheep more than I need; conveniences for rabbits, pigeons, ducks, geese and other poultery; and in the spring my landlord is to fense me a paddock for 15 or 20 deer. And the River Delaware is always full of bass, eels, pike, and perch, so when you incline to look this way such entertainment will be at your service, with good cider, small beer, and Madeira as much superior to what's coffin with you as honest New Jersey bills of credit are to your kites."

The letter to the Governor's nephew by marriage, Rev. Mather Byles, is dated January 26. In it he writes: "The place where I live is a short mile from the town, and no house near me, is call'd the World's End (& properly so). The solitude of it seems very agreeable at my time of life. No body comes to the Governor but on business, or particular friends. Bass, pike, perch & eels pass in shoals by my door, and waterfowl in flocks; pigeons, partridge, and quails in their seasons, with rabbits and good venisons; geese, ducks, and dunghills play round the house. Horses, cows, and muttons, and porks grace the stable and barn, and God gives us the fat of kidneys of wheat and the pure blood of the grape in plenty. Oh that Jeshurun may be always in my thoughts as a standing monument of terror, 'least I forsake the God that made me, and lightly esteem the rock of my salvation,' and so draw down upon me the divine justice and vengeance so beautifully and yet so dreadfully describ'd in the song of Moses. . . .

I pray you to make my best compliments to M^r Presid^t Holyoak, to M^r Flint, and to M^r Appleton. I have a very gratefull sense of worthy M^r Brattle's kind thoughts and good wishes. I had a long and close acquaint^d with her late excellent father, and of whose memory I retain the highest esteem and honour. After my being remov'd from the governm^t I believe I troubl'd you with a l^r from my cottage at Milton, owning as I do now again the sincerity of your respect, because it grew upon my removal from the governm^t when you could form no expectations from me, and what still inhanc'd it was the ingrate behaviour of some to whom God put it in my power to give bread and to keep them from starving. As David complain'd, they stood aloof from my sore. But blessed be the God of my life who sustain'd me in the day of my resignation so as not to dishonour Him, nor myself, nor my family or acquaint^d, — I say, blessed be His name "who has fed me all my life long unto this day," when (from the 8 ins^t) I am posting to 67. "My dayes are swifter than a weaver's shuttle; they will soon be extinct and the grave be ready for me." The lesson then is to be doubling my diligence in serving my generation by y^e will of God, and in my private life to be making my calling & election sure, that I may be able, when my time must be no longer to take up the dying words of my late excellent father, and with his composedness and serenity even the words of the royal psalmist, "I will both lay me down in peace and sleep." God grant it thro' riches of grace in Jesus Christ. Amen. I wish you, Sir, and your lady & family a happy new year, and a long succession of y^m, with health, ease, and every circumstance in life which you yourselves would ask of Heaven, where may you at last partake of those divine joyes and pleasures that are irreversible & will alwayes indure. I am

Your hearty friend & ready servant.

BURLINGTON (N. J.), January 28, 1747/8.

What blunders I may have made in this too long l^r, or my clerk in transcrib^d, your candour will cover.

The Hon. MELLECHAMBERLAIN presented the original record, or a contemporaneous transcript, of the findings of the Grand Jury of Middlesex County, from May 15, 1753, to March 15, 1754. Middlesex was then the most populous county in the Province, with a homogeneous population, mostly composed of farmers; and in the lack of statistics to show the

I constantly rise so as to salute the first ray of y^e burning orb; breakfast at 8, with 2 dishes of tea (balm and sage mixt); dine at 1 (plentiful & handsome); no supper; alwayes a bed by half after nine; have a worthy woman in the care of my family and 4 servants moving well in their several orbits."

comparative morality of the last century and of our own time, he thought that any official record like this possessed considerable historical value. He summarized the findings as follows:

Extortionate fees, Billerica	1
Bastardy, Charlestown, 3	
Sudbury, 1	
Waltham, 1	
Bedford, 2	7
Travelling on the Lord's Day	5
Bad Highway, Malden	1
Drunk	2
Destitute of Grammar School Master, Billerica	1
Not attending public worship, Framingham, 5. Marl-	
boro, 3. Medford, 1. Concord, 2. Groton, 2. — 1.	
Sudbury, 1. Malden, 1. Waltham, 1	17
Assault	1
Taking N. H. Bills	1
Lumbering highway, Malden	1
Keeping bad order and } Cambridge	1
entertaining company }	
	38

The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up, and the report of the Senior Member at Large of the Council was read by Rev. HENRY F. JENKS.

Report of the Council.

The Society, as will be seen by the reports of the various officers, has been prosperous during the year, and but few events deserving special mention have occurred.

Two anniversaries of interest to us have been celebrated. In one, the four hundredth of the landing of Columbus, by the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, we had no part beyond our share in the common pride of our fellow-citizens throughout the land; but so marked was the event, and so well and appropriately were all the details of the commemoration carried out, that it was fitting that its distinguishing characteristics should have been preserved by a paper in our Proceedings, as was done most happily by our junior Vice-President; at the other, the one hundred and fiftieth of our kindred society, the American Philosophical Society of Phila-

delphia, we were represented by a delegate, our Librarian, who read a paper.

Our connection with our Commonwealth makes it appropriate that we should note the disappearance of an ancient custom claimed to have been preserved as a memorial of our Puritan ancestry. The annual day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer, long observed by perfunctory services, or practically disregarded for the purposes of its appointment, has followed the Election Sermon, and this year, for the first time, has not been designated by the Executive Proclamation; while in its place as a public holiday the Legislature has substituted the 19th of April, a day sacred in Massachusetts annals, and, in the words of the Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth, "grand with the memories of the mighty struggles which in one instance brought liberty, and in the other union to the country, to be celebrated as the anniversary of the birth of Liberty and Union."

With great pleasure we call attention to a statement in the Treasurer's Report. In the Report of the Council for 1881, referring to the mortgage then upon this building, it is said: "Not until this debt is extinguished can the Society be considered to be in a satisfactory financial position." In 1887 the writer of the report for that year says: "The most gratifying event in our affairs has been the full payment of the mortgage debt on this estate, which releases it from all encumbrance, except so far as some of our special funds are invested in it"; and in 1889 occurs this statement: "There remains, however, what is practically a debt of about \$26,000, that being the balance of our permanent funds still invested in this building; and no effort should be relaxed to clear off this encumbrance within a reasonable time." To-day we are met by the gratifying announcement that all the sums of our permanent funds invested in this building have been restored to those funds, and we hold the building entirely clear; and the prospect is held out to us that before many months any depreciation in any of the securities which have been held for those funds will be charged off. Certainly we ought to be most hearty in our expressions of appreciation of the careful and judicious management by which a result so long felt to be most desirable has been accomplished.

In the Treasurer's Report for 1887 he has traced the history

of the estate since it has been occupied by the Society, and the gradual process by which the debt has been extinguished, so that it is only necessary to refer to that report for an account which is at this time particularly interesting.

In view of prospective additions to our property, it became apparent that an extension of the limit which we were permitted to hold must be sought; and in consequence application was made to the General Court of this year, which passed an Act authorizing us to hold real and personal property to the amount of six hundred thousand dollars, over and above our Library and building.

During the last few months we have received from the executors of our late senior Vice-President the manuscripts bequeathed by him to our Society.

Since the last Annual Meeting we have lost from our rolls five Resident Members. Abbott Lawrence, who died 6 July, 1893, was a pretty constant attendant upon our meetings, and has shown his interest in the Society by a legacy to be used as a Publication Fund. Edwin Lassetter Bynner, who died 5 August, 1893, had shown by his interesting historical novels his capacity to labor successfully in the field in which our Society works, and awakened expectation of much valuable service in future years. Francis Parkman, our much respected senior Vice-President, who died 8 November, 1893, had illustrated American scholarship; and his fidelity in historical research performed under such unexampled difficulties had proved that true heroism may be exhibited even in the retired walks of literature. Henry Warren Torrey, who died 14 December, 1893, had been for a generation Professor of History in Harvard University, esteemed and beloved by all his pupils, eminently wise and sagacious, whose name upon our rolls reflected dignity and honor upon the Society. Edward Bangs, who died 16 February, 1894, a genial man, had, by his services in the Council and contributions to our Proceedings, proved himself one of our most useful members.

From the Corresponding roll we have lost Edward Duffield Neill, who died 26 September, 1893; Charles Henry Bell, who died 11 November, 1893; William Frederick Poole, who died 1 March, 1894; and George Ticknor Curtis, who died 28 March, 1894, a Resident Member for about four years (from 1858 to 1862), and for twenty-nine years, after his

removal to New York, a Corresponding Member; and from our Honorary roll the Very Rev. Charles Merivale, who died 27 December, 1893.

In filling the vacancies thus created, the rules adopted by the Council to "secure some more systematic method to govern the presentation to the Society of candidates for election," which were fully described in the Report for 1892, have been observed; and the following Resident Members have been elected: Charles Russell Codman, 13 April, 1893; Barrett Wendell, 18 June, 1893; James Ford Rhodes, 14 December, 1893; and Edward Francis Johnson, 8 February, 1894.

In the report of 1892 it was said that the losses that had then occurred of Corresponding Members had not been made good, "perhaps through the feeling that in the past the Society had unduly extended the list of Corresponding Members, and the resolve that in the future the honor of membership should be more restricted." The deaths this year had reduced the names on our Corresponding roll below fifty, the number which had seemed desirable to the Council, and it was therefore felt that now some of these vacancies might be filled; and accordingly John Nicholas Brown was elected 8 March, 1894.

The number of our Resident Members is now 95, which will be increased to-day to 96 if nomination before the Society is favorably acted on.

It is interesting to note in this connection that with this meeting our venerable associate, Rev. Lucius R. Paige, whose ninety-second birthday we recently noticed, will complete fifty years of membership in the Society, he having been elected at the May meeting in 1844. He is the third of our still surviving members who has completed a half-century or more of membership, — a thing of so rare occurrence, and so unlikely to occur again for many years, as to deserve special recognition.

Memoirs of the following deceased members have been prepared and published in our Proceedings: Henry W. Foote, by Winslow Warren; Robert C. Waterston, by Josiah P. Quincy; Fitch Edward Oliver, by Edmund F. Slafter; and Francis Parkman, by Octavius B. Frothingham.

The Society has held nine monthly meetings, and one special meeting to commemorate our late senior Vice-President,

Francis Parkman, at which was read that touching autobiographical statement which was such a revelation of the character of the man.

Of these meetings it can be repeated, as was said in 1889: "Interesting and valuable communications have been made, but on the whole there has been a perceptible falling off in the importance of the papers presented by the different sections"; and even more strongly can it be added, as in the language of the Report of 1884: "While gratefully acknowledging the merit of the literary work that has been accomplished during the past year by our different members, we cannot help regretting that a larger proportion of this skill and labor has not been bestowed upon our own publications, . . . and that nothing would so much conduce to the Society's welfare as to have more members who would be both able and willing to spend their time here in the midst of our wealth of books and manuscripts, laboring for her benefit."

In conclusion, what was said last year, of the importance of hastening the publication of a catalogue of our manuscripts might be repeated. While we may hope to have more than one new publication from those manuscripts undertaken during the coming year, it is far more desirable that the wealth of material contained in them should be made accessible as soon as possible.

During the year the Society has issued the following publications:—

Collections, 6th series, Vol. VI. (Belcher Papers, Part I.) and Vol. VII. (Belcher Papers, Part II.).

Also four serial numbers of the Proceedings, Vol. VIII., 2d series, (March, 1893, to January, 1894).

The publications by members of the Society have been as follows:—

Massachusetts, its Historians and its History: An Object Lesson. By Charles Francis Adams.

Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636-1638. Including the Short Story, and other Documents. Edited by Charles Francis Adams, for the Prince Society.

Early Wills illustrating the Ancestry of Harriot Coffin, with Genealogical and Biographical Notes, by her grandson, William S. Appleton.

Edward Livingston Youmans, Interpreter of Science for the People.

A Sketch of his Life, with Selections from his Writings. By John Fiske.

Proceedings of the Peabody Education Fund, Volume IV. Edited by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

The Career of Benjamin Franklin. A Paper read before the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, May 25, 1893, at the Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of its Formation in that City. By Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Wheeler's Defeat, 1675. Where? At Meminimisset Meadow. A paper read before the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, October 21, 1893. By Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Statistics of Comb-Making in Leominster, 1852. By Caleb C. Field. With an Introduction by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

The Boundary Line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, from the Merrimack River to the Connecticut. A Paper read before the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell, on December 21, 1893, the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Formation of the Society. By Dr. Samuel A. Green.

An Historical Sketch of Groton, Massachusetts. By Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Suggestions on the Study of United States History and Government, prepared for the use of students in Harvard University. By Albert B. Hart.

Practical Essays on American Government. By Alfred B. Hart.

Land Transfer Reform. By John T. Hassam.

English History for American Readers. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Edward Channing.

Proceedings of the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of the National Board of Trade, held in Washington, January, 1893. Edited by Hamilton A. Hill.

A Book of Prayer and Praise, published by the American Unitarian Association, edited by a Committee (Henry F. Jenks and others) appointed by the Association.

Old Age and Immortality. Address delivered before the Worcester Fire Society, at its Centennial, January 21, 1893. By George F. Hoar.

A Memorial of Samuel Foster McCleary, Jr., Associate Pastor of the Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1892. Compiled by his father. Privately printed.

Twenty-six Years. A Sermon on the Twenty-sixth Anniversary of his Installation, by Alexander McKenzie. The First Church in Cambridge, 1893.

A Sermon in Memory of the Rt. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D. By Alexander McKenzie, January 29, 1893.

A Symphony of the Spirit. Compiled by George S. Merriam.

American Statesmen Series. Edited by John T. Morse, Jr. Abraham Lincoln, by Mr. Morse. In two volumes.

Orations and Addresses of George William Curtis. Vol. I. Edited by Charles Eliot Norton.

Letters of James Russell Lowell. Edited by Charles Eliot Norton. Two volumes.

History of the Town of Harvard, Massachusetts, 1732-1893. By Henry S. Nourse.

The Columbia and the Discovery of Oregon. By Edward G. Porter. Diocese of Massachusetts. The Enlargement of its Diocesan Library, being the Tenth Annual Report, May 3 and 4, 1893. By Edmund F. Slafter.

The Origin and Scope of the American Doctrine of Constitutional Law. By James B. Thayer.

Bi-metallism : A Tract for the Times. By Francis A. Walker.

College Athletics. An Address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, Alpha of Massachusetts, at Cambridge, June 29, 1893. By Francis A. Walker.

Stelligeri and other Essays concerning America. By Barrett Wendell.

Bills of Mortality, 1810-1849, City of Boston. With an Essay on the Vital Statistics of Boston from 1810 to 1841. By Lemuel Shattuck. Compiled by William H. Whitmore.

Index to the Marriage Intentions and Marriages recorded in 1892, at the City Registrar's Office, Boston. By William H. Whitmore.

Annual Report of the Registry Department, Boston, for the Year 1892. By William H. Whitmore.

Sixteenth Report (1893) of Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University.

Harvard University Bulletin, Vol. VII. Nos. 3, 4, 5. Edited by Justin Winsor.

Biographical Contributions, Harvard University, No. 49. Edited by Justin Winsor.

Cartier to Frontenac. Geographical Discovery in the Interior of North America in its Historical Relations, 1534-1700. With full cartographical illustrations from contemporary sources. By Justin Winsor.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY F. JENKS,

Senior Member at Large of the Council.

The Librarian, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, read the following report :—

Report of the Librarian.

During the past year there have been added to the Library :

Books	597
Pamphlets	1,586
Bound volumes of newspapers	6
Unbound volumes of newspapers	13
Broadsides	162
Maps	24
Portfolios of maps	11
Volumes of manuscripts	45
Unbound volumes of manuscripts	17
Manuscripts	112

In all 2,573

Of the books added, 522 have been given, and 75 bought. Of the pamphlets added, 1,461 have been given, 119 bought, and 6 procured by exchange. The most important accessions were the valuable collection of autographs given by Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C. Washburn, at the meeting of the Society on April 13, 1893, and the Parkman Manuscripts, bequeathed by our late Vice-President, as noted in the Proceedings for January 11, 1894.

From the income of the Savage fund, there have been bought 75 volumes, 119 pamphlets, 2 unbound volumes of newspapers, and 6 manuscripts; and 48 volumes, containing 131 pamphlets already bought at the charge of the same fund, have been bound from the same source.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 77 volumes, containing 491 pamphlets, have been bound, and 17 volumes repaired.

Of the books added to the Rebellion Department, 12 have been given, and 21 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 74 have been given, and 14 bought. There are now in this collection 2,014 volumes, 4,634 pamphlets, 801 broadsides, and 105 maps. During the past year some pamphlets have been bound, and others replaced by volumes.

In the collection of manuscripts there are 803 volumes, 179 unbound volumes, 75 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 7,260 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 37,000

volumes, including the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is 95,750; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,816.

During the past year there have been taken out 61 books and 5 pamphlets, and all have been returned. Within the past month there has been a very thorough cleaning of the whole building, and the books have all been taken down and carefully dusted, and the shelves wiped off.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian*.

Boston, April 12, 1894.

The report of the Cabinet-keeper, Mr. SAMUEL F. McCLEARY, was as follows:—

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

The Cabinet-keeper respectfully reports, that, upon assuming the office made vacant last year by the death of his competent predecessor, Dr. F. E. Oliver, a complete examination of the Cabinet was at once begun.

The accuracy of the catalogues of the paintings, busts, and miscellaneous articles was tested by comparing the several items of these classes with their descriptive numbers. This occupied much time, but it afforded satisfactory results.

Were it not for these catalogues and their manifold manuscript annotations it would be almost impossible to find many of the articles described therein, which are scattered without relative order through the three upper stories of the present building, many of them being wholly secluded from view.

While some articles in the Cabinet have an intrinsic worth, all possess, in different degrees, some historic value. To these values there might be added an educational interest, by no means the least of the three, if there could be found adequate wall-space for the paintings and engravings, as well as sufficient floor accommodations for appropriate cases, in which the other articles of the Cabinet could be offered for public inspection.

As the value of money does not consist in its accumulation, but in its circulation and purchasing activity; so the mere collection of objects of historical interest which are not acces-

sible to view is productive of little interest to the possessor or the public.

Whenever new quarters are obtained for the service of the Society the Cabinet ought to be located in a room or rooms by itself, easily accessible by the public, to whom it should be freely opened under proper rules. Interesting articles should be plainly marked and placed in appropriate cases; and the Cabinet-keeper or an assistant should attend daily to take charge of the exhibition, and answer any inquiries relating thereto.

When the public notes the care and attention which would be thus bestowed upon the Society's treasures, accessions to the Cabinet from private sources cannot fail to be many in number and precious in value.

The collection of photographs of the Resident Members of the Society is nearly complete: a few pictures only are lacking.

The gifts to the Cabinet during the year 1893-94 have been as follows:

A mourning ring, bearing the words: "Hon^d M^r F Shirley. ob:31: Au 1746: Æ: 54." Given by Henry Guild.

Badge of the Massachusetts Delegation to Chicago, worn at the celebration of Massachusetts Day, at the World's Fair, June 17, 1893. Given by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

A photograph of the painting of James Lloyd in the possession of a descendant, Mr. William H. Aspinwall, of New York. Given by George F. Hoar.

A cut of the Crossed Swords, taken from the Centennial Graphic, June, 1875, p. 29. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A table made from the "Hangman's Branch" of the Old Elm, which stood on Boston Common. Bequeathed by Joseph M. Wightman, and received through Elmer E. Messinger, executor.

A view of the Ursuline Convent on Mt. Benedict, Charlestown, which follows a cut printed on a circular sent out on May 2, 1828. Given by Benjamin F. De Costa.

A plaster bust made from the original cast of the head of Theodore Parker, taken after his death at Florence, Italy. Given by Mrs. Joseph Lyman.

Confederate States money: fifty dollars, twenty, ten, five (two bills), and two dollars, fifty cents (two bills); Virginia Treasury Note, one dollar; county of Lunenburg, Va., one dollar, seventy-five cents, and ten cents; Richmond, seventy-five cents, and fifty cents. Given by Mrs. James Lyons, of Richmond.

A reproduction, for William A. Courtenay, in 1891, of a photograph of the Memorial to Gaspard de Coligny, erected in the wall of the Church, L'Oratoire, Paris. Given by Mr. Courtenay.

A lithographic copy, in 1872, of a "View of Framingham Common in 1808," painted in water-colors by D. Bell. Given by George E. Littlefield.

Two engravings: View on the west bank of Hudson's River, showing the encampment of General Burgoyne's army, September 20, 1777; and a bird's-eye view of Mount Pleasant, Long Island, engraved and published by William Faden, August 10, 1776. Given by Mrs. Thomas Appleton.

A photograph of George Bancroft, and an engraving of Samuel Willard. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Four "Views in Boston," engraved by François Xavier Haberman, an account of which by Dr. Green is given in the Proceedings of the February meeting, 1894, pages 497-499. Given by Charles Francis Adams.

Fourteen volumes containing 2,856 envelopes, used during the Rebellion, and 1,348 photographs, including many of officers and others who served in the war, with an index to the same; also, 23 engravings of officers, including Lincoln, Admiral DuPont, Commodore Foote, and nineteen generals. Given by Charles W. Jenks.

A colored lithographic sheet containing the portraits of fourteen Rebel and Union Generals, by Knapp & Co., New York, 1889. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A half-tone engraving of the Public Library at Groton, which was dedicated on May 18, 1893. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

An engraving of Edward N. Kirk, by J. C. Buttre, after a daguerreotype by M. Ormsbee. Given by Samuel E. Herrick.

A photograph of Mrs. Ruth (Carter) Rowell, great-great-granddaughter of Hannah Dustin, made by R. W. Rood, of Bethel, Vermont. Given by George S. Hale.

A steel engraving of Lawrence Academy, Groton, made by Edward A. Fowle, of Boston, and lettered by Thomas Chubbuck, of Springfield, in 1871. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 12, 1894.

The report of the Treasurer, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, and the report of the Auditors, the Hon. ROGER WOLCOTT and Mr. HAMILTON A. HILL, were submitted in print, according to custom:—

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1894.

The special funds held by him are the same as they were at the date of his last Annual Report. They are eleven in number, and are as follows:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at \$22,123. The income is available only for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recog-

dition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest was added to the principal to bring the amount up to \$2,000, at which it now stands. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, of the par value of \$100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000, exclusive of the copyright. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. The cost of publishing the first volume of Belcher Papers was charged to the income of this fund, and the cost of the second volume will also be charged to it.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to \$8,243.38. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society:—

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."
2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.
3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.
4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.
5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.
6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and

Coke Co. from our late Recording Secretary, GEORGE DEXTER, received in June, 1884. In his last report this bequest stood on the Treasurer's books at \$900. Besides the regular quarterly dividends there has been received up to the present time from the sale of subscription rights, etc., the sum of \$243.38, which has now been added to the nominal amount of Mr. Dexter's bequest.

7. Six commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of \$1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). A further gift of \$250 was received from the same generous friend in April, 1888. The income up to the present time has been added to the principal. The fund now stands at \$1,774.08.

XI. THE WILLIAM AMORY FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the late WILLIAM AMORY, received Jan. 7, 1889. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. The income has been allowed to accumulate, with the view to the publication of a volume of Collections at some future period.

The Treasurer also holds a deposit book in the Five Cent Savings Bank for \$100 and interest, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the beautiful model of the Brattle Street Church, deposited with us in April, 1877.

It should not be forgotten that besides the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, which the Treasurer is required to take notice of in his Annual Report, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer, dated March 31, 1887, printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 291-296); and in the list of the givers there enumerated will be found the names of many honored associates, living or departed, and of other gentlemen, not members of the Society, who were interested in the promotion of historical studies. They gave liberally in the day of small things; and to them the Society is largely indebted for its present prosperity and usefulness.

During the year the balance of the funds (\$4,058.95), which had been temporarily invested in the building has been reinvested. The real estate of the Society now stands on the Treasurer's book at its original cost and improvements, free of all incumbrances. The investments held for the various permanent funds also stand at their actual cost (\$82,560.20), which is slightly in excess of the aggregate amount of the several funds. It has not, however, been thought desirable at the present time to charge off anything on account of premiums paid or for depreciation in the market value of the securities; but it will be possible to do so in the ensuing year, in accordance with the suggestion in the Treasurer's last annual report. The proportion of income credited to each fund for the year was a little less than five per cent.

The stock and bonds held by the Treasurer are as follows: \$10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Rio Grande Western Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the five per cent gold bonds of the Cincinnati, Dayton, and Ironton Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent general mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co.; and \$3,000 in the second four per cent bonds of the same corporation, received in exchange for their income bonds for the same amount; \$1,000 in a five per cent collateral trust bond of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yard Co.; \$2,000 in the six per cent "exempt" bonds of the Burlington and Missouri Railroad Co. in Nebraska; fifty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the State National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston; fifty shares in the National Union Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the Columbian National Bank of Boston; five shares in the Second National Bank of Boston; thirty-five shares in the Boston and Albany Railroad Co.; twenty-five shares in the Old Colony Railroad Co.; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co.; three shares in the Boston Real Estate Trust (of the par value of \$1,000); and five shares in the State Street Exchange.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

1893.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance on hand		\$459.23
1894.			
March 31.	To receipts as follows:—		
	General Account	10,735.66	
	Consolidated Income	3,843.10	
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	74.90	
	Investments	48.50	
			<u>\$15,161.39</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$140.76

1894.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By payments as follows:—		
	Investments	\$6,185.75	
	Income of Peabody Fund	929.27	
	Income of Savage Fund	408.14	
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	106.10	
	Income of Appleton Fund	9.00	
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	1,045.66	
	Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund	60.00	
	Income of Mass. Hist. Trust-Fund	17.50	
	General Account	6,259.21	
	By balance on hand	140.76	
			<u>\$15,161.39</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

1893.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward		\$648.33
1894.			
March 31.	To sundry charges and payments:—		
	Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	2,700.00	
	Insurance	580.50	
	Printing, stationery, and postage	234.68	
	Fuel and light	183.00	
	Care of fire, etc.	370.31	
	Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	190.12	
	Editing publications of the Society	2,000.00	
	Consolidated Income	95.24	
	Investments	490.38	
	General Fund	243.88	
	Building Account	4,068.95	
			<u>\$11,705.49</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$573.45

1894.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By sundry receipts:—		
	Rent of Building	\$9,000.00	
	Interest	27.06	
	Income of Dowse Fund	486.88	
	Admission Fees	100.00	
	Assessments	800.00	
	Sales of publications	807.70	
	By balance to new account	573.45	
			<u>\$11,795.49</u>

Income of Appleton Fund.

1894.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding	\$0.00	
	„ balance carried forward	1,752.40	
			<u>\$1,752.40</u>

1893.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$1,167.88	
1894.			
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	593.52	
			<u>\$1,761.40</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$1,762.40	

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

1894.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding	\$106.10	
	„ balance carried forward	115.39	
			<u>\$221.49</u>

1893.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$75.57	
1894.			
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	145.92	
			<u>\$221.49</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$115.39	

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

1894.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for printing and binding	\$17.50	
	„ balance carried forward	803.02	
			<u>\$820.52</u>

1893.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$334.14	
1894.			
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	486.38	
			<u>\$820.52</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$803.02	

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

1894.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for printing and binding	\$1,045.06	
	„ balance carried forward	400.46	
		<u>\$1,446.12</u>	

		CREDITS.	
1893.			
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$1,225.30	
1894.			
March 31.	„ copyright received	74.90	
	„ proportion of consolidated income	145.92	
		<u>\$1,446.12</u>	
March 31.	By amount brought down	\$400.46	

Income of Douse Fund.

1894.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	\$486.38	

		CREDITS.	
1894.			
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$486.38	

Income of Peabody Fund.

1893.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$1,756.00	
1894.			
March 31.	„ amount paid for printing, binding, and heliotypes	929.27	
		<u>\$2,685.27</u>	
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$1,009.25	

1894.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$1,076.02	
	„ balance carried forward	1,609.25	
		<u>\$2,685.27</u>	

Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund.

1894.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for books	\$60.00	
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$10 45	

1894.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$49.55	
	„ balance carried forward	10.45	
		<u>\$60.00</u>	

Income of Savage Fund.

1893.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$169.88	
1894.			
March 31.	„ amount paid for books	408.14	
		<u>\$578.02</u>	
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$286.19	
1894.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$291.83	
	„ balance carried forward	286.19	
		<u>\$578.02</u>	

TRIAL BALANCE.

		DEBITS.	
Cash		\$140.76	
Real Estate		103,280.19	
Investments		82,500.20	
Income of Peabody Fund		1,609.25	
Income of General Fund		52.14	
Income of Savage Fund		286.19	
Income of E. B. Bigelow		10.45	
General Account		573.45	
		<u>\$188,512.68</u>	
		CREDITS.	
Building Account		\$103,280.19	
Appleton Fund		12,203.00	
Dowse Fund		10,000.00	
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund		10,000.00	
Peabody Fund		22,123.00	
Savage Fund		6,000.00	
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund		2,000.00	
William Winthrop Fund		3,000.00	
Richard Frothingham Fund		3,000.00	
General Fund		8,243.38	
Anonymous Fund		1,774.08	
William Amory Fund		3,000.00	
Income of Appleton Fund		1,752.40	
Income of William Winthrop Fund		115.39	
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund		400.46	
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund		803.02	
Income of William Amory Fund		817.71	
		<u>\$188,512.63</u>	

During the year the Society has published a volume of Collections, comprising the first part of the Belcher Papers; and it is expected that another volume coming down to the period of Governor Belcher's embarkation for England after his removal from office will be ready for delivery at the Annual Meeting. It is also expected that the volume of Proceedings will be ready at the May Meeting. Work on the Calendar of the Pickering Papers can be commenced at an early date.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer.*

Boston, March 31, 1894.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1894, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

ROGER WOLCOTT, }
HAMILTON A. HILL, } *Committee.*

Boston, April 7, 1894.

The report of the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet was then presented by Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES: —

Report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet.

The Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet, having attended to that duty, respectfully submit the following report: —

During the past five years, since this Committee was first instituted, various suggestions have been made by different members of the Society who have served upon it, in respect to certain changes in the methods of administration of the Library. Such of the changes as were found to be practicable

in our present quarters and with the means at our disposal, appear to have been adopted; so, doubtless, others will be when circumstances become more favorable. Your Committee, therefore, have not thought it best to propose additional changes, or to recommend the immediate adoption of some of their predecessors' suggestions.

Your Committee have examined the present condition of the Library, and while they found some things which they would desire to be other than they are, they are not sure of the wisdom of a change at present; and they take pleasure in reporting that, through the devotion and the self-sacrifice of our Librarian and the efficient aid of his assistants, it has been as well managed as is compatible with the limited means that are placed at his disposal. The Librarian would, doubtless, gladly spend more money upon binding new volumes and repairing old ones, if it should be placed in his hands for that purpose. The main growth of the Library has always been through donations, and in accepting gifts the Librarian has never been actuated by any churlish spirit of refusal. He believes—as did our learned associate, Mr. Sibley, late Librarian of Harvard College—that it is extremely difficult to draw the line as to what printed matter may, or may not, at some future time become valuable. If circumstances should hereafter bring about a change in our domicile, your Committee think that then would be the appropriate occasion to consider the subject of suggested “weeding out.”

The Catalogue of our literary possessions, and especially of our manuscripts, is in an excellent condition: and all the members of your Committee know, by personal experience in their work here, that it fully subserves its purpose.

The Cabinet, under the efficient supervision of our new Cabinet-keeper, continues to be as faithfully cared for as it was by our lamented associate, Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver.

HENRY W. HAYNES.	} Committee.
MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN,	
BARRETT WENDELL,	

April 12, 1894.

The several reports were accepted, and referred to the Committee for publishing the Proceedings.

Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of candidates. All of the gentlemen named were unanimously elected.

President.

GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS.

Vice-Presidents.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD JAMES YOUNG.

Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN.

Treasurer.

CHARLES CARD SMITH.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

Cabinet-Keeper.

SAMUEL FOSTER McCLEARY.

Members at Large of the Council.

SOLOMON LINCOLN.

ALEXANDER MCKENZIE.

• JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN.

EDMUND FARWELL SLAFTER.

ARTHUR LORD.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Rev. Henry F. Jenks and Mr. Horace E. Scudder, retiring members of the Council, for efficient services.

Besides the volume of Belcher Papers, being the seventh volume of the sixth series of the Collections, a new serial number of the Proceedings, comprising the record of the February and March meetings, was ready for delivery at this meeting.

After the adjournment the members and a few invited guests were entertained at luncheon by the President, at his house, No. 110 Marlborough Street.

MAY MEETING, 1894.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, and Mr. Charles C. Smith were re-appointed a Committee for publishing the Proceedings.

The Hon. John Lowell was appointed to write the memoir of the late Edward Bangs, for publication in the Proceedings.

Mr. Henry W. Taft, of Pittsfield, was elected a Resident Member; and Capt. Alfred T. Mahan, of the United States Navy, a Corresponding Member.

Communications from the third section having been called for, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said that two years ago he had the satisfaction of presenting, in behalf of one of our most learned and valued Corresponding Members, Charles J. Hoadly, LL.D., of Hartford, Conn., a copy of a diary kept during a part of the siege of Boston by the chaplain of one of the Connecticut regiments. He desired now to present, in behalf of the same gentleman, a copy of a diary kept by a lieutenant of another Connecticut regiment, stationed at Roxbury at the same time. Lieutenant Jabez Fitch, Jr., the writer, was a native of Norwich, Conn., and served in the expedition against Crown Point in 1756, in Colonel Whiting's regiment, and again in the following year, in Colonel Lyman's regiment. In July, 1775, he was appointed first lieutenant in the Eighth Company of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment, and continued in service until December. In the following January he again enlisted in the army, and was again commissioned a first lieutenant. He was captured at the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, and was not exchanged until December, 1777. In January, 1779, in common with other exchanged prisoners of war, he solicited a reappoint-

ment in the army, without loss of rank. Beyond that point his career has not been traced. At the siege of Boston he had with him a son Cordilla, or 'Dilla, as he seems to have been familiarly called. The diary will be found to present a very graphic picture of camp life in the besieging army around Boston.

A Journal, from August 5th to December 13th, 1775.

Kept by Lieutenant Jabez Fitch, Jr., of Norwich, of the 8th Company, Capt. Joseph Jewett's, in the Eighth Connecticut Regiment, Col. Jedidiah Huntington's, at the siege of Boston.

[Copied from the original in the Pension Office at Washington, October, 1885.]

Saturday Aug: 5th, 1775. Came from [home] a little after sunrise. Joined the company at Tyler's in Preston, from whence we march'd. About 8 o'clock made a little halt at Deacⁿ Belcher's, where we were handsomely treated and after resting a little we march'd, and at the same time Mr. Edwards and my boys went back. We arriv'd at Dickson's in Voluntown about 2, where there was a great gathering of people on account of Col. Douglas' company meeting there.¹ Among others I see Col. Douglas, Maj. Gordon, Esq^r Steward, Doct^r Elisha Perkins and Doct^r Mather, with several other Lyme gentlemen returning from the camps. The capt. with some others of us ate a dinner of beef-steaks, and a little before night we march'd. Arrived at Green's in Coventry a little after daylight down, weary enough, and about 10 o'clock Cordilla and I went to bed and rested very well.

Sunday the 6th. Eat breakfast of chocolate at Green's and then march'd in the rear down to Angel's where we waited for our teams which arrived a little before noon. The weather cloudy and dull. Rains a little, &c. This I writ in Angel's chamber.

Afternoon, we march'd forward by a meeting-house and many other buildings, myself being in the rear, till a little before sunset we arrived at Andrew Williams', a little short of Providence, where the capt. see cause to put up. After the men were dismissed till 5 o'clock next morning, (not very agreeable to martial discipline,) I went with Serg^t Clark, my son and some others, into town, as far as Col. Dexter's where we drank a pint of brandy, see Col. Douglas and Mr. Dixon and then came back to our quarters just after our teams arrived, and after unloading the carts and attending to some of the Providence people dance, I went to bed with my son and slept very well.

¹ John Douglas was lieutenant-colonel and captain of the second company in Colonel Huntington's regiment. See Conn. Col. Records, vol. xv. p. 95.—Eds.

The 7th. After breakfast we march'd into town where we made a small halt, got shav'd and did some other errands and march'd forward to Attleborough, where we now are at Dagget's, the tavern, (they say he's a Tory,) but, however, we have got a dinner a cooking and intend to eat it.

I was afterwards disappointed, there not being enough for the whole, and a little before our march Lt. Gove and Serg. Denison of Col. Parsons' reg^t overtook us, and after drinking some punch we march'd on, and at about sunset arriv'd at Man's in Wrentham, where we met with much difficulty to procure a supper, after which I went to bed with my son and slept very well.

August the 8th, 1775. In the morning we ate breakfast at Man's, after which we march'd forward to Head's in Walpole, where we drank some punch and march'd forward to Cheney's in Walpole, where our men are now cooking a dinner. N. B. Last night and this morning we hear much talk of a famous alarm at New London by several ships coming into or near the harbour, but the particulars we have not yet learned. I yesterday wrote a letter to my wife and sent it by Morgan, the teamster. This day Lem^l Petingal, Elijah Pride and John Clark overtook us, on their way to the camp.

After dinner we march'd forward to Gay's, where we made a little stop and Capt. Wheat overtook us from Norwich; then we march'd on as far as Ames' in Dedham, where we lodged in a very good bed and paid well for it.

The 9th. In the morning I walked down to the burying place below the meeting house. I also see about 300 riflemen pass by Ames', — we also went by them at Whiting's and march'd into Roxbury before them.¹ We arrived at the sign of the Sun about 11 o'clock, where the company staid till next day. In the afternoon Dan^l Andrus, Nat. Brewster and several of our old neighbours came to see us. Lt. Gove and I with some others went down on to the Neck beyond the main guard and see the regulars work and centries, and also the ruins of the buildings destroy'd in the late operations. After I came back I went with Cordilla over to Col. Parsons' incampment,² where we found Lt. Gove and came back with him to our quarters.

This night was the first of Cordilla and I lodging like soldiers, we having hitherto on our march lodg'd in good beds, tho' it cost us dear, but now we are come where money will not readily command all the

¹ The entry in Ames's interleaved Almanac, under this date, is, "Rifle Men 300 pass. 3 Comp. Connecticut Men." See Dedham Historical Register, vol. iii. p. 130. — Eds.

² The regiment under command of Col. Samuel H. Parsons was ordered to march to Boston just before the battle of Bunker Hill. See Conn. Col. Records, vol. xv. pp. 85, 87. — Eds.

conveniences of life, yet through the clemency of a Divine Providence every one in health may be in some measure comfortable.

The 10th. Sometime before noon we march'd on to the ground assigned us for incampment. Capt. Ripley's company was the only one incamped before us. The rest of this day taken up in pitching our tents, &c. The night following was very stormy: it thundered, lightened and rained all night, and was very tedious for the first of the campaign.

The 11th. In the morning Lt. Jon^a Brewster and Jo. Williams came to our tent. I was with 'em over to Parsons' reg^t, where we lit of Capt. Wheat and went up to the meeting house and see the guard relieved, then went with them, Serg^t Haskel and Corp^l Brewster down to Dorchester, and after obtaining liberty of Col. Fellows went over on to the Neck and down on to the Lower Point near Castle Wm. While on Dorchester Neck we had a very fine prospect of the town of Boston and also of the ships in the harbor, which make an appearance like a dry cedar swamp. When we came off from the Neck the tide had rais'd so much that we were obliged to strip and wade 50 or 60 rods, in fair view of the regulars' works. Came home about 1 o'clock very weary and hungry, but for my comfort our people were dining on codfish and carrots, of which they had plenty, altho' the butter was not the best.

The 12th. In the morning I went down to see the guards relieved and then went out on the left hand of the Neck down on to the marsh where I had a fine prospect of the Common in Boston, where the regulars are incamped. About one o'clock Asa Chapman came here for some things I bro't him from his grandfather. Cordilla and I went with him up to Brookline Fort and on our way lit of one Lt. Sprague of the Rhode Islanders with whom we crossed the ferry and went up to Prospect Hill. Went into Capt. Talbot's tent while there was a shower of rain. Cordilla and I then came back to Cambridge: went into one of the colleges up to the 3d loft, and after viewing that a little came down street a little where we see the greatest curiosity of the whole day, (viz.) an old gent. with a very grey beard 14 inches long handsomely comb'd down under his chin. Then we lit of Wm. Huntington of Norwich in Maj. Durkee's company. Went to said company camp, see Lt. Huntington and several others of my acquaintance, and then Sam. Spicer came and piloted us down to the ferry where [we] were obliged to strip and wade across the marsh, and after crossing the ferry came home to our camp where we arrived about daylight in. The old Tory dog had got away the door I stole to lodge on, &c.

Sunday the 13th Aug. 1775. Heard Mr. Ellis from Psalm 44th, 26th.¹ This morning I went [to] the barber and got shaved, after

¹ Rev. John Ellis, chaplain of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment. He was born in Cambridge, Mass., March 2, 1726-7; graduated at Harvard College in

which I was in at Waterman's where I see Capt. Hez. Perkins, Mr. John McL. Breed and several others from Norwich. About sunset Capt. Jewett and I went up to the meeting house where the working party was parading in order for intrenching on the Neck, we having the night before begun to open an intrenchment in that place. We stayed at the meeting house till almost dark, when the party march'd off and we then came home to our tent.

The 14th. At prayer time in the morning the regulars in Boston and also the ships in the harbor began a mighty firing which lasted most of the forenoon. At relieving the main guard I went with a number of officers down to the guard house and from there to the new intrenchment, after viewing of which we went down a little to the northeast and set under an apple tree, where we spent a considerable part of the forenoon in viewing with a spy-glass the regulars' works in Boston and also the ships in the harbor, who fired many guns while we look'd on them. About noon we came up to Waterman's, where we drank some brandy for our stomach sake and our often infirmity. A little after we got home I had the pleasure to see my neighbour Dan' Brewster who lately came from Norwich and brings me the agreeable news of my family's being in health when he left home. The remainder of this day I spent chiefly with Mr. Brewster. I went with him to Capt. Peters', where we borrowed a spy-glass and then went down to the new intrenchment and also over to the same place we went in the forenoon. Came back about sunset, where we found James Rockwell and Alpheus Jones who drove two teams down here for Brewster. We was then soon inform'd of one of our men being confin'd for firing his gun, which cost me the trouble of going over to Capt. Perrit's incampment, he being the officer who confin'd him. Then I went to Col. Douglas and to Col. Brewer's quarter guard: yet, after all, poor Bidwell lay confin'd till morning, and Brewster, Jones, Rockwell, Cordilla and I lodg'd in Keyes' cornhouse, where we slept very well.

The 15th. In the morning Mr. Ellis ate breakfast with us, after which I walk'd up on the hill alone and then down on the parade by the meeting house and after relieving the guard I came home in company with Lt. Bissell of Capt. Humphrey's company. I then did some writing, and among the rest I wrote a 3d letter to my wife. About 2 o'clock the regulars began to fire some cannon on our new intrenchment by which they wounded one man in the head, soon after which there was several 24 pounders fired from our fort on the hill above the meeting house. The regulars also hove several bomb shells among our

1750; was ordained at Norwich (Franklin), Conn., in 1753; was dismissed in 1782; settled in Rehoboth, Mass., in 1785, where he remained eleven years; returned to Franklin, and died there Oct. 19, 1806. See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. i. p. 604, note. — Eds.

people on the Neck, and a little before sunset the dogs have a ball right over our incampment, which made as bad a noise as a flock of wild geese. I find that the exchanging these few shot has done more to exhilarate the spirits of our people than 200 gallons of New England rum. Every ball, as soon as it fell, was surrounded with a great number of men, to see who would get it first, and the shells themselves had scarcely time to break before they would surround them to pick up the pieces of them as so many curiosities. This day Capt. Bill and Mr. Thos. Coit came into camp from Norwich.

The 16th. After breakfast I took a walk up to Brookline cedar swamp, where I found me a very pretty cedar staff. I came back through an orchard back of Gen^l Ward's quarters, where the inhabitants were gathering pears, and while I was talking with the people the regulars fired two shot on our new intrenchment, on which I hurried a little toward home, but the fire not continuing I made a little stop at an intrenchment just above a grist mill. I then went up toward the Grand Parade, where I lit of Rant. Rose and went with him to see the Indians shoot arrows at coppers.

Roxbury Camp, Wednesday Aug^t 16th, 1775. After writing to my wife and brother, toward night I went over to Col. Parsons' reg^t with Dan^l Brewster, then came back with him and walk'd with him on his way home as far as the Sun tavern. Coming back I took a walk alone into a field on the lower side of the way.

The 17th. The fore part of the day I took a walk up on the hill, while the regulars were firing on our works. They wounded one of our old guard with one of their shells while they were marching on to the parade to dismiss. I went to a house to hire some washing done and then came home. In the afternoon I went up on to Jamaica Plain to buy some nails and timber: bought $\frac{1}{2}$ hundred nails for a $\frac{1}{2}$ pistareen of Mr. Stedefant, a carpenter in Roxbury. I was at a town meeting. I also employ'd a young woman to hem a silk handkerchief. Coming home to camp I went round by Jamaica Pond, &c. At night, for want of proper accommodations in my own markee I lodg'd in Maj. Clark's. It proved a very rainy night. I lost my pocket book out of my coat pocket as it lay on me in the night, but, however, next day some time I had the good luck to find it without loss or damage, except wetting my money, papers, &c.

The 18th. In the morning early I went up to Governor Bernard's house with Corp. Spears, Peleg Edwards, Elisha Pride and Cordilla, to get some timber for repairing our tent, and it was with some difficulty that I obtained it. After I got back I went up to the meeting house, see the guards relieved and drank some new cyder. Then I went down on to the west part of the Neck, where there were a number of men a swimming in a creek. I then came home and we laid a floor

in our tent, after which I went up to the south meeting house in order to purchase me a slawbunck,¹ and did not return to camp till almost night.

The 19th. After breakfast I began to dig a well in the orchard north of our encampment, in which service I spent most of the day. A little after noon I went up to Gen. Spencer's camp to borrow a windlas, but could not obtain one, whereupon I came down to Col. Parsons' reg^t and obtained one for the service of digging our well. At night I went with some of our people up to Stidefant's joiners shop for a slawbunck, but was disappointed, so we all drank a $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of brandy and came back, and I slept on the floor again. I also dreamed that I heard that arbitrators in the cause between Nathan Fitch and Hannah Leonard had ordered him to pay her 60 pound, which I thought was more than it was worth.

Sunday Aug^t 20th, 1775. In the morning I heard Capt. Ripley had lost a second man out of his company, and also another not like to live out the day. After breakfast I went up to Col. Huntington's quarters to see Mr. Tracy and Mr. Fanning. Found 'em extreme poor. I then went on to the parade and see the guards paraded, took a view of the motions of the regulars, and after some time observed a flag of truce advancing from their lines; whereupon I went down to the main guard, where I lit of one Capt. Ames Walbridge of Stafford, formerly a Norwich man. I went with him and the capt. of the guard out as far as George tavern where we staid some time, then Capt. Walbridge and I went into the old burying yard where there is a great number of tombs much gone to ruin. I then came home to our camp and heard Mr. Bliss of Windsor Goshen from Romans 13th almost the whole chapter, which was very agreeable to [blank]th article of my creed. In the afternoon I heard Mr. Ellis from Isaiah [blank] 10th, and after meeting I went up to the old meeting house, where I wrote several of the foregoing pages and am now writing on the breast of the front gallery, which is a very convenient place for writing. It [is] a very large house with a high steeple. It stands on an eminence in fair view of the regulars' lines and has had many balls thrown at it. The bell is taken down, the windows all taken out and boarded up except the pulpit window, the pews all torn down and great destruction made the inside of the house.

There has been no firing on our troops in this camp this day, which is the only day we have escaped for some time. The regulars yesterday, through the carelessness of our guards, drove nine cows off from the Neck into Boston, which gave some of the hungry sons of whores a supper of milk as I suppose.

¹ This is a corruption of the Dutch word "slaapbank," a bed, couch, or bunk. — Eds.

Jasper Griffin of our company was this day carry'd to the hospital, who is the first man we have sent there.

The 21st. In the forenoon we work'd in the well again, but in the afternoon lay by for want of a rope to draw the gravel up with; whereupon I went with Capt. Ripley, Lt. Turrel, &c., to the funeral of Stephen Woodward of Capt. Ripley's company, being the 3d man of that company who has died in camp.

Aug^t 22d, 1775. In the morning I went with Bidwell down to the dam and got some hoops to sling a tub for digging the well, and about 10 o'clock began to hoist with a windlass. We followed digging the remainder of the day. About sunset Capt. Freeman came into the camp from Norwich.

The 23d. Before sunrise I went in a swimming in the Mill creek, came home and went to overseeing the well diggers. Had some company with me this day, among others Capt. Freeman and Dan^l Andrus. Toward night I fell in company with some high fellows (viz.) Capt. Clift, Doc^t Fosdic, Lt. Adams, &c., who broke some staves, some shins, &c. I also this day see my old friend Doc^t Adams. I also this day wrote a letter to my wife, which I sent by Capt. Freeman.

The 24th. I oversee the well diggers again, finished digging the well, &c.

The 25th. Sometime in the afternoon old uncle C^t and Jo. Rose came into the camp. I went with them and Lt. Brewster up on the hill and then down on the Neck, then we came to Waterman's, drank some grog with Uncle C^t and left him there and we came into the camp. This morning was the first of our occupying our alarm post, which prov'd very disagreeable to the sluggish disposition of the soldiers.

The 26th. After going to the alarm post as usual and attending prayer, Uncle C^t eat breakfast with us, then Capt. Jewett, uncle and I went over to Col. Parsons' regt. where we made many visits, and then came down to the tide mill where we went to swimming; we then came home and took another tour up to Waterman's and then down to the main guard, came part way back and then went down toward Dorchester and then home, eat some dinner and Uncle C^t set out for Cambridge. I went with him as far as Capt. Peters' compa. I then went up to Waterman's, see the rank of officers, learned by the new establishment I am removed from Capt. Jewett's compa. to Capt. Lyon. I then went with Capt. Coit and some other officers to hear them scold at Mr. Blany, the commissary. We then came back to Waterman's where I found Bro. Perkins and his son Erastus, with some other Norwich men. They came with me into our camp, and after prayer I went with them to see the works, and while we were viewing them the regulars fired a shot on our new intrenchment. After it grew dusk we came again up to Waterman's where I set some time in company with Capt. Clift, Ely, Coit, Peters, and several other gentlemen of the

higher sort. A little before beating the tattoo Uncle C¹ and Mr. Rose came in, soon after which Uncle C¹ came home with me and lodg'd in Gove's tent. Sam. Ellis also came to camp this night.

Sunday the 27th. Sam. Ellis went with us to the alarm post, and after our return Uncle C¹, Lt. Gove and I went to swimming again at the tide mill. After our return I had a hearty scold at the baker's, and then wrote a letter home in high spirits. We then attended the funeral of Mr. Tracy, and a very solemn transaction it was. After the funeral was over Capt. Jewett, Capt. Ellsworth and I went up to the hospital where we see our sick and also many others, some of whom we found had suffered intolerably, on which account I was again under a fatal necessity to exert myself again in the scolding way, and little Waters trembled. As we came home we call'd in and see Ens. Leffingwell, Serg^t Perkins and some others who were sick at Brookline, we then came on to the hill above Parsons' camp, where we made a considerable stop to see the firing of the regulars from Bunker Hill on our new intrenchment, which firing has continued most of the whole day. After we came home Uncle C¹ came to see us again. Mr. Ellis was also with us till quite late this night. A very severe storm of thunder, lightning and rain happened this night, rather exceeding all I ever have known before. Cordilla was this day taken of the camp distemper and had a very tedious night.

The 28th. I went on the advanced party to the alarm post, &c. After prayer Uncle C¹ and Mr. Rose set off for Norwich. I took a walk with them a little way, &c. This day I spent principally in writing and endeavouring to comfort my poor boy. Old Deacon Belcher of Preston came to camp to day. Toward night I made application to old Col. Williams' sons for liberty to go into one room of the Col's¹ house to lodge the night following, as I expected his disease was such that he must (otherwise) be out most of the night. With some difficulty I prevailed on the young men for liberty to go in for the night: accordingly I made the best preparation [I] could for utensils, &c., and a little before daylight in I took post with poor 'Dilla in the west front room. It is a large handsome room, genteelly paper'd and a handsome house clock standing in the N. W. corner, which with a pair of hand irons standing on the hearth is the only household furniture in the room. The most comfort I had the night following was in tending on my poor sick son, who rested but very little through the whole night.

The 29th. I was out very early expecting to go on the fatigue party, which must parade at 6 o'clock, but it soon began to rain very hard, by which means I am as yet prevented performing that duty and so have opportunity to attend my boy. Parson Ellis made us a long visit while

¹ Col. Joseph Williams. His house was near Hog Bridge, so called. See Drake's Town of Roxbury, p. 384. — Ens.

it rain'd hard. I set some time in the other room with him and some other gentlemen, and after Mr. Ellis went away Col. Walker with two other officers came in and sat a while. I look on it as a very peculiar favour that we have so good a harbour in so bad a storm, but yet I fear being drove out every hour.

Roxbury, Aug^t 29th, 1775, Col. Williams'. In the afternoon young Dudley told me that I must remove Cordilla into another room, in order to make room for Col. Walker and some other officers who were coming into the room where he was, whereupon I, with the help of Serg^t Clark, carried our things into the east south room. 'Dilla remains very poor. I procured a portion of castor oil of Doc. Waldo, which I have given him. I also called in Doc. Adams this day to see him, who gave some directions concerning him, although he had no medicines to apply. Jos^h Williams came into the camp toward night. This morning William Billings also came into the camp, who tells me that Capt. Gates was supposed to be near his end. After making the necessary preparations for the night I turn'd in, had some little assistance from one of Capt. Ellsworth's men who was looking after one Serg^t Russell of that company. He gave Dilla some barley water to drink. Doct^r How (who lodges in this house) gave him some drops, which somewhat eas'd his pain, but after all the poor boy had a tedious night and I myself something unwell, being threatned with the same disorder. -

The 30th. In the morning it rained very hard. I was out in the camp quite early, the people mostly in bed. No turning out to the alarm post this morning. I then came back, staid with Dilla some time. Corp^s Spears came in and helped a little. I employ'd Serg^t Clark to go and try to buy me a fowl to make some broth, but he could not procure any, but sent off old Craft on the same errand, who has not yet returned. This forenoon is very rainy. A sergeant of Capt. Ellsworth's company came into the house and lay down on the young Dudley's bed without leave and contrary to the owner's mind; whereupon some warm words ensued and finally a clinch which tore the sergeant's shirt, and it was with some difficulty that I parted them. It is a very rainy, uncomfortable day in the camp, but I have a good dry house to keep in as yet with my poor sick boy, who engrosses my chief concern and attention at this time.

About noon old Mr. Craft returned with a very good fowl, which he boil'd with a little rice, but the poor boy could not eat any of the fowl nor not more than three or four spoonfulls of the broth. Just at night Doct. Waldo came in and gave Capt. Pease and Cordilla each of them a vomit. Dilla's worked very well, and after he had done vomiting he slept near an hour, which I suppose to be the longest nap he has slept since last Saturday night. He had a restless night, but not more so than several of the last nights. Having Capt. Pease and his attendants

in the same room, although on some accounts we had rather have been without so much company, yet I slept more this night than I had done for several nights past, as they assisted some in looking after the boy.

The 31st. In the morning it was lowery and rained again: no turning out to the alarm post again. Sometime in the morning Doct. How directed me to the white decoction for Cordilla, made of hull'd barley, cinnamon and burnt hartshorn, but by the time we had got it prepared Doct. Waldo came in and ordered a portion of the salts as a purge to be taken first: whereupon we gave it to him, and about 11 o'clock Doct. Turner came into the camp and after viewing the other sick made us a visit, gave Dilla a little elixer vitae. The people crowded in on us to see the doctor, and the weather being wet and muddy the men were as dirty as horses. About noon Col. Williams came in and did some business with a Hartford gentleman, who told us of a late skirmish of our army with the men-of-war's men at N. York, in which it seems by report that our people had the better. About noon Dilla is in great pain, his phisic begins to work, which I hope will give him ease in due time. However in his greatest pain he will not own that he wishes himself at home.

This day I signed the articles prescribed by the Continental Congress for regulating the American army.

The Gunpowder Plot subscription was also handed about this day, to raise £50 lawful money for that pious use; most or all of the officers in our regiment signed it.

About 2 o'clock Dilla proposed eating some of the breast of the fowl I bo't for him yesterday; accordingly some of it was provided and he eat it like himself. Lt. Chamberlin tells me he has been to the hospital where our sick are. Serg't Harris (he says) is not like to live, but Peleg Edwards and our other men are better. I then wrote a letter to my wife, on a table in the room where I attend on my boy. I have some thoughts of writing one to bro. Elisha, but I hardly know what to write. Toward night I received a newspaper for Col. Williams and went into the other room to deliver it, when the Col. set me to read part of the paper. I read several of Hutchinson's letters, and just at night I went into the camp, found Sam. Ellis had obtain'd a certificate of the surgeon in order to procure a furlough for his son Peter. I borrowed a slawbunk of Lt. Chamberlin for my son to lay on, and this afternoon I wrote a letter to Bro. Elisha. In the evening I also wrote another to my wife, and Cordilla resting comfortably I turned in on the floor about 10 o'clock, slept till 1 in the morning and found Dilla was in a sound sleep and had not been up since I went to bed; then I went to fixing him some drink, and just as I had got it ready I heard a mighty firing of cannon for some time: some of the people of Col. Walker's room went up on the hill to enquire into the affair and return while I am writing; they learn by the centry that the firing was on the Neck, but on what account is uncertain to us as yet.

Sept. 1st. In the morning Cordilla appears to be considerably better, has rested better than he has done since Sunday last, his countenance shews that he is better. After attending on him a little I went into the camp and enquired into the affair of the firing last night, by which I find we have lost two men (*viz.*) one Adijah Dewa in the Bay forces. I understand by Serg^t Clark that he lived last winter with one Preston in Pachague, — he belonged to Westfield: the other is one Oliver Carpenter in our reg^t and Capt. Ellsworth's company, — he belongs to Stafford. The occasion of the fire beginning I understand was two of the regulars deserting from their guard and coming to our main guard. I was order'd with the fatigue party this morning, went on to the parade for that purpose, but we were sent back on account of the rain, whereupon I came in to the camp, see poor Oliver Carpenter's corpse, which was sadly mangled to pieces and a 12 lb. shot taken out of his body, — an instance I never yet heard of, that a cannon ball should lodge in a man's body. I then went to Col. Williams' and wrote a letter to my cousin Silas, carried it to Sam. Ellis and went a little way with him and Peter his son, who this day obtain'd a furlough to go home. In the afternoon I went again with the fatigue party, and as I was going to the parade I see Doct. Elisha Perkins and Capt. Dan^l Bishop. We went to work on the east part of the Neck in the intrenchment where the regulars gave us two shot, one of which I suppose I might have catch'd in my hand if I had only held it out, but I did not want to. I came home at night and find my boy remains better. There has been this day a great deal of firing over on Cambridge side, but the particulars we have not yet learnt, only it is reported that the enemy have killed two of our men and we four of them. The night following Cordilla rested somewhat comfortable, or at least much better than he had for some nights before except the last.

Sept. 2d, 1775. Having been broke of my rest of late I lay in bed some later than usual. When I got up and went into the camp I found one of our men (Case Cook) was confin'd by the adjutant for not turning out to the alarm post: the reason he did not was because he had none to cook a breakfast for him, and he warn'd for the main guard, and supposed he could not cook seasonably for himself if in case he attended the alarm post as usual. After a while a court of inquisition was held at Capt. Ripley's tent on Cook and a number of other prisoners, where I appear'd and by speaking a word in Cook's behalf I gave some offence, nor do I care how much since the necessity of the case required it.

This morning my neighbour Randal came into the camp, bro't me a letter from my wife, with the agreeable news of my family's being in health, &c. He also bro't some other things to me from home and likewise a letter from Silas, a letter from Darius to Cordilla. I spent the bigger part of the forenoon with Randal, went up on the hill and

see the firing from the regulars' works to ours and also from ours to theirs, we then came down into the camp. We were threatned being turned out of Col. Williams' house this day, but however I somehow obtained slightly liberty to stay in a little longer, but Lient. Pease moved out this day. Toward night I went up to Jamaica Plain after a clean shirt, came home about sunset; soon after I got home I was call'd on to go to the piquet in the room of Lt. Hall, I having been before warned for the main guard tomorrow, but however I was very willing to make the exchange; accordingly I went on to the parade and was assigned for the lines on the right of our works. When we came down we found Col. Huntington was field officer of the piquet and he sent me with Capt. Granger of Col. Learned's and Eus. Osborn of Gen' Wooster's reg^t and 56 men to man Lamb's Dam and keep out proper centries, where we staid and heard 5 or 6 nine o'clock guns fired on board of different ships as we supposed, and also the beating of the tattoo in Boston, &c. We also staid till we heard many of the clocks in Boston strike 10, and some time after that we were relieved by another party of the same proportion, we then march'd back to our lines where we were first assigned and spent the remainder of the night, although it was somewhat tedious.

The 3d. When I came home in the morning I found my boy no poorer than I left him last night. Will^m Bidwell had staid with him, whom I instructed my boy to call his mother. I yesterday bo't a loin of mutton for him, Bidwell bak'd it in a pot and made a very [good] dish. I eat part of a breakfast of it. I then took a short nap in which I dream'd our reg^t was ordered immediately to Ticonderoga and I was greatly concerned how to send home my boy, as I knew him not able to perform so long a march in his present low state of health, but I was soon eas'd of this trouble by young Pulman's awaking and calling me to our tent to eat some chocolate, &c.

Roxbury Camp, Sund. Sept. 3d, 1775. A very rainy day. I wrote my yesterday's adventures and also a letter to my wife; heard a sermon in Col. Walker's room from Psalm 137th, 5th, 6th, and from Lamentations 1st, 9th, by Mr. Barnum of Taunton.¹ Bidwell bro't Dilla a dish of broth with some sheep's head and pluck very well cook'd. Toward night I wrote a letter to bro. Elisha, giving him an account of my last night's rg^t, &c. At night we lodg'd again in Col. Williams' house, too much crowded with a parcel of men as dirty as hogs: one nasty dog spit a pint of tobacco juice, &c., on to the floor and the foot of my bed, which however made me scold a little in the morning.

¹ Rev. Caleb Barnum. He was born at Danbury, Conn., June 30, 1737, graduated at Princeton College, New Jersey, in 1757, and received the honorary degree of A.M. from Harvard College in 1768. He was first settled at Wrentham, and afterward at Taunton, Mass. In 1776 he entered the army as a chaplain, and died at Pittsfield, August 23, in that year. See Emery's Ministry of Taunton, vol. ii. pp. 1-29. — Eps.

The 4th. A year ago this day was our famous alarm in Connecticut, in which I rid up as far as Plainfield, &c. The weather yet remains wet and uncomfortable. A number of our officers concluded to have a division of the tory land in the neighborhood, or at least have the wood cut off for the use of the army. A little before noon the cloud blew off and the sun shin'd out pleasant and fair. In the afternoon I went with Lieut. Chamberlin down into Dorchester to see one Capt. Chamberlin of Col. Bailey's reg^t. I had a great deal of discourse with the lieu^t on the road, &c. After I came back the camp was fill'd with news concerning a detachment of our army's going to Quebec. The night following Cordilla rested better than he had done any night since he was sick.

The 5th. I turn'd out half after two o'clock, read the 138th Psalm, &c. I then wrote a letter to my wife, and at the usual time turn'd out to the alarm post. After I came back and attended prayer I went up to Brookline to get some honey and some mint julep of Doct. Turner for Cordilla. As I was going up there I met Jasper Edwards, who was going home to Norwich, I sent my letter by him. I then went to the doctor's and rec^d the medicines for my boy, eat breakfast with him and Ens. Leffingwell. I then came home through Col. Parsons' reg^t. Lieut. Hide came home with me, &c. In the afternoon I received a letter from sister Rudd and another from her son Jonⁿ. I had also some conversation with Col. Huntington at my tent. I also expected some more, by the by discourse I have heard, but however I did not finally hear it, and so was disappointed. This passage would need explanation to a stranger, but I know what it means and write for refreshing my own memory in some future time, &c.

The 6th. I turn'd out at 3 o'clock, began to write to my wife but was oblig'd to desist in order to attend the alarm post. When we were there I occasionally mentioned among the officers Mr. Beckwith's observation, (viz.) that before he left home he made a covenant with his eyes concerning women, when Col. Huntington replied that there was no need of that here, for he and Mr. Trumbull were yesterday oblig'd to use a spy glass to get a sight at one. I spent this day chiefly in procuring boards and pitching a tent for lodging, and after all my trouble I find I must be crowded with a number of the boys. Serg^t Huntington help'd me do the work, &c. Toward night Jo. Randal came back from Cambridge into the camp, I went with him up to the suttler's where we drank some brandy, &c., together; we then went down to the house where Cordilla keeps, and I then went with him, Randal and Nat. Brewster over to Col. Parsons' reg^t where we staid sometime and Randal and I came back together. It was a very pleasant moonshine night. Randal slept with us at Col. Williams' house.

The 7th. I arose half after three, Randal got up at the same time,

and I wrote to my wife again. Just as I was going out to attend the alarm post Lt. Brewster came in and so we drank a bitter together and went to the alarm post. When I came back I found Randal was gone off. I then eat some bread and milk and went to work with Serg^t Huntington at making a slawbunk for Cordilla and I to lodge on, in which employ we spent most of the forenoon. Capt. Jewett complain'd for want of an allowance of women, on which an old market woman gave him a sufficient allowance. A little after noon Lt. Andrew Fitch came to our camp, I set some time with him in Capt. Ripley's markee. Just at night I took a walk with Serg^t Clark up to Jamaica Plains, where I have had some washing done. Clark and I had considerable discourse together on the road. I came back into the camp and after supper went to Col. Williams' to lodge again, and also wrote the above lines.

The 8th. I arose a little after 3 o'clock, attended the alarm post as usual. I then went to Capt. Ripley's barber and got shaved, and at 8 o'clock went on to the main guard. While we were on the grand parade it was observ'd by several officers that this is the anniversary of Johnson's fight and many other successful adventures of the American arms.¹ We march'd down to the main guard house where we reliev'd the old guard. I went with Lt. Parker of Col. Brewer's reg^t to the redoubt, spent some time with him and return'd to the guard house, spent some time with Capt. Wade and the other officers of the guard, and then I took charge of the redoubts myself where I was posted until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when I was reliev'd by another subaltern and return'd to the guard house, drank some brandy, and Cordilla bro't me some dinner. After dinner I attended Maj. Trumbull and some other Connecticut gentlemen round on the lines, and soon after our return the enemy fired several shot and shells on our works. Toward night Maj. Brewer, Capt. Coit and some other gentlemen visited us, had a high campⁿ, &c. They left us as it grew dusk. The night following was remarkably light and pleasant. About two o'clock I went to the redoubt on the right of the road, where I staid till it grew quite light and was then relieved with my party. Col. Shepard and Capt. Robinson, who belong'd to the piquet, lodg'd in this redoubt until gun firing when they march'd off with the piquet. While I commanded the redoubt in the day time I attended four flags of truce, had considerable discourse with the regular officers, who told me of their dogs eating roast beef, chickens, &c. I also see one Mr. Parker, who desired me to acquaint Mrs. Green that he had certain intelligence that Capt. Callahan with whom her son David sail'd for Great Britain had arriv'd there in 29 days and landed his passengers all well. He also acquainted me of the

¹ The principal reference is to Sir William Johnson's victory over Baron Dieskau, at Lake George, Sept. 8, 1755. — Eds.

welfare of Dan^l Hubbard and family with their connections. I could do no less than ask some questions of this kind. I also made a great deal of enquiry after such regular officers as I had known in the army, was answer'd to every question in the most free, affable and polite manner, and indeed we held a discourse of near half an hour while some gentlemen were doing business, which appear'd agreeable enough on both sides. I propos'd to them to erect a coffee house for the convenience of such occasional conferences, upon which we held a considerable banter with good humor on both sides, and we finally parted with great appearance of friendship.

Sept. 9th, 1775. Sun about half an hour high I went again to the redoubt, where I continu'd until the guard was reliev'd, in which time we had two shot pass'd over our heads with a very quick motion, squeal'd very loud as they went by us. As Mr. Adams and I were bro't to by Capt. Peters who insisted on going with us to a suttler's where the gin sling pass'd very briskly untill it found a passage through the said capt's body into the chimney, with a very good grace and great confidence. About 11 o'clock I came home to my markee where I eat two pints of good bread and milk, and then spent about an hour very agreeably in reading seven letters which I received since the guard was reliev'd. These letters were most of them bro't by Mr. John Smith who came into the camp yesterday, I also see him this morning down at the guard house. In the afternoon I visited Corporal Spears who has somehow broke into the guard house while I was on duty. I then went with Cordilla to Col. Williams' house, found it very dirty, and more too. We spent some time in sweeping and cleaning up the room we have lodg'd in for some time. I then did some other little chores and went to writing the foregoing pages, and at night eat hasty pudding for supper. I then went to lodge at Col. Williams' with Cordilla again.

Sund. the 10th. In the morning I attended the alarm post as usual, only by means of the reg^t marching off earlier than usual I had the pleasure of walking down by myself; after we came back and attended prayers I eat some boil'd eggs with Capt. Jewett and Cordilla, then I eat some clams with Ens. Leffingwell, and before meeting I wrote a letter to my wife. I then heard Mr. Barnum from Isaiah 8th, 9th to the 15th. Between meetings I was some time in company with Spooner of Norwich, the printer, and some others. I then went to meeting again and heard Parson Ellis from Psalm 147th, 11th, and after meeting I took a walk with Lt. Brewster down on to the Neck, to view the works, &c. At night we were mightily surprised by two of our foolish fellows carelessly firing a gun in the camp. They are now both under guard with Corp^l Spears, and what will be the consequence I know not. In the evening I went again to Col. Williams' house to lodge, where I am now finishing writing for to night.

The 11th. I turn'd out very early, attended the alarm post as usual, &c., then went with John Smith to Lieut. Brewster's markee, where we eat breakfast together. I then went to Col. Williams' house where I wrote a letter to my father, one to Capt. Hubbard and one to my wife. I then went into the camp and up to Waterman's where I see J^r. Post, sent my letter to Capt. Hubbard by him. I then came home and wrote a letter to Cynthia and gave my letters to Mr. Smith and toward night he went away. After prayer the doings of the late regimental court martial was read and partly put in execution. I went down to Col. Douglas' quarters with Lt. Brewster; after I came home to my tent Maj. Clark came to my tent and undertook to reprove me for what I thought and still think to be my indispensable duty. Cordilla and I this night lodg'd in our new tent, being the first of our lodging in camp since Cordilla's sickness. We have lodg'd in the Col's house a fortnight, and being a very cold night we lay somewhat cold.

This day I understand our people have taken six regulars down toward Dorchester. They were carried to our general officers and then over to Cambridge.

The 12th. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, and after breakfast I went down to Col. Williams' house again and finish'd writing a letter to bro. Rudd, which I began yesterday, after which I wrote my yesterday's adventures, &c. Lt. Chamberlin is now here sick. In the afternoon I was warn'd on the piquet, and play'd a game at ball with the officers of the reg^t. At night I went on to the piquet on the left hand of the Neck, plac'd 8 centries down by the marsh and kept the remainder of our party up by the old house on the Neck. Soon after I had plac'd my first centries I was taken with a very sick turn which lasted me good part of the night. It was a cold uncomfortable night and I was glad when morning came, for I had no other lodging than two rough bar posts, and best house we had was covered only with rails and poles.

The 13th. When the reg^t came to the alarm post I called in the centries and came home and dismiss'd my piquet, after which I turned in and slept a little. Some time in the morning I eat some clams for breakfast. I then went down to Col. Williams' to Lt. Chamberlin, but he was gone out, whereupon I sat and discours'd with the Col. some time upon several subjects, (viz.) the first settlement of this town, the place where old Mr. Eliot, call'd by Neal the Apostle of the Indians, lived and died, where he was buried, &c. Mr. Walter was buried in the same tomb. He also told me so much of his war adventures that I was tired of hearing them. When I came into the camp I found most of the officers at Capt. Ripley's tent, I join'd them and sign'd a petition to the Continental Congress for raising the wages of the captains and subalterns of the army. In the afternoon I took a walk up to

Jamaica Plains with Lieut. Chamberlin and Cordilla. Mr. Chamberlin turn'd up to Brookline Hospital, and Dilla and I came home alone. I have been much unwell most of this day, but hope a night's sleep will cure me, &c.

Roxbury Camp, Sept. 14th, 1775. In the morning went to the alarm post, &c., as usual. The fore part of the day I attended Doct. Turner as he went through the company among the sick in order to make out a weekly return, after which I went with the doct. to Col. Huntington's quarters, where we drank some punch, I then went with him up to the hospital at Hallowell's house, where I see our Asa Gates and James Fitzgerald who were sick there. I then went up toward the Punch Bowl with him to an old house where Lt. Campbell was sick. I came home about noon, and after dinner Lieut. Gove and I went over to Col. Parsons' reg^t, see Serg^t Maj. Cleveland, Serg^t Denison and Adjutant Day, spent some time with them and then some more in hearing Mr. Johnson pray, &c., then see a game at football and came home.

Sept. 15th. In the morning I was much unwell, but visited the alarm post, &c., as usual, but Ens. Leffingwell had lost his garters, &c. I wrote a letter to my wife and took a walk up on the hill; when I came back I was call'd on to go with Capt. Ripley and Lt. Gove to inspect some meat delivered to the regiment by the commissary, whereupon we found 30 bbl. of pork and 5 bbl. of beef that was unfit for use, and accordingly return'd. This morning we have a mighty report that the enemy are in hourly expectation of a reinforcement of 15,000 men, and that Gen^l Washington has sent orders for the other three companies of our regiment immediately to join us. Capt. Jewett came home from the main guard and told us that he had took a regular deserter the night past, &c. In the afternoon I went with Lt. Gove and Ens. Leffingwell up to the hospital at Hallowell's house, and from there with Leffingwell and Doct. Waldo 2 miles back in Roxbury to one Chamberlin's where Serg^t Huntington is sick. We had much agreeable discourse on the way and eat a great many apples and some watermellons at Deac. Murdock's as we came back. A little before daylight in we got back as far as the hospital, where we heard Serg^t Lyman sing a little and then went home into the camp late and weary.

The 16th. After the alarm post, &c., I eat a very good breakfast of warm bread and good camp butter with a good dish of coffee. I then set out with Capt. Jewett and went to both hospitals, (viz.) Hallowell's and Bernard's houses, to visit the sick. After we had seen them I parted with the captain at Hallowell's and went alone up to Chamberlin's to see Serg^t Huntington, found him much better than yesterday. I assisted in removing of him to another Chamberlin's house, not far distant from the first. I there eat a very homelike dinner, sat with the

people awhile and then set out for the camp. By the way I took a fancy to go across the lots, by which means I came on to an old burying yard, much run over to bushes: it is situate on the east side of the upper road, some way southward of the Peacock tavern. In this yard I found a very large tomb or vault with the mouth open, I conclude for the interment of Maj' Mayo's son, who, I understand, died in the neighbourhood yesterday. I also had the curiosity to look into this solemn repository of the dead. I found it a large arch made of brick, perhaps on the inside about 10 feet square and in the center about as high from the bottom. I counted in it 16 coffins of different sizes, some of which appear'd very old and almost broke to pieces. After gratifying my curiosity as aforesaid I sat down in the upper part of the burying yard, where I wrote this with the two foregoing pages. I then came down to the Hallowell hospital, where I waited some time to see Doct. Turner, and at last he came home, and when he had given me some bitters for my boy I came down to the camp very weary, &c. This day toward night the enemy fired several shot on our guard, &c.

Sund. the 17th. In the morning I was much unwell, but favour'd by the rains preventing turning the regiment out to the alarm post. I heard Mr. Ellis from Matt. 6th, 6th, and about noon I went up to Waterman's, see Erastus Perkins, heard considerable discourse concerning Col. Dyer's insolence, which, if it be true, is a most shocking affair, and to be hoped will be made publick. In the afternoon I heard Mr. Ellis again on the same subject. After meeting a funeral of one of Capt. Ellsworth's men was attended up at Brookline, but being unwell myself I did not attend, but went up on the hill and then I went down into Roxbury street, where I found (according to Col. Williams' directions) the place of old Mr. Eliot's habitation. It is the same Mr. Eliot who was call'd by the ancient historians of this country the Apostle of the Indians. He was the first settled minister in Roxbury. I then went down into the burying yard but could not find the particular tomb wherein the old man was deposited. I spent near an hour in this yard in viewing the ancient inscriptions, &c. and then went round on the left of the line, where we have a new fort, and came over a small dam or dyke and up to Waterman's, where I set sometime in company with Col. Douglas, Maj. Thompson and Capt. Gale. The discourse was principally concerning Bushnell's machine, &c. I came into camp about sunset, and in the evening was some time in Lt. Chamberlin's tent, heard Ensⁿ Vaughn tell several stories, &c. Then went to bed and rested very well.

The 18th. I arose early in the morning and very well, attend the alarm post, &c., as usual, heard a famous report of an action of importance at St. John's which only wants confirmation to please people. After breakfast I wrote a letter to my wife. I also see Mr. Edgerton

and several other gentlemen from Norwich, heard that Mr. Isaac Tracy and Ben. Huntington, Esq. were chose representatives for Norwich. Some time before noon Cordilla went with Wm. Bidwell up into Roxbury about 4 miles, where Serg^t Huntington is sick, &c., not to return till tomorrow. Toward night Simon Gates came to me with a writing from Doct. Turner concerning his son Asa Gates of our company, who has been sick for some time. I went with him to Col. Huntington, Gen^l Spencer and Gen^l Ward, where we finally obtained a discharge for his son, after which we went down to the main guard. The enemy had fired a shot this day through the officers' room and slightly wounded two of the officers. After I had shewn Mr. Gates all the curiosities I was capable of, I return'd to camp and in the evening spent some time at Lieut. Chamberlin's tent, heard Ens^s Vaughn tell many stories, some of which were very extraordinary, &c.

Sept. the 19th, 1775. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, after which I took a very retired walk up on the south part of the hill. As I returned I came back by the new fort where Ens. Leffingwell commanded the working party. I staid there some time, see the regulars fire several shot, &c. After I came home I went up to Gen^l Ward's with Lt. Chamberlin of design to see some deserters, but when we came there we found we were so late, the prisoners being discharg'd and gone off, whereupon we came down to Col. Parsons' reg^t and made Lt. Bingham a visit. We had also some of the company of Maj. Prentice, Capt. Coit, Capt. Chapman, &c. When I came home I had a hearty dinner of pork and cabbage, and I then wrote a letter to my wife. While I was about it I was warn'd on the piquet for this night. Accordingly at the usual time I paraded and again took the piquet on the left of the neck, had no house but the clouds, which were somewhat leaky, by which means the night prov'd tedious and we wish'd for the day as heartily as St. Paul and his company did when they were shipwrecked.

The 20th. I dismissed my piquet in the morning as usual and went home and slept a nap. After breakfast I went with Ens. Leffingwell up to Waterman's where I see Azariah Lathrop, Russell Hubbard and some other Connecticut gentlemen. While we were there there fell a very heavy shower of rain. As I came home I met Charles Avery and Sam. Capron who gave me a letter from old uncle C^t. I also wrote the old man an answer this day. The night following was rather colder than we have had before.

The 21st. In the morning had a very cold turning out to the alarm post. After my return I wrote my wife a cold letter, and after breakfast I went with Lt. Chamberlin and Ens. Vaughn up to Hallowell's hospital, and from there I went to see Serg^t Huntington and Cordilla, who were up at old father Chamberlin's; found them pretty well; went

with Huntington up to one Daviss' where we eat a hearty meal of peaches and return'd to Chamberlin's where we eat a hearty dinner of pork and cabbage. After dinner Cordilla and I came home to the camp by way of the old burying place that I was at last Saturday. We there see another tomb open just by and much like the other that I see last Saturday. We look'd into it and observ'd twelve coffins, small and great; among them was one some broken, the lid of which I rais'd up with my staff and see the head of a corpse which was reduced to nothing but only the bones, the skin and flesh together with the burying clothes being entirely consum'd. We met Serg^t Harris at Jamaica Plain, drank some brandy with him and came into camp a little before night. I found that Quarter-master Fanning was return'd from Norwich. He afterwards gave me a letter from Mr. Joshua Lathrop, consequent on my writing to Capt. Hubbard the intelligence I gain'd concerning his connections in Boston on the 8th inst. I spent some time this evening with Sam. Capron at our tent: he gave us some account of the Stonington affair, &c.

The 22d. After visiting the alarm post, &c., as usual, I wrote to bro. Elisha and my wife, in order to send by Mr. Capron or Mr. Avery. I then took a walk up to the new fort with Lt. Bingham and Ens. Vaughn. Chamberlin was there on the works, &c. This being the day of the king's coronation, there was a round fired from the cannon of the ships in Boston harbor and also on the common. About 1 o'clock in consequence of a previous appointment I went to the Col's and din'd with him and a number of other gentlemen. In the afternoon it was very rainy and wet. Toward night my cousin Silas came into camp, brought me a letter from my wife and also an account of my friends' welfare at home. I went with Silas up to the meeting house, &c., then we came back and hunted till dark for his horse, but could not find him.

The 23d. Silas and I arose very early and instead of going to the alarm post I went with Silas to look for his horse. After some time we returned, not finding him, but after breakfast concluded to go back into the country and make inquiry, but before we left the camp we see a man coming in with the horse. I then went to Smith's tavern with Silas and the man that took up his horse, drank some brandy with them, and Silas and I went up to the meeting house and see the regulars fire, and while we stood looking on them the dogs hove one shot right over our heads, it lodg'd near the fort on the hill. After gazing there a while we came back into the camp, fix'd ourselves and set off for Cambridge. We had a very pretty walk there, being troubled with no other company on the road. After spending a little time in town we went up on to Prospect Hill, view'd the works there and on Bunker Hill, &c., after which I went to Mr. Murray's quarters

but could not find him. We then came down into town again, found Jo. Williams, &c. He went and shew'd us Gen^l Washington's quarters, &c. I there lit of a number of the Kirtlands, went to Peleg Hide's store where I set some time, and then Silas and I came back to Roxbury. This day there was upward of an hundred shot fired from the lines and battery of the regulars, without doing of us any material damage. There has not been so many shot fired in one day since we came into camp.

Sund. the 24th. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual. Silas went with us. After we came back Silas and I went to take a breakfast with Capt. Peters and a number of other gentlemen, who were pretty high fellows. We then went with Lt. Brewster down to our lines on the Neck, view'd the works, &c. After we came back I went with Silas after his horse and he set off for Cambridge again. At about one o'clock I din'd with my old friend Burril and his wife. In the afternoon I heard Mr. Ellis from Hebrews 1st, 14th. After meeting I did some writing in my tent, and while I am thus employ'd Capt. Humphrys warn'd me for the main guard tomorrow. In the evening Silas came back from Cambridge, and lodg'd the night following in Lt. Gove's tent.

The 25th. I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual. Silas went with me, and at the usual time I went with Silas on to the parade in order for the main guard. I receiv'd charge of the 2d relief and went on to the redoubts, where I stay'd till the middle of the afternoon. I wrote a letter to my wife. Our people fired three shot on the regulars while I was there. When I was reliev'd I came to the guard house and join'd the officer of the guard. Capt. Hammond commanded the guard, Col. Wyllys was field officer of the day. In the evening Col. Leonard the field officer of the piquet with Capt. Stockbridge, who was lately wounded by a cannon ball in the guard-house, and also a number of other officers of the piquet came in with us, and the night was spent in a rakish rather than agreeable manner to me, however I went several rounds, the grand rounds among the rest, and on the whole had as comfortable a guard as we could well expect.

The 26th. Our guard was relieved in the usual time and manner by Capt. Ellsworth, &c. I then came up to Waterman's and took a breakfast with Col. Wyllys. About 10 o'clock came home to our tent, and went with Silas to Mr. Parker's after his horse. I also went with him on his way home up to Jamaica Plain, came back with Lt. Brewster. In the afternoon went with Lt. Pease over to Spencer's reg^t, spent some time at Capt. Robinson's tent in company with Capt. Chamberlin from Connecticut, &c. Pease and I then went up beyond the Punch Bowl tavern, to find him some white stockin'd woman, &c. As we came back I was in to see Lt. Humphrys and Lt. Mills, and

just at night Pease and I went down toward Dorchester to see Capt. Walbridge of Col. Brewer's reg^t, came back in company with Maj. Danielson, &c.

The 27th September, 1775. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, was then down at Lt. Brewster's tent to drink Ens. Perkins' cherry rum, came back and eat breakfast with Maj. Clark at our tent, after which I wrote my journal up to the present time. After dinner went with Capt. Jewett over to Col. Parsons', convers'd some with the Col. on account of the new adopted plan of filling up vacancies, &c. I then went up to Spencer's reg^t, see Mr. Whiting on the same account, and as I came home was catch'd in a hard shower of rain.

The 28th. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, then spent the greatest part of the forenoon in drawing a remonstrance to Gen^l Washington, and at noon din'd at the Col's tent with the Royal Lodge, and in the afternoon I went with the capt. over to Gen^l Spencer's reg^t, set sometime with Lt. Champion, then went down to Parsons' reg^t, was in at Maj. Prentice's tent, see Lt. Andrew Fitch, &c., there. I then heard Mr. Johnson pray and came home.

The 29th. After attending the alarm post, &c., I went over to Col. Parsons', had some discourse with him, then took a walk up on to the hill with Serg^t Major Cleveland, where we set and talk'd some time, I then came home and fell in company with Doct. Waldo. He din'd with me, and after dinner Capt. Jewett, the doctor and I went up to Brookline to see Ens. Leffingwell who is sick there. We then went a mile further in order to get some peaches, but found very poor picking indeed, so we came back about as light as we went. Call'd at Parsons' reg^t, see one of the continental commissions, which have of late made so much noise in the army, came home and at prayer see Capt. Rowley of our reg^t. In the evening Lt. Gove and I went to see Capt. Peters, set by his fire some time and then came home. It prov'd a very cold frosty night.

Sept. 30th, 1775. It was a very cold morning. I escap'd going to the alarm post on account of going on the fatigue party. At 7 o'clock received the tools and went into the new fort: soon after we got to work our people fired a shot from our front on the right of the lines, upon which the regulars return'd about 30 heavy cannon, which on account of the clearness of the air sounded much the best of any guns I have heard since I came into the camp: but I dont learn they have done any execution. Capt. Rowley and his officers came to me and spent some time with me while I was on the works this forenoon. At noon Lt. Gove and I were admitted into the regimental mess for the purpose of dining together. In the afternoon I attended the work at the front again. A ship came into the harbour, on which occasion there was many guns fir'd in Boston and on board the ship. Capt. Lyon's company came into town this day.

Sund. Oct. 1st. In the morning I attended at the alarm post, &c., as usual, then Beckwith and I took a walk up on the new fort, where we look'd out some time. After we came back I took a walk alone over beyond Gen^l Heath's house, and when I return'd I went [with] Lt. Chamberlin over to Spencer's reg^t. Heard Mr. Boardman¹ from Coloss. 1st, 19th, was in at Capt. Robinson's tent a little while and then came home. In the afternoon I heard Mr. Ellis from Hosea 5th, 4th, lik'd him but indifferently, &c. After meeting a number of us deliver'd our commissions to Capt. Humphrys in order for the Col. to carry them to Cambridge tomorrow, that so we may receive continental ones. In the evening I heard a report that Doct. Church, surgeon general, was detected in holding a correspondence with the enemy by letters, if true a very devilish thing indeed, and it is hop'd that time will discover the truth of the charge.

A few days past, it is said, that there was a large vessel taken at Cape Ann bound from Quebec to Boston loaded with provisions, and in it I understand is a packet from Governor Carlton to Gen^l Gage, with intelligence somewhat favourable to the Americans. I hope it is true.

The 2d. In the morning I attended the alarm post as usual, and after breakfast went with Lt. Gove and Ens. Vaughn up to Gen^l Spencer's and Col. Parsons' reg^{ts}, then we went down below the meeting house and see Col. Learned's reg^t as they were mustering before Mr. Mifflin, the muster master general. This day was the first of Lt. Gove and I dining with the officers' mess. After dinner I wrote a letter to my wife and went with Lt. Gove up to the sign of the Punch Bowl in order to send it home by Ens. Leffingwell. We staid there some time waiting to see Leffingwell and finally he came and receiv'd our letters and set off for Norwich as we set out for the camp. We came down to Col. Danielson's reg^t who were paraded in order to be muster'd, but the muster [master] general did not come seasonably, and so the reg^t were dismiss'd without. We then came home by way of Col. Walker's reg^t, see Lt. Robertson and some others play at nine holes, &c. In the evening Capt. Jewett went to Dedham in order to overtake Ens. Leffingwell to get some papers, &c., that were very necessary for the company. He return'd next morning, not finding him.

The 3d. In the morning it rain'd, by which means we were prevented attending the alarm post as usual. This forenoon I went with Lieut Gove up to Jamaica Plain to see Elijah Johnson who is sick. Coming back met Doct. Cogswell who told us considerable news concerning the famous Doct. Church, now confin'd at Cambridge for treachery, &c. Came back and din'd with the mess, Doct. Church was

¹ Rev. Benjamin Boardman, of Middle Haddam, Conn., chaplain of the Second Connecticut Regiment. His diary at the siege of Boston was printed in 2 Proceedings, vol. vii. pp. 400-413. — Eds.

all the toast. After dinner play'd a little at ball, &c. Toward night Capt. Belcher and Simon Brewster came into camp, by whom I hear of the death of old uncle Wm. Brewster, who died last week. The night following I lodg'd very cold and was much unwell.

Octob. 4th, 1775. Was a very chilly cold morning. It falling to my lot to provide a dinner for the mess I spent some time in providing the necessary materials, and about 10 o'clock went with Capt. Belcher, Lts. Gove and Chamberlin over to see Col. Parsons' reg^t muster. Coming back was in Eldredge's with Capt. Ripley, Lt. Hubbard and a great number of officers of Spencer's and Parsons' reg^{ts}. When we came home our people were at dinner. Col. Keyes dined with us, &c. After dinner we soon paraded in order to muster, and soon went through the ceremonies to good acceptance. Toward night it began to rain. Amos Andrus came into the camp, tells me of my family's being well when he left home. This day Lt. Turrel came into camp.

The 5th. Was a wet lowery day. Capt. Jewett and I went to the guard house, see Jonⁿ Harrington, who Serg^t Clark and Corp^l Burnham bro't home last night, he having deserted Col. Hitchcock's reg^t in the Rhode Island service and afterward inlisted under Lt. Gove. Clark and Burnham went after him last Saturday and found him at Smithfield in the Colony of Rhode Island. The capt. and I after making the old fellow a short visit went to Gen^l Spencer's for advice concerning him, upon which Clark and Burnham were sent to Cambridge with him. This day I wrote a letter to my wife and one to my father. In the evening we had a mighty rumpus about a certain corporal who it seems was somewhat groggy. A sergeant, &c., exerted himself much on the occasion, although not very much to his honour.

Roxbury camp, Oct. 6th, 1775. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, after which I wrote a letter to bro. Elisha in great haste in order to send with my other letters by Simon Brewster. I also went over to Col. Parsons' reg^t with Mr. Post. While we sit there we hear some cannon, on which we immediately went up on the hill where we spent about half an hour looking on the dogs to see them fire, in which time they gave us about an hundred shot. I understand they shot off a man's arm, belonging to Col. Brewer's reg^t and kill'd two cows. So much for 100 shot. After this I came back to our camp with Mr. Post and then went with him up to Waterman's, spent some time with him there and also see old Andrew Miner, with whom I served in my first campaign in 1756, under Col. Whiting, &c.¹ After attending my friend Post I came into camp about noon, when Cordilla gave me several letters. I read one from Cynthia to me and another

¹ William Whiting was appointed, in March, 1756, lieutenant-colonel of the Second Connecticut Regiment, to proceed on the expedition against Crown Point. See Conn. Col. Records, vol. x. p. 471. — Eds.

from Darius to Dilla, and being in haste to attend the officers at dinner put the rest of 'em into my pocket while after dinner, and drinking two glasses of wine when I went into my lodging tent, where I read a glorious letter from my wife, which was very entertaining. I immediately sat down and wrote her a long letter in return, after which I took a walk alone up on the hill and read my letter from bro. Elisha; it was principally concerning my neighbour Rogers' conduct. The reading of this letter edg'd my ill nature as much as the other had smooth'd it, however I return'd to camp and wrote a spirited answer to the last letter in order that it may be convey'd by Serg^t Haskell to my brother, I being told he was to leave the camp tomorrow morning. When I had done this the sun was down and I went immediately on the piquet, took command of that party assign'd for the marsh, placed the centries and repair'd to a barn near the meeting house where we made our headquarters for the night. I spent part of the night in company with Ens. Babcock who commanded the meeting house guard. The night was pleasant, the moon shin'd while almost day, and I had on the whole a comfortable piquet. The night before this old Spears deserted.

The 7th. It is this day a year since the selectmen finish'd laying out the Haskell highway. I spent most of the forenoon in writing in my journal and other necessary writing. I was also in Lt. Chamberlin's tent a little while in company with Lt. Holdrich and Capt. Robertson. Holdrich sung a song or two, &c. About one I din'd at Maj. Clark's house, a very elegant house it is, and we had for our company beside the common mess Col. Danielson, Mr. Ellis, all the field officers of our reg^t, Maj^r Trumbull, Mr. Keyes, Mr. Whiting, Eb. Huntington and several others. A very noble entertainment we had and agreeable conversation with the rest. After dinner we return'd to our camp, and there I found my old neighbour Jo. Randal, lately from Norwich. I had half an hour's discourse with him concerning my family and friends at home, which was more agreeable to me than the other, although among those suppos'd great ones. After this I took a walk with him over on to the hill above Parsons' reg^t, took a little view of the town of Boston, &c., after which I return'd home alone. At dinner Col. Danielson gave us a more full account of Doct. Church's past conduct than I have ever had before, by which it appears that no man on the continent could be more perfectly acquainted with the doings of all the congresses, both continental and provincial, as well as all other conventions wherein the common cause of liberty was concern'd than he, so that it seems he was perfectly furnish'd for a compleat traitor; that he has been much improv'd in the cause of liberty in the place of his nativity ever since the controversy began, and as he was undeniably a true patriot, he was admitted to go into Boston to attend the men

who were wounded and made prisoners at Bunker Hill on the 17th of June; that when he return'd he gave an account that he was treated roughly by Gage and confin'd for a considerable time. I have learn'd before that he has lately been a journey through the country as far as Philadelphia for the purpose aforesaid.

Sund. Octob. 8th, 1775. A wet lowery morning. In the forenoon I wrote a letter to bro. Rudd &c. In the afternoon I heard Mr. Ellis from Romans 13th, 7th. I liked the fore part of his discourse vastly well, much better than I had ever done any of his performances before, but as he drew toward a close he meddled a little with matters of religion and also gave some broad hints in the military way, in both of which according to his wonted practice he made very blundering work, — that is in my humble opinion so. In the evening Capt. Jewett and I went over to Col. Parsons' regt, made Capt. Sill, &c., a visit. Col. Parsons came in there and had much to say about the alarm post, &c.

The 9th. I arose at 4 o'clock, the moon shone very bright and pleasant, we attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, immediately after which I wrote my yesterday's adventures and observations, and after breakfast went up to the meeting house to see one of the rifle-men receive his punishment, which was whipping 39 lashes and drum'd out of the regt with great ceremony, &c. After I came back I wrote to my father, and at noon din'd in the mess as usual, after which I went down to Col. Douglas' to carry some letters to send home by Seth Smith. When I came there I lit of Maj. Whiting and Mr. John Perrit from Norwich. Perrit reminded me of my letter I sent to Capt. Hubbard, which letter he said he had seen. Toward night I went with Lt. Gove down to the main guard, to make Capt. Peters and Lt. Eb. Brewster a visit, set with them some time, &c. In the evening I set some time with Lt. Chamberlin and his brother from Connecticut, they had this day been to Cambridge, but I dont learn much news by them. Last night I heard of the death of Col. Conant of Mansfield and Mr. Hill-house of New Haven.

The 10th. I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, after which I went by Capt. Jewett's order up to Jamaica Plain to apply to Doct. Turner for his assistance in procuring discharges for Silas Leonard, Levi Luther and Tim^y Brainard. I obtain'd his certificate, eat a very good breakfast with the doctor and some other gentlemen and ladies, had considerable discourse with the doctor about Norwich affairs, &c. I there also see Doct. Cogswell, who shew'd us the substance of Doct. Church's letters, which have been the occasion of so much noise both in camp and country. I also heard of the wonderful success of the renown'd British fleet and troops in the late glorious attack and cannonade at Rhode Island in which, although they expended no more than about one hundred and sixty shot, yet it is said they have kill'd or

mortally wounded two whole geese. I have as yet not heard what damage his majesty's fleet have receiv'd from the geese in this warm and important engagement, or whether they have not come off entirely without loss, but the latter seems unlikely, although it is not impossible, since the natural and acquired abilities of both the commander and people are so incomparably great. After breakfast I came back to Col. Huntington's, got his approbation on the doctor's certificate, and then repaired to Gen' Ward, by whom I obtain'd full discharges for the three men. I then return'd to my own incampment and at noon din'd with the officers as usual. Immediately after dinner I assisted with Lt. Bissell and Lt. Gove in apprising the effects of the late Asa Chapman, deceas'd, of Col. Huntington's company; after which service was accomplish'd I also assisted in a settlement of an affair between Lt. Hall and Doct. Waldo, concerning the ride of an horse to Connecticut, &c. In the evening Capt. Pease and I took a walk up to the Hallowell hospital. I wanted to see Doct. Turner to shew him a letter that I just now received from Dan' Hall, some passages of which I did not understand, nor was the doctor able to explain it. We came home early in the evening. I found the boys alone, eat some supper and went to writing, and the boys went off to bed; but after some time a boy came and call'd me to go to Lt. Brewster's markee, where I found most of the officers of the reg^t, sat down and drank several plump toasts with them for about the space of an hour, then came home and turned in with Cordilla in my bed room.

The 11th. In the morning attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, and after breakfast I went with a number of men and an horse cart into Boston and brought out a load of brick to build us a chimney. At 11 o'clock the officers of the reg^t waited on Capt. Ellsworth, received a generous drink of punch, and at about one our mess din'd together. Col. Douglas, &c., was with us. After dinner we played a little at ball. I then wrote an answer to my friend Hall's letter, which employ'd me while night, and in the evening I sat some time in the regimental tent in company with most of the officers of the reg^t. Lt. Turrel gave us a moderate drink of wine, being ready to depart on the morrow, having previously obtain'd a discharge. We came home and turn'd in between 8 and 9 o'clock, soon after which we had a smart thunder-shower, which wet us considerably in our tents.

The 12th. It rain'd some in the morning, which detain'd us some time from going to the alarm post, but after a while Maj. Clark and I went down and the reg^t soon follow'd. When we arriv'd we found Col. Huntington there; he confirm'd the news we heard yesterday concerning the sickness of our army at Montzeal, and also of the report of the Hanoverian and British troops expected from Europe. Time only will discover to us the consequences of these things. After breakfast I

went up to Jamaica Plain to see Doct. Turner, in order to obtain a furlough for John Loudon, but the doctor being in haste could do nothing about it at present. I had also an invitation this day to dine at Waterman's on turtle, but to avoid excess of company, &c., together with extravagance of expence I did not go, but spent most of the day in writing, began on a new subject, &c. In the evening was in at Lt. Chamberlin's tent some time and turn'd in early. Between 12 and 1 this night the Pilgrims' Progress by moonlight went through the camp, wanted Ens. Bingham should rise and look on the upper side of the moon to see what the weather would be, had also many other astronomical observations too tedious to be here inserted, but finally this mighty phenomenon to our great sorrow disappear'd and according to his own threatening did not return till after our return from the alarm post, &c.

The 13th. Attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, after which I went up to the Hallowell house, obtain'd Doct. Turner's certificate concerning Loudon, then apply'd to Col. Huntington for his approbation, and when I had procur'd that I went to Gen' Ward and procured a furlough for the said John Loudon for 15 days. This day our mess din'd at Col. Douglas', had a very good entertainment, &c. This day also we began to build our chimney. Toward night I was in at Lt. Andrus' tent, when Mr. Ellis and Mr. Ives came in there, had some conversation with them, &c. At night I went on to piquet. Maj. Mitchell was the field officer, &c. Capt. Robinson of Stafford was with us. We spent the night chiefly at the main guard house, but I wore the pavements in Roxbury street some by walking, &c., but however, on the whole, we had a very comfortable piquet and in the morning following Capt. Robinson came home with me. He and I eat some time together. He also told me last night of the death of the old widow Abiah Andrus. She was his own aunt. I also heard yesterday of the deaths of John Bishop's wife and Elijah Bishop's wife. I also see Amasa Standish, who tells me that he understood two of my children were sick last week of the camp distemper, which news gives me great uneasiness, &c.

Roxbury Camp Octob' 14th, 1775. About noon I receiv'd a very obliging letter from my friend Hall. Dined in the mess as usual, waited a long while for the bak'd beef and mutton. Toward night Doct. Turner was here, we had considerable musical discourse, &c. Nat. Bishop was also here lately arriv'd from Norwich, but I learn nothing from any of them how it is with my family.

Sund. the 15th. Attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, after which Cordilla and I fix'd ourselves and set off for Cambridge, went by Brookline fort, and from there on the west side of Cambridge river up to the bridge, then went into town, made a little stop at Jabez Post's quarters, and then to Maj' Durkee's, and after a short conference with him went

up on to Prospect Hill, expecting to hear Mr. Murray,¹ but was unhappily disappointed by hearing another of the old reading Trojans from 2d Corin. 10th, 4th, 5th. After the forenoon exercise was over I had a long conversation with a Boston capt. concerning Doct. Church, &c. Cordilla and I then went over to Plow'd Hill, took a view of that, and from there to Winter Hill, view'd the works and incampment there and then back to Prospect Hill, call'd at Gen' Green's to enquire after Mr. Murray, and by means of his directions I soon found him, had considerable discourse with him and one Stephens from Cape Ann, we also din'd with them and Gen' Green, had a choice good dinner with genteel accommodations, after which Mr. Murray, Mr. Stephens and I took a very agreeable walk together and we parted in Col. Sergeant's regt. Dilla and I then went down into Cambridge town, and after shewing him Gen' Putnam's, Gen' Washington's and the commissary gen'l's quarters, with a number of other curiosities, we came over the bridge and home; but by the way we met Sergt Huntington and had his company. In the evening spent some time with the officers at the major's quarters, we had a very good drink of punch, &c.

The 16th. In the morning we attended the alarm post as usual, and after that and breakfast Elisha Colt, Cordilla and I went down to Dorchester, intending to get a permit of Col. Fellows to go over on to Dorchester Neck and get some hearthstones for our tent, but the Col. refused giving us a permit, and so of consequence we got no hearthstones but came back as light as we went. We dined in the mess this day as usual, after which we played ball most of the afternoon, and when we had done with that we went to Keyes' and took a game at another play more agreeable, if possible, than the other; it was in fact no other than a game at brandy sling, and we all got the game too and yet none of us beat nor got beat, but all came off good fellows, &c. Randal was there, sung us several songs, &c. The evening following Capt. Jewett and I wrote, each of us, a letter to our wives: it was very late when we had done.

The 17th. In the morning attended the alarm post as usual. After I came back I wrote another letter to my wife and did some other writing (viz.) this and the foregoing page. After dinner play'd a game at ball as usual, and then to writing again, &c. About sunset took a walk with Doct. Turner up to Jamaica Plain, visited Capt. Hubbard, &c. He is sick there. I then came back to the Hallowell hospital with the doctor, found considerable company there and among others was some young ladies. Several songs were sung, and a german flute was also occupied a little. I sat with them, drank a glass of wine and came

¹ Rev. John Murray, the founder of Universalism in America. He was at this time chaplain of the Rhode Island brigade, and was afterward minister of the Universalist Society in Gloucester, Mass. — Eds.

away a little after 8 o'clock. I came home alone, the 9 o'clock gun fired as I was coming home. I went into Lt. Chamberlin's tent, sat some time in his company, when we heard a very heavy report of a cannon, and after some time we heard several other cannon, the loudest that I have heard since I came into camp. We also heard a number of small arms in the night.

October 18th, 1775. After attending the alarm post, &c., as usual, Asael Cook came into camp, bro't me two letters, one from my wife and the other from cousin Silas; they give me the agreeable account of my family being in health, which is the more acceptable at this time as I have lately heard that two of them were sick of the camp distemper, which by the letters receiv'd I understand was a mistake and arose from the two youngest children lately being exercised with unusual swellings on their necks, but I learn the poor little things are better. Mr. Cook also bro't me a shirt and pair of breeches. After reading my letters with peculiar attention I took a walk with Col. Douglas and Mr. Hillyer down to the meeting house, on purpose to find the certainty of the last night's adventure in the extraordinary firing, &c., and after the best inquiry, &c., we learn that one of our floating batteries came down Cambridge river and fired many cannon into Boston, by the last of which the gun split, kill'd one man outright and wounded six or seven others, some of whom are said to be mortally wounded, but we have not yet the certainty of the particulars. Dined in the mess this day as usual, after which had a little exercise in the military way. A number of us had then a famous controversy on account of a ticket of Ens. Perkins', but it was finally amicably settled like many other affairs at Keyes' in the continental way. In the evening Capt. Jewett, Lt. Gove and I went up to the Hallowell hospital to see Doct. Turner, we spent the evening very agreeably, had what Capt. Jewett call'd a raising, &c., came home about 10 o'clock, were challeng'd by the sentries, &c.

The 19th. Now in the morning it is lowery, by which we are prevented attending the alarm post. I have done some writing and am now engag'd about breakfast, have salt pork and onions fry'd and also some boil'd eggs. After breakfast I wrote a letter to my wife and one to Prosper Rudd. After dinner I spent some time in company with Asael Cook, Randal and Abra. Adams, who were at our tent. Cook was going home, I wrote by him, &c. At night I went on to the piquet. Col. Wylls was the field officer who commanded. The night was very cold and wet, the most tedious tour of duty I have done in camp this season; we were also alarm'd the latter part of the night by the enemy firing on the redoubts, by which means I had another tour at the advanc'd posts, &c. I also this night catch'd two big falls, by reason of the excessive darkness of the night.

The 20th. In the morning our piquet were dismiss'd as usual, and I came up to Waterman's with Col. Wyllys and Ens. Nevens, where we drank some brandy sling and parted. I came home and provided a dinner for the mess this day. It is a damp lowery day, but we exercised considerably under the direction of Col. Douglas.

The 21st was a very rainy day. The discourse of the day is chiefly taken up on the affair of engaging to continue in the service till the 1st of Jan? The officers engag'd, &c. At night Capt. Jewett and Lt. Gove went on piquet. Elisha and I wrote considerably.

Sunday the 22d. Attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, and after breakfast we call'd out the company and made a tryal to see who would stay in the service till the 1st of Jan? next, but not a man would engage. After this Capt. Jewett and I went up to Jamaica Plain to hear Mr. Gordon.¹ He is an old country man, was a minister some time in London, has now been settled about five years in Roxbury and has been chaplain to the continental and provincial congress, lately come home from Philadelphia. Sermon was partly done when we got to meeting, so that we heard but part. At noon the capt. and I went up to one Louder's where our Elijah Johnson is sick. They treated us there with a good dinner, &c. We came back in the afternoon, heard Mr. Gordon again from Psalm 13th, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th. I liked his discourse the best of any preaching that I have heard since I came into camp. As we came home we call'd at Cap. Williams' to see Asa Kene, and also at the Spencer hospital to see Wallis and Mullendine. When we came home Mr. Beckwith shewed us some orders respecting a future campaign, which seems to be matter of great exercise to my mind, but however I intend to sleep on it for advice, &c. This night Capt. Ripley came into camp, having lately been home to Connecticut on furlough.

The 23d. Attended the alarm post, &c., as usual. After breakfast I went with Serg^t Clark up to Jamaica Plain to see Doct. Turner, took a walk with him among the sick, &c. I then came back, was much engag'd in writing, and about one went to Col. Douglas' to dine with the mess. After our return I learnt that Serg^t Huntington and Corp^t Billings were going home on furlough, on which I hurried myself in finishing two letters I had then begun, one to bro. Rudd and the other to my wife. I finished them both and went to work on another which then engag'd my attention much, and just as I had done it in comes Lt. Eb. Brewster, Lt. Gallop, Sam. Ellis and some others, who set some time with me, and then I went with them up to Waterman's and from there down to Gen^l Spencer's, see Gov. Griswold, &c., then return'd to Waterman's, eat some neat's tongue and chicken pie, see his excellency

¹ Rev. William Gordon, minister of the Third Church in Roxbury (Jamaica Plain). He was afterward the author of a "History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States." — Eds.

and the honorable committee of Congress, after which I came home and began to write a letter to my wife, was interrupted by some noisy centries, so that I was prevented from finishing my work this night and therefore adjourn'd it.

The 24th. In the morning attended the alarm post as usual, and when I came back I hurried myself in order to finish my letter to my wife, expecting Ellis would immediately call for it, but he not coming along I went with Lt. Gove up to the Hallowell hospital, see Doct. Turner, spent some time with him, &c. I then return'd home, din'd in the mess as usual, &c., after which I finish'd a piece of writing that I intended for the Col., &c. About sunset Sam. Ellis came into our camp, I went with him to Col. Huntington's quarters in order to procure a discharge for his son, and after the Col.'s approbation I went with Ellis to Gen' Spencer's and also to Gen' Ward's where we procur'd a final discharge for Peter Ellis of our company. Gen' Ward also told me of the ministerialists destroying a town at Casco Bay, &c. I came home some time in the evening, visited my friend Newel, had considerable conversation with him on certain affairs known only to us ourselves, &c. There was also a great noise among the soldiers this evening; some call'd it mutinous, seditious, &c.

The 25th. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual. It was very cold, &c. Sam. Ellis was with us a little while in the morning. This forenoon there was what may be call'd in the Continental language a devilish noise among some of the officers about the last night's affair. There was also a consultation among some of the officers on the affair, and also respecting who would and who would not continue in the service, &c. Serg' Clark and clerk Beckwith were highly accus'd in the last night's affair, examin'd and caution'd at our tent. I also wrote considerable of the foregoing affairs this forenoon. We din'd together as usual. Parson Ellis was also with us. In the afternoon I wrote a letter to Gen' Putnam, after which I took a walk up to Jamaica Plain, where I lit of Ens. Leffingwell as he was coming into camp, having been home for some time on furlough. I return'd into camp with Leffingwell and in the evening was in company at Capt. Pease's where we drank flip plentifully.

Roxbury Camp, Octob. 26th, 1775. In the morning I neglected the alarm post as I was going on duty. Mr. Ellis took breakfast with us, and while we were eating we had a little dispute concerning ecclesiastical establishments, which I spoke somewhat slightly about, on which the parson signified that if I was of such sentiments he wish'd I was in Rome or some other country, on which I told him I chose to be here and let those bigots who so much resembled the church of Rome go there, so as to enjoy their own opinions and have them establish'd by human, or rather inhumane, laws. The old fellow then pertinently replies, You have now given me tit for tat.

At the usual time I mounted the main guard with Capt. Liscomb of Walker's reg^t. He came from Taunton, &c. I had also with me Lts. Shaw, Howland, Cobern, Goodrich and Ed. Brewster. The weather was comfortable and we had much company, among others I visited the lines with Col. Douglas and Jonas Brewster. In the afternoon we had great plenty of ladies who came to view the lines, &c., by which means our capt. was absent when the field officer of the day, Col. Putnam, visited the guard. The night was spent pretty jolly, &c., the grand round somewhat on tricks.

The 27th. In the morning we had a very jolly time of it till our guard was reliev'd at the usual time, and nothing extraordinary has happen'd during our guard, unless it be the news of four thousand troops landing at Virginia. This was told us in the morning by Col. Bailey when he came to the alarm post. Just as I came home from my guard Lt. Chamberlin set off for Connecticut on furlough. About one din'd in the mess as usual, after which I was requested to settle an affair or rather a question between Capt. Ellsworth and clerk Newel, the consequence of which was one quart of wine in favour of the former. After I, with the assistance of one Ens. Paine from Bolton drinking of the wine, &c., I came home and wrote an honest letter to old uncle C^t. While I was thus employ'd Mundator Tracy and Jonas Brewster came to our markee, sat with us some time, and in the evening I have now undertaken to write again, but our good neighbour Capt. Pease is come in to see us, so I must desist for the present.

The 28th. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, see Mr. Gale from Norwich when on the parade, &c. After breakfast I went up to Jamaica Plain, see our sick, I also met Doct. Turner as I was returning home, conversed with him a little on our camp affairs, &c. It now rains considerably, the wind at N. E. and looks likely for a tedious storm. Just at night I went to Col. Huntington in order to procure a furlough for Jacob Williams, but could not obtain it. A tedious stormy night follow'd.

Sund. the 29th. Attended the alarm post in the morning as usual, after which the capt. and I between us made a very good toast and the boys a good dish of chocolate, and so we had a very good breakfast. This forenoon I wrote a letter to bro. Elisha, and while I was about it Capt. Elisha Lathrop made me a visit. I spent some time with him, &c. In the afternoon I heard Mr. Ellis from Coloss. 4th, 2d. After meeting I lit of Deac. Huntington from Norwich. He gave me a letter from Prosper Rudd and also some for Cordilla, read them with much satisfaction, &c. In the evening I began to write a letter to my wife, but was oblig'd to leave it and go up to the Hollowell hospital with Capt. Jewett and Lt. Gove. We made Doct. Turner a visit. We also see Capt. Chester and young Eb. Huntington there, heard some

very good singing, &c. When we came home we found that Capt. Jewett and I were warn'd for a court martial tomorrow. I also heard this night at Doct. Turner's of the death of old Sheriff Christophers at N. London and of Lt. Wadsworth of Spencer's reg^t who is to be buried under arms tomorrow.

The 30th. I attended the alarm post, &c., in the morning as usual, after which I was invited down to Lt. Brewster's marquee to drink brandy sling, and after breakfast Capt. Jewett and I fix'd off for the general court martial at Smith's tavern, and after a very long and spirited debate concerning Eb. Huntington's being admitted as a member, which finally terminated in the affirmative, we went upon business and entered on the trial of one [blank] for stealing Capt. Liscomb's pocket book. We got but part through the cause and adjourn'd till tomorrow morning 9 o'clock. Capt. Jewett, Mr. Hillyer and I then came home and dined at the mess, after which a number of us went up to Jamaica Plain to attend Lt. Wadsworth's funeral. He died at the widow Newel's. A little after we came to the house Capt. Scott of that reg^t invited us into the house. We first went into the large south room, where the corpse lay; there was also the decess'd's mother, who is a widow, and her son, a young man, who both came into town yesterday after the Lt. was dead. After looking at the corpse Capt. Scott led us up into a large handsome chamber where was two large pictures of men almost as big as their full size, who they were I could not learn but understood they were some of the Boston Tories. Beside these we observ'd the effigies of old Caleb and Joshua, when they return'd to the Israelitish camp with each of them a back load of the grapes of Eschcol. After viewing those curiosities awhile and the people came to attend the funeral, we went down. Mr. Boardman made a very loud prayer, after which the coffin being plac'd on a bier in the yard and cover'd with a very curious black velvet burying cloth lin'd with black silk, having six tassels as large as large thistles hanging by cords about half a yard long, and two drawn swords dress'd in mourning laid crossing each other on the top of the coffin, — the procession then began in the following manner (viz.) 1st an advanc'd guard of about 20 men commanded by a subaltern, who march'd with revers'd arms, then follow'd the sergeants of the reg^t, who serv'd as bearers and march'd in the front of the corpse, then follow'd immediately after three carriages in which rode the mourners with some other ladies, next to them follow'd the officers of Spencer's reg^t in two ranks, then the other officers of the army in like manner, then the standard of the reg^t carried by Ens. Huntley and displayed with a broad black ribband fix'd at the top of the staff, then follow'd the drums and fifes of the reg^t dress'd in mourning, and the reg^t followed with revers'd arms, Capt. Wells and Capt. Wills bringing up the rear of the whole procession, — the musick

playing a funeral march constantly during the whole march which was a mile and a half, and during the last half mile Brookline bell toll'd constantly and until the funeral was quite over. The whole was conducted in the most decent and orderly manner, and made in my opinion the most beautiful and solemn appearance that I have ever seen upon a like occasion.

I return'd home a little after sunset and receiv'd a letter from my friend Hall, which I read with great pleasure and satisfaction. I then spent most of the evening in writing some of the foregoing pages, and now our people are all gone to bed and I think it prudent to follow their example, &c. But after I quitted the markee, and as I was going to my lodging I espy'd Ens. Vaughn Water, or some other man at his tent, much engag'd at cutting up something as I suppose of the wooden species, but however I ask'd no questions for conscience sake, considering the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof.

The 31st. I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, after which I was for a short space in company at Capt. Ellsworth's markee upon a special occasion, upon the mint order, in the continental way, &c. After breakfast Capt. Jewett and I hurried off for the general court martial, in order to be surely at the place by 9 o'clock, the time appointed for that purpose. We came there in good season, and at half after 9 the court was open'd. Two prisoners were try'd on suspicion of theft, — they belong'd to Col. Walker's reg^t and were confin'd by Capt. Liscomb; — and also two others for being absent from their company without liberty, — the two latter were confin'd by Col. Putnam; — but they were all acquitted and doings of the court martial also approv'd by the general. This court consisted of the following officers (viz.) Col. Bailey, president, Capt. Chester, judge advocate, members, Capts. Wells, Campbell, Peters and Jewett, Lts. Danford, Grey, Pope, Stidson, Fitch, Ely, Huntington and Whipple. At about 1 o'clock, having accomplish'd the business for which we were appointed, we adjourn'd until Friday next, supposing that the general would dissolve the court before that time. We then came home and din'd in the mess as usual. I had this forenoon two remarkable fits of sickness, which although they continu'd but a short time yet they were very severe and uncomfortable, but I was soon as well as ever. The afternoon we spent chiefly in playing ball, and at night I unexpectedly went on piquet. It fell to my lot to fall under the command of Capt. Rowley, who commanded the piquet on the left. The fore part of the night I spent at the main guard house in company with Capt. Spicer who commanded the main guard. Capt. Trowbridge, Lt. Mills, Ens. Huntley, Ens. Leffingwell, &c., were with us. The latter part of the night I spent at the redoubt, and a cold tedious time I had, but daylight reach'd us in the morning or I don't know what we should have done.

November 1st, 1775. In the morning I left the piquet and made

Capt. Peters a short visit, &c. After breakfast Capt. Jewett and I went up to the Hallowell hospital, spent some time there with Doct. Turner, &c. I also lit of John Andrus at Parker's, spent some time with him and came back to camp in company with Serg^t Carpenter, &c. A little after 12 din'd in the mess as usual, after which play'd a game at ball, exercis'd the firelock a little, &c., after which I began to write a letter to my wife, and in the evening I made Col. Leonard a little visit. This night we had a plaguy rumpus about Serg^t Harris' boy and old Swift of Col. Huntington's company.

The 2d. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, after which I assisted in releasing old Swift from his confinement at the quarter guard on account of Harris' boy, &c. I then shav'd, fix'd myself a little and set off for Cambridge. I went most of the way alone. The generals also overtook me while on the road. I made a short visit at Gen^l Putnam's and then went to his reg^t, fell in company with Capt. Jed. Waterman, Lt. Huntington, Lt. Andrew Fitch, &c. Spent considerable time, din'd with them and heard the reading of an handbill from Salem which gave an account of a rupture at home, &c. I then went up into Cambridge town, took a walk in the burying yard agreeable to my wonted practice, for the purpose of viewing curiosities. The first which engaged my attention was a large tombstone of a very elegant make but no kind of inscription on it, although it was supported by five large curious stone pillars. There was indeed on the top of the tombstone the figure of the sun and under it that of a wine glass curiously engrav'd on the stone, which gave me to understand that the person there interred was accusom'd to drink wine by daylight, &c.¹ I then made Jo. Williams a visit and also Jabez Post, after which I call'd in at the old woman's where they sell apple pies, I there eat an apple pie, and drank some flip, after which I came off and soon fell in company with a man who lately belong'd to Boston, as he tells me. I had much discourse with him on the road, concerning the people of Boston, &c. I made a little stop at the Punch Bowl, where there was fiddling and dancing in great plenty. After sitting and resting myself a little I came home a little before daylight in. When I came home the boys told me many stories concerning affairs transacted while I was gone, 1st, that the quarter guard was augmented and commanded by a subaltern. 2dly, that Reuben Reed was confin'd on account of a very devilish affair indeed, it is for threatening to rescue a prisoner confin'd at our quarter guard and also speaking contemptuously of the most sacred Serg^t Lyman. After I came home I spent some time in writing the foregoing observations, and went to bed at the usual time.

November 3d, 1775. In the morning it was very stormy, wind at N. E., rain'd hard, &c. Capt. Jewett came off from piquet, and after

¹ The reference is to the Vassall tomb. See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, vol. xvii. p. 114, note.—Eds.

breakfast I went to Lt. Brewster's markee where I spent some time, convers'd with him much on the Reuben Reed affair. Then I went to Capt. Pease's markee, spent some time with him and Serg^t Lyman, who sung several tunes, &c. I then came home, the boys got some dinner, and I am now at writing, &c.

Nov. 4th, 1775. In the morning I arose early in order to attend the alarm post but was prevented on account of the weather, which was something lowery and cold. After breakfast I apply'd myself to making the necessary preparation for dinner, it falling to my lot to provide for the mess this day. About noon Capt. Cleft, Lt. Mills and a number of our officers came into our markee, we drank sling a little and then join'd the mess for dinner, after which Capt. Jewett, Ens. Leffingwell and I made a settlement of our company affairs, &c. Toward night Leffingwell and I went up to the Hallowell hospital, see Doct. Turner, &c. In the evening I was down at Lt. Brewster's markee to enquire after the fate of poor Reuben Reed, found favourable intelligence, &c.

Roxbury camp, Nov. 5th, 1775, Sund. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, and after breakfast went to Gen^l Ward's and procured a discharge for Jonas Mullendine, and after I came back Capt. Jewett and I went up to the Hallowell hospital, acquainted Mullendine of his discharge, &c. Then the capt and I went to meeting expecting to hear Mr. Gordon, but was disappointed and oblig'd to hear Mr. Johnson of Lyme from Jeremiah 3d, 4th. After the forenoon exercise was over we went up to Mr. Lowder's to see about an horse which the capt. had previously engag'd to ride to Connecticut. We then came directly home to camp, but a little before we got home were alarm'd by a remarkable firing of cannon in Boston, and also on board the ships, &c. This we suppose to be on account of the Gunpowder Treason affair. I found in camp Jonⁿ Rudd and a number of other West Farms people who came down to camp with teams. After spending some time with them at our markee I went with Jonⁿ, Cordilla and a number of Col. Huntington's men down to the lines, shew'd Jonⁿ the works, &c. When we came back it rain'd considerably.

The 6th. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, after which I wrote a letter to my wife, assisted Capt. Jewett in making out some accounts for him to carry home to Connecticut, he intending to set out to morrow. About 1 o'clock I din'd in the mess as usual, after which I undertook to write a long letter to old Mr. Isaac Tracy, which employ'd most of the time I could get until bed time. In the evening Capt. Robinson was in at our markee some time, &c. After our people were gone off to bed I finish'd my letter to Mr. Tracy and then wrote another to my wife while the camps were very still, &c.

The 7th. In the morning it rain'd very steadily, which prevented the capt. from pursuing his journey according to appointment, and also

prevented the reg^t from attending the alarm post. At 9 o'clock I went on to the meeting house quarter guard, relieved another Lt. in usual form, &c. Soon after placing our first sentries as I was walking by the door Maj. Clark came to me and gave me some account of the new arrangement of officers in our reg^t, &c., soon after which I came up into the pulpit and wrote some of the foregoing pages. About 12 o'clock the tide is the highest I have ever seen it in this place. At 3 o'clock Cordilla bro't my dinner, and I eat it on the breast of the pulpit for a table. Toward night it grew windy and cold. A tedious night follow'd, the latter part of which I spent chiefly in walking out, visiting the sentries, &c. Very early in the morning I had a conference with Col. Huntington on my affairs, &c., as he was going to the alarm post, but I learn that the race is not to the swift nor battle to the strong, they are much on the predestinarian plan and their fancies petty deities.

After being reliev'd as usual on the 8th inst. I set some time in Capt. Humphrys' markee in company with Doct. Turner, &c. About noon Mr. Dan' Brewster came into camp, bro't me a very agreeable letter from my wife. We then din'd in the mess as usual, and after diuner concluded for the future to drop the custom on account of the badness of the weather, &c. I went this afternoon with Lt. Gove and Mr. Brewster up to Waterman's, where we see one Mr. Lewis and some ladies who had just come out of Boston with some of their effects which were lodg'd at the main guard house. After spending some time in company here we went down to Capt. Peters', but he not being at home we went over to Parsons' reg^t and then came home a little after sunset. I also see Alpheus Jones and some other of our old neighbours this evening. This morning Capt. Jewett set off for Connecticut.

Nov. 9th, 1775. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, after which I was in company at Capt. Ellsworth's markee a little while in order to drink mint, &c. After breakfast I wrote a letter to my wife, then went with Mr. Brewster down on the lines, and as we were coming back we were alarm'd by a brisk cannonade over at Cambridge, which lasted for some time, together with the firing of small arms. We soon perceiv'd that the regulars were landing men on Lechmere's Point. We stood on the hill, view'd them awhile and came into our camp, soon after which the drums were ordered to beat to arms and the reg^t turn'd out, their arms and ammunition examin'd, &c. This afternoon and evening I took a great deal of pains to procure a discharge for Corp^t Sterling and a furlough for Jacob Williams, the latter of which I obtain'd this night and the other in the morning. I also this night wrote a letter to Capt. Hubbard at Norwich. It was a very tedious stormy night.

The 10th. In the morning I went to Gen^l Ward's to accomplish Sterling's discharge. As I was coming back Mr. Brewster met me

and we went again to Capt Peters'. We then came home, eat some breakfast, and I wrote a letter to bro. Elisha. After I had done that Mr. Brewster went off, &c., soon after which Lt. Kirtland and old Mr. Caleb Fobes came to see me, set with us sometime, &c. At night I was unexpectedly warn'd on piquet, went down to the main guard house, where I found Capt. Gale, Capt. Ingersol and a great number of other officers. The second division on the left fell to my lot, and a very muddy berth I had. Col. Putnam was field officer of the day, went the grand rounds, &c.

Various are the accounts we have of the Thursday's action at Lechmere's Point, but it is generally believ'd that we had one man kill'd, one mortally wounded, and one (who was drunk) taken prisoner. Some say that they have also taken several head of cattle, but I don't learn the certainty of this as yet. It is also said that we learn by a deserter from the enemy that they had 19 men kill'd and a great number wounded. It is also said that we had a number more men slightly wounded.

Nov. 11th, 1775. In the morning the piquet was dismiss'd as usual, upon which I came home and found Capt. Ezra Brewster in camp, by whom I receiv'd a letter from bro. Elisha and one from Silas. After breakfast I took my gun and went up to Jamaica Plain in order to get some money chang'd, but was disappointed in that, but yet I fired off my gun and then came home, spent the rest of the forenoon in getting change, &c. About 2 o'clock I din'd with Gove, Leffingwell and Jonⁿ Rudd on a very fine piece of roast beef. Toward night we had the hearing of a foolish controversy between Serg^t Harris and Corp^l Hill.

The 12th. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual. The weather very cold and blustering, by which means Mr. Ellis was excus'd the labour of his harrangue and we the trouble of hearing of it, agreeable to Maj. Clark's observation (viz.) that it is an ill wind that blows nowhere. Some time this forenoon Stephen Fitch came to see me. I spent most of the day with him and some others. He told us more stories than four men could soon believe. The fore part of this day I wrote a letter to bro. Rudd, sent it by his son Jonaⁿ, who went from the camp a little before noon. Toward night I went to Col. Huntington's with intention to make application for a furlough for Serg^t Clark, but the Col. being gone to Dedham I did not see him. In the evening I went to my friend Burrel's in order to procure his help and assistance in marketing my fat oxen. He went with me to Mr. Parker the butcher, where we spent some time and we return'd, he to his house and I to my tent. Went to bed early and rested very well, although the night was very cold.

The 13th. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual; see Deac. Clement from Norwich as I was coming back from the alarm

post. I this morning wrote a letter to my wife and also one to Silas, in order to send them by Capt. Ezra Brewster. After breakfast I went down to Col. Huntington's to accomplish the affair for which I went yesterday; the Col. not yet being come home I set a while with Maj. Clark, had considerable discourse concerning the coming campaign, &c. After a while the Col. came home, but did nothing of my business on account of his hurrying away for Cambridge to settle the regimental affairs, &c. I then came back and examined the company's arms and ammunition agreeable to general orders. Toward night I went to the Col's on the affair of Clark's furlough. I obtain'd it, came home and wrote a letter to Capt. Jewett in which I inclos'd an inlistment. I also wrote again to my [wife] and to bro. Elisha, and about 8 o'clock fix'd off Sergt Clark for home, after which I went to Lt. Pease's markee, where I found a number of officers drinking flip, and however disagreeable it might be to me yet I join'd the company and according to my wonted practice did my duty as well as the best of them. I also there heard something of the new arrangement of the officers of our regt, and at about 9 o'clock I came home, found Dilla asleep and Elisha at writing, &c. I then did some writing, am now going to eat supper, and intend soon to follow Dilla.

The 14th. Attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, and after breakfast the officers of the new appointment had a meeting at Col. Huntington's markee where we receiv'd each of us an inlistment in order for raising a new army. After this conference was over I took a walk up to the meeting house, &c. Coming home I had considerable discourse with Maj. Clark concerning certain affairs. This was a very pleasant warm day, by which means, together with a little grog, several of our men were over on to the hill and inlisted in Wyllys' regt; at night they made application to me for money, &c.

The 15th Nov. 1775. In the morning it was very stormy, by which means we were prevented turning out to the alarm post. I wrote Capt. Jewett a letter giving him an account of the new arrangement, &c. Capt. Ripley made me a very agreeable visit, but I spent most the day in writing, concerning friendship and some other things but little thought of among soldiers. I last night heard the agreeable news of the taking of St. John's. This evening I sat some time in company with Oliver Coit and Jo. Tyler. It snow'd considerably and was a very cold night, but yet I rested comfortably.

The 16th. I rose early with expectation to attend the alarm post, but somehow we were excused. I had no wood to cook breakfast with, which made me very mad, nor did I eat until about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when we had an excellent good dinner of baked beef and a good turkey, it being our Connecticut Thanksgiving. Capt. Ely, Mr. Hillyer and Mr. Tyler eat with us, &c. The fore part of this day I was

up at Waterman's and heard Capt. Gale read the [articles] of capitulation at St. John's, &c. I was also at Waterman's again in the evening, wrote some of the foregoing minutes, set some time in company with Waterman and Ens. Leffingwell, had much discourse concerning Elijah Lathrop, his son Niles, &c.

The 17th. The weather was very severe cold, the wind very high, &c. I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual. I this morning wrote a letter to my wife which I sent by Corp^l Hill. The weather was this day so very tedious that I wrote but very little. I spent great part of the day in reading Cibber's 'Tragical History of Richard 3d, a very interesting piece indeed. In the evening I was in company a little while at Capt. Pease's markee. A tedious cold night follow'd.

Roxbury Camp, Nov. 18th, 1775. In the morning I attended the alarm post, &c., as usual, the weather extreme cold for the season. After I came back I inlisted Peleg Edwards, and while I was at breakfast was warn'd on main guard in the room of Capt. Hubbard, the guard being march'd down on the Neck and the sentries reliev'd before I overtook them. Capt. Scot of Wyllys' reg^t commanded the guard. We also had with us Lt. Williston of the same reg^t, Lieut. Robinson, Ens. Smith, Ens. Howland, &c. One Mr. Welch, a Bostonian, was with us some part of the day; he came here to enquire after his wife who he expected out of Boston. In the evening the officers of the reg^t came in, among whom were Maj. Tupper, Capts. Gale, Walbridge and Martin, Lts. Pease, Bissell, Huntington, &c. We had a very noisy night and but very little sleep. Col. Alden, field officer of the day, catch'd us very much at unawares, &c.

Sund. the 19th. A little after sunrise I went down to the redoubts, where I walk'd the lines for about an hour and an half, being a very pleasant morning, only somewhat cold. I then came back to the guard house and was soon reliev'd by Capt. Bridgham, &c. I then came home and borrow'd a 7 doll. bill of Capt. Ripley, in order to fix off Edwards, Rolen and Griffen, who were going home on furlough, having inlisted for another campaign. After fixing the aforesaid persons, not feeling very well I lay down and slept a short nap. Soon after I got up Steph^a Fitch came to see me again, I spent some time with him, &c. The evening following I was some time in Capt. Ripley's markee in company with a number of officers of our reg^t. We sat together while some time in the evening, when I came off and left 'em to go to bed, as I had slept none the night before, being on the main guard.

Mond. the 20th. In the morning although the weather appear'd very pleasant excepting the cold, yet no alarm post was attended. After breakfast I set some time in Capt. Ripley's tent. Lt. Andrew Fitch came in. We had some conversation with him on the new

arrangement, &c., till about 11 o'clock when I came out and accidentally lit of Lt. Bancroft, who inform'd me that Capt. Ellsworth had obtain'd a pass from Gen' Ward to go on to Dorchester Neck. He also gave me an invitation to go with them, accordingly I went. We pass the sentries at Dorchester lines, and when we came on to the Neck we turn'd to the left, cross'd a small marsh, and then rise a little knoll where we found a remarkable quarry of slate stone, many tons of them already dug and fit for use. We spent some time in viewing them. Capt. Ellsworth and I took each of us some of the very thin ones to bring home with us. We then went up to a house where a stonemason had dwelt, where we found a great number more of very curious stone, some of them partly wrought, &c. We then turn'd to the left and went over on to the hill next to Boston, where we had a most beautiful prospect of the town. We set there and view'd all the curiosities we could for the space of half an hour; we had also the help of a spyglass. We here discover'd no less than four different ranges of breastworks from our lines to North Boston, the latter of which appear'd to be much the most impracticable and is so situate as to cut off about one quarter of the town, leaving it on the south. Beside those formidable works toward the Neck, we observ'd strong fortifications on all the hills and eminences in town, and also a great number of cannon planted on the wharves and near the water almost the whole length of the town. Beside all these artificial works on the land there was so great a number of ships in the harbour that it was impossible for us to number them from the place of our situation. After we had sufficiently gratified our curiosity here, we turn'd and went down onto the hill next the castle, where we set down and took an observation of the fortifications there together with one large ship a little below, and several smaller ones by Castle Island, we also discover'd several boats under sail in the harbour, and likewise two barges which met each other a little above the castle while we were sitting on the hill. We then came back on the south side of the Neck, and observing a smoke in an old house we suppos'd part of the guard that is usually kept on the Neck was retir'd there and had made a fire to warm themselves or cook by, but when we came to the house I look'd in at a window, and to my surprize I found three small children, the oldest perhaps about 7 or 8 years old. Upon this discovery we went into the house, ask'd the little girl where her father and mother were, the child reply'd that she had no mother and that her father was gone to Roxbury. We ask'd them if they were not afraid to live there, she reply'd that they were, but that they could not get any other room to live in. They look'd so miserably poor, ragged and naked, that they demanded our pity, and we made a small collection of what few coppers we had and gave them, — so we came off by way of the south shore. We arriv'd

at our own camp a little before sunset, soon after which I went to Col. Huntington in order to obtain liberty for Mr. Beckwith to go into the country to recover his health, &c. After sitting some time in the Col's chamber I went into Capt. Humphrey's apartment where were a number of our officers, none of them more noisy and disagreeable than the adjutant. After spending some time in company there we came home, and I was a little while at Lt. Chamberlin's tent in company with Lts. Ransom and Huntley, had considerable of a dispute concerning the rights and authority of grand rounds, &c. After we retir'd I was invited strongly by Lt. Gove to buy me a cloak, &c.

Tuesd. the 21st. A pleasant day. I spent most of the forenoon in writing my adventures of yesterday, &c. This evening Sam' Ellis, his son Sam. and Dan' Ellis came into camp with teams, &c. — they were some time in our tent. There fell a snow this night sufficient to cover the ground.

The 22d. In the morning I took a walk with our Ens. Kinsman to Gen' Spencer's on some business, but the Gen' being gone from home I did none. Sam' Ellis was here, I bo't four pair of yarn stockings of him for which I paid him sixteen shillings in money. About sunset he set out for home, I went with him out beyond Jamaica Plain, had much vulgar discourse with that plain honest friend. I then parted with him and came back to the Hallowell hospital alone, where I call'd in and found Capt. Chester, Eb. Huntington and Mr. Keyes; we there drank some wine, heard some very good singing, &c., and about 8 o'clock we set off for the camp. I call'd in and did some business with Col. Huntington on the way. I also call'd at the house where Mr. Ellis lives, to enquire about a pair of shoes for our bebbe.

The 23d. This is Thanksgiving Day in this province. After breakfasting on chocolate and bread and cheese I went on the duty of fatigue. Our reg^t were assign'd with Col. Wyllys' to cut apple trees and make a brush fence from our front on the right of the lines down toward Dorchester, and we were stinted to extend it this day as far as the next intrenchment, which we accomplish'd by about 2 o'clock. We were directed in the work by one Lt. Cole of Wyllys' reg^t, and after we had done work he came home with me calling in at the main guard, &c. After we came into camp we had a very good dinner on a piece of roast pork and a turkey, which we had prepar'd for that purpose. Capt. Bissell, Lt. Cole, Mr. Hillyer, Lt. Gove and I din'd together, and in the evening all of us, except Lt. Cole, went up to Jamaica Plain to make Capt. Rowley a visit, we also found Lt. Gillett there, he sung us several songs, made us a shoe, &c. A little after 8 o'clock we came home, had orders to turn out on the shortest notice, as an alarm was expected this night on account of our people beginning to intrench on Cobble Hill.

The 24th. About half after nine we were inform'd by a messenger sent for that purpose from Dedham, that Col. Huntington's wife had made way with herself at that place,¹ soon after this Capt. Bissell and Lt. Gove came into our markee, Serg^t Rose soon join'd us, he has lately been home to Connecticut, tells me that Silas is now on the road and I may soon expect him in camp with my fat oxen; he also tells us much other news from Connecticut. Col. Douglas also came in and spent some time with us this forenoon. In the afternoon I went down to Gen^l Spencer's in order to procure liberty for Ens. Kinsman to go home to Norwich in the recruiting service. I waited some time for the general's return from Gen^l Ward's, and finally I set out and met him on the road, came back and conversed with him some time on the subject, and on the whole he concluded that he had no right to act in that matter, but that the Col. was the only proper person for that purpose. I then came home and a little after sunset Silas and Jacob Williams came into the camp with my oxen and also a number of letters from Norwich, upon which I took the oxen and his horse over to Mr. Jonⁿ Parker's where we got them kept, we then return'd back and spent the evening very agreeably. I also wrote my wife a letter, which I sent the next morning, with two others that I had already prepared, by our Ens. Kinsman.

The 25th Nov. 1775. Early in the morning Silas and I went to my friend Burrel for his advice and assistance in a market for my oxen, after which I drove them up to my chap Parker, but could not quite agree with him. We then came home and after breakfast Silas went off for Cambridge and I apply'd myself most of the forenoon to making a market for my oxen, and I am in hopes I have now got on the track of one. About 3 o'clock the officers of the reg^t were assembled in order to devise some method to influence the men to continue in the service until the first of Jan. We also expected Gen^l Spencer to make us a visit toward night, but he did not come. About sunset Capt. Jewett came into camp, having been gone home some time on furlough. I also this night appear'd on the parade for piquet in the room of Lt. Gove, he being gone to Cambridge. In the evening we had considerable company, and about bedtime it began to rain. Was a stormy night.

Roxbury camp, Sunday, Nov^r the 26th, 1775. In the morning the ground was all cover'd with ice. The fore part of the day I went up to Jamaica Plain to see Asa Kinne, then to the Hallowell house to see Doct. Turner, procur'd his assistance for a discharge for Kinne and Abel Bennet, had considerable discourse with the doctor, &c., on various

¹ Mrs. Faith Huntington, wife of Col. Jedidiah Huntington, was a daughter of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull. She was of a very sensitive character, and had become disordered in mind by dwelling on the horrors of a civil war. She died at Dedham, Nov. 24, 1775. See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. ix. p. 505, note. — Eds.

subjects. After I came back I began to write a queer letter to my wife, and then had a considerable company discourse with the capt. on company affairs, &c. In the evening I was sometime at Capt. Ellsworth's markee in company with Capt. Pease, Capt. Bissell, &c.

Mond. the 27th. In the morning I went to Gen^l Spencer's and from there to Gen^l Ward's to procure a discharge for Asa Kene and Abel Bennet, which I readily obtain'd. I then came back and after breakfast went up on to Jamaica Plain, fix'd off Kene, &c. I then came home and toward night went with Lt. Gove to all the stores of English goods that we could find any where near, although we neither of us bought nothing. About sunset Lt. Gove and I set off again and went up to Jamaica Plain. I had indeed some expectation of seeing Mr. Murray at the Hallowell hospital, but was disappointed, but spent some time with the doctor, went with him to see Lt. Farnam, &c. While we were at the hospital Capt. Jewett came in, having been up to Mr. Lowder's, and about 9 o'clock the capt., Lt. Gove and I came home. It prov'd a tedious cold night and I rested but very poor.

Tuesd. the 28th. After breakfast Lt. Hillyer invited Capt. Jewett and I to go with him to the funeral of Col. Huntington's wife, upon which I went to Maj. Ruggles to enquire when he expected to receive my oxen, and he inclin'd to have them bro't in tomorrow, whereupon I made the necessary preparation to leave the camp in order to attend the funeral, and about 12 o'clock I am ready, having obtain'd Col. Douglas' liberty, &c., for that purpose. I then wrote some of the foregoing lines while I was in waiting.

About 12 o'clock Capt. Jewett, Lt. Chamberlin, Mr. Hillyer and I set off for Dedham. Had considerable discourse by the way, which was bro't on by one's advancing the following proposition (viz.) that it is beneath the dignity of human nature to shed tears or mourn for the dead. The dispute was carried a great length and was finally quitted and one follow'd in its room on the doctrines of predestination and free-will, which lasted us quite up to Dedham. We came to Emes' half after 2 o'clock, drank a mug of flip and went into the burying yard, where we found Doct. Emes' tomb open'd for the reception of Mrs. Huntington's corpse. We several of us went down into the tomb, open'd the old doctor's coffin and see his corpse. The under jaw was all fallen in, the other part of the bones of the head retain'd their proper shape, the teeth were whole in the upper jaw, but the whole head and rest of the body, as far as we could see, was cover'd with a black film or skin, which I suppose to be the winding sheet in which the corpse was buried, being blended with the moisture of the body. I also observ'd one of the arms to have fallen off from the body and the bones laying by the side of the coffin. While I was thus in a sort conversing with the dead and viewing those melancholy curiosities, I

could not help reflecting that nothing of the philosophy and astronomy which once adorned the mind of that person and made him appear great among his cotemporaries was now to be seen in this state of humiliation and contempt; yet a pertinent passage in Watts' lyrical poems came to my mind, (viz.)

Methinks a moldring pyramid
Says all that the old sages said,
For me these shatter'd tombs contain
More morals, &c.

After sufficiently gratifying our curiosity here, we went to Mr. Henshaw's, the house where the tragical scene had pass'd and from whence the funeral was to be attended. When we came there we were led into a very genteel apartment with a very curious carpet spread on the floor, where we sat some time in profound silence, until we understood that Mr. Havens¹ (the parson of the parish) began a prayer in the other room, upon which we mov'd into the entry, and after prayer was over and some of the people remov'd out I went into the other room where the corpse was, where I see Col. Williams of Lebanon, and after viewing the corpse I came out of the house, soon after which the procession began in the following manner, (viz.) after the immediate mourners, those who had liv'd with Col. Huntington, and then the several officers of the regiment who were present, next to them the women who were assembled upon the occasion, the men bringing up the rear. When we came to the tomb the corpse was deposited at the feet of Doct. Emes, and the procession walk'd back in the same order as before, and at the meeting house we parted, — our company came down to Emes', where we had a dinner provided for us, and we eat heartily upon roast turkey, &c. A little after daylight in we set off for home and call'd in at Childs', the sign of the Peacock, where we drank some flip, and Mr. West the sutler was also there, who was just before robb'd of his saddle bags with upward of £300 continental currency in them and also many other valuable articles. After resting ourselves here a while we set off for home and arriv'd in camp about 9 o'clock, weary enough. The night was somewhat stormy and tedious, wet me considerably in my bed, &c.

Wednesday, the 29th. In the morning after breakfast I did some writing. Serg't Clark came to our markee, he having last night come into camp from Connecticut. About 10 o'clock, Cordilla and I went over to Mr. Parker's, took my oxen and drove them up to Maj. Ruggles, in order to be kill'd, but found I could not have 'em kill'd to day, upon which I came back to Waterman's, paid Cowley the tailor for making Hill's clothes, &c. I also set some time in company with Waterman

¹ Rev. Jason Haven, minister of the First Church in Dedham. — Ecs.

and Ens. Leffingwell. I then came home and was much surpris'd at the news of James Nicholson's death, who died this day very suddenly in the Ward hospital. At night was warn'd to go into the woods to-morrow in order to relieve Capt. Pease, who is overseeing a number of cutters of wood. I also this day bo't me a curious red cedar staff of one Roberts of Capt. Ellsworth's company.

Thursday Nov. 30th, 1775. In the morning Capt. Jewett and I eat breakfast with Maj. Clark at the Col's markee, after which Cordilla and I went to look up the old oxen, but could not find them until we went into the slaughter house, where we found them both dead. We then came back, and after a little fixing I went to Mr. Parker's and took Silas' mare and then rid out into Dedham to relieve Capt. Pease, who was there with a party at cutting wood. I arriv'd at Mr. How's where the party was quarter'd at about 1 o'clock and Pease soon set off for the camp. The men having finish'd their day's work, I took a walk down to Milton this afternoon. I was also in at the slitting mill and paper mills at the upper bridge. I also call'd in at one Mr. Roach's who kept a grog shop near the bridge, had considerable discourse with him, &c. I then went down to the other mills, where there is a very considerable village. I examined all the shops in the place, in order to procure certain articles that I wanted to purchase, found none except a pair of mill'd gloves. I then came back to Mr. Roaches where I stopp'd, drank some flip, set and talk'd with him, &c., until about daylight down, when I set off and travell'd to Mr. How's, my landlord, found our men very brisk, &c. I set the remainder of the evening in company with old Mr. How, heard him tell many stories, &c., and about 10 o'clock went to bed in a good feather bed and a warm chamber. Nineteen years ago this night I lodg'd on the floor at Houses in Andover, being then on my return from the army, my first campaign.

Friday the 1st of Dec. In the morning I went into the woods with the men in order to set them to work, after which I return'd to Mr. How's and eat breakfast, and while we were eating Lt. Robinson of Col. Walker's reg' came in. He had the care of that reg't men who were cutting wood. After breakfast he and I went into the woods again to see the men compleat the work for which they were design'd. The work being near finish'd I soon return'd in company with Mr. How, and after eating dinner we set off for the camp, came by way of Milton upper mills and Dorchester, arriv'd at Roxbury camp about 3 o'clock, where we found there was a devil of the rout about some of our Connecticut men going off this morning. Some new orders made their appearance, &c., and on the whole all things were in confusion. The evening following Mr. Beckwith was at our markee doing some writing for the capt. Mr. Barney was also here from Norwich. Nineteen years ago this night I arriv'd at my father's house from my first campaign,

and I think I should not be displeas'd to be there now, unless there were better doings here now.

Saturday the 2d was a cloudy morning. I went after breakfast with Serg^t Clark up to Maj. Ruggles' to make a settlement concerning my oxen, but could not effect it on account of his being busy in other affairs. I then went in at Waterman's, sat sometime with Ens. Leffingwell, &c. I also see Col. Pitkin here. About noon I went again to Maj. Ruggles', made a settlement and receiv'd the money for my oxen £13.3.0. About 2 o'clock Silas came here from Cambridge, inform'd me that he was going directly home. I went with him to Mr. Parker's after his horse. We found Mr. Barney there at work. I then went with Silas up to Jamaica Plain, parted with him at the Hallowell house, and I went in there, soon after which Col. Parsons came in, I came with him down to the camp and by the way we met Capt. Hubbard and his lady from Norwich, as they were set out on their return home, having convey'd their sister Townsend into the town of Boston. I went with Col. Parsons up to Waterman's, where I found Doct. Turner, who inform'd me that Mr. Murray was to preach at his house this evening, after which I came directly into camp and inform'd Capt. Jewett. He and I went immediately up to the hospital and while we were waiting for Mr. Murray Amos Andrus came there with a team from Norwich. I discours'd with him some time concerning my family and neighbours, and as it began to grow dark Mr. Murray came in and there was soon a great number of people collected, and after drinking coffee in a very genteel mood Mr. Murray preach'd a very vivacious sermon from Luke 15th, 2d, which did great honour to the divine benignity in the liberal bestowment of so great a genius, and also to the cause of religion.

Roxbury camp, Dec^r 3d, 1775, Sund. Some time in the morning I went with Lt. Chamberlin up to the Hallowell hospital with some expectation to see Mr. Murray, but when we came there he was just gone, upon which I went with Mr. Chamberlin up to the Bernard hospital, where we see Doct. Turner perform the office of surgery (or rather of butchery) on one Jones of Capt. Ripley's company, who had a great mortification sore on his side. After we had seen the aforesaid operation with great pity to the patient we came home, got into camp about 2 o'clock, soon after which I made the foregoing memorandums, &c. About 4 o'clock we din'd on a very good roast turkey. Capt. Bissell was also with us. The evening following Capt. Jewett, Lt. Gove, and I went up to Waterman's to see Ens. Leffingwell. I had there considerable conversation with Maj. Park, &c.

Mond. the 4th was a cold blustering day. After breakfast I went with Serg^t Clark up to Waterman's, set there some time in company with Maj. Park, Capt. Gale, Col. Alden, &c., and after a while Ens. Leffingwell and I came down into camp. He staid with us most of the

day. I wrote a letter to Uncle C^t and also part of one to my wife, and in the evening finish'd it.

Tuesd. the 5th. In the morning I gave Amos Andrus some letters to carry home to Norwich. I wrote considerable of the Painter this day, and in the afternoon Capt. Jewett mov'd his effects out of the tent into Col. Williams' house, he being unwell. I also this afternoon did considerable work at fixing up the tent after the capt. had remov'd his slawbunk, &c. At night I went on to the piquet, &c. I also this day bo't a cheese of Jo. Tyler w^t 12½ at 6^d the pound. It is now four months since I have seen any of my family except Cordilla. I hope in less than four weeks more to see them, but God knows whether my hope will not be in vain. In the evening Serg^t Carpenter set with me some in my markee some time.

Wednesd. the 6th. I turn'd out early for the alarm post, but was so long in rallying the men that I had not time to get into the front before the other reg^{ts} came out; but however we return'd to the camp in good season, and after breakfast I went on main guard as usual. Col. Keyes commanded the guard. Capts. Bradford, Hamlin and Wells. I knew none of the subalterns only Stidson and Curtice. We spent the day very agreeably. One Mr. Edey and his wife made us a visit, who had by some means just before met together, having (as they said) not seen each other for eighteen months. They sat some time with us, drank, &c. In the night season I had two tours down at the redoubts, at one of which I visited my sentries down at the trees, and out of curiosity I went eight rods further and bro't off a cart gate on my back. Col. Danielson sat with us some time in the latter part of the night. We had considerable cheerful discourse.

Thursd. the 7th. I was down at the redoubts about an hour in the morning, after which I came back to the guard house, settled our reckoning, and at the usual time were reliev'd in common form. After I came home and eat breakfast I went down to Col. Williams' and made Capt. Jewett a visit. I also there lit of Moses Cleveland who came home and eat dinner with me, after which I did some writing, &c. At night was very sleepy and therefore went to bed early.

Frid. the 8th. After breakfast I went to Col. Williams', see Capt. Jewett, &c. From there Capt. Bissell and I went to the Col's to receive directions when to go home. Col. Huntington came back with us to Col. Williams', where he and Capt. Jewett concluded to send me home with the company, &c. After this I made application to the Col. for a discharge for Serg^t Clark, obtain'd his certificate, then I went to Gen^l Ward's and with great difficulty obtain'd my request. I then came back into the camp where Capt. Chapman and Capt. Peters were apprising guns in our reg^t. They went through with two companies and left off on account of christening a barrack in Col. Parsons' reg^t,

which so much engag'd their attention and employ'd so much of their time that it was found necessary to delay the prosecution of any more apprising of guns in our reg^t for this day. Thus experience teaches me that smaller business must ever give way for greater. Toward night I went with a number of officers to the Col's quarters and receiv'd my ration money of the quarter-master, which was £4.18. In the evening I was a little while in Capt. Ellsworth's tent, had some discourse with Lt. Bancroft concerning army affairs. I came home early in the evening and was some time in at Gove's tent. Jo. Tyler changed some money for us. About nine o'clock I went to bed. It prov'd a very stormy night and the rain drove into my tent to that degree that it ran under my back and I was obliged to get dry clothes to lay under me to keep dry. This is the effect of living in tents in the month of December.

Saturd. the 9th. In the morning it was cold and uncomfortable, the ground cover'd with snow and ice, but as we were inform'd that his excellency Gen^l Washington was to come and look on us to day, we thought fit to shave, shift our clothes, &c. Some time in the morning the capt's of the reg^t undertook, either with orders from the higher powers or without, to make an assortment of the guns in the reg^t which proved a tedious job. About noon Ens. Leffingwell came to our tent, set and convers'd with me some time. Toward night our company were call'd out, their arms examin'd and such as were suitable detain'd in the service, after which the reg^t were under arms at Col. Douglas' desire, when he made a short speech to them and gave them a drink, a thing very acceptable to soldiers. In the evening I went with Capt. Jewett, Capt. Ripley and Mr. Hillyer to meet the Connecticut committee of payment, who lately came into camp, they receiv'd a considerable sum of continental currency for the payment of the troops, &c. After I return'd I did considerable writing of various kinds.

Sund. the 10th was spent in great confusion, on account of the troops being going off, paid, &c. I settled with the capt., with some of the men, &c., and in the evening was on business while very late, and the night prov'd very stormy.

Mond. the 11th. Arose early, was very much hurried with the company business and my own, expecting to march soon. Went to Col. Huntington, obtain'd a furlough, and then bo't an old mare of Mr. Parker. About 11 o'clock set off from camp, call'd in to see Mr. Beckwith at the Loring house, — he appear'd very dangerously sick. We call'd in at Richards', the tavern, where I waited some time for Lt. Chamberlin, and at length travell'd with him to Ames' in Dedham, where we din'd together, &c., and a little before sunset Dilla and I set off and came up to Robins in Walpole, where we arriv'd some time in the evening and put out our horse, drank a mug of flip with Mr. Barney and Mr. Abel, and then went to bed, rested well, &c.

Tuesd. the 12th. We set out early in the morning, travell'd to Man's in Wrentham for breakfast, set off from there sun an hour high and the weather very cold. We met young Dan' Ellis and Steph. Brewster near Mack's in Attlebury, they were going down to the camp with teams. We came as far as Dagget's where we oated and drank some brandy, then set off and arriv'd at Providence at 2 o'clock, din'd, and baited our horse at Col. Dexter's, bo't some clothes at Hills' and also at Halsey & Corliss' store, and came out of town about sunset, met with great difficulty to get entertainment, but at length some time in the evening put up at one Lovelists' a little beyond Shelden's the tavern. We soon went to bed and rested well.

Wednesd. the 13th. We set off before daylight, call'd in at Fisk's and drank a dram, then push'd forward to Angel's for breakfast, where we arriv'd about sunrise and met my neighbour Haskel, — he gave me a letter from my wife, by which I learn'd that my father was poorer than common. We were here oblig'd to wait for breakfast while full 10 o'clock. I then eat with Capt. Ely, Doct. Ely, Mr. Peck and several others from Lyme, after which Cordilla and I set out alone and travell'd most of the way without company as far as Green's, where we drank some brandy and came forward to Dixon's in Voluntown. Soon after we came in there Ens. Leffingwell and Mr. Abel came in and we din'd together, had a good roast turkey, &c. We came off from there a little before sunset, and as soon as it grew dusk we fell in company with young Coit who piloted us as far as his father's and gave us directions to Deac. Belcher's, but some how thro' his neglect or error in intelligence we miss'd our way and met with great difficulty and trouble to find Deacon Belcher's, but at length, about 8 o'clock arriv'd there and was treated generously by the old gent^l. After resting of us a little we set off again, call'd no more until we came to Mr. Edwards' in our own parish, where we made a very short stop and came as far as father's, where Cordilla fired his gun and we went in. They pretended to be glad to see us, &c. After a short sitting there we came home, found the people all asleep and the house guarded by a dog, the doors also being fastened; but before we could make the necessary preparation for taking the garrison by assault we were generously admitted by the defenders, with the usual ceremonies, &c.

And the rest of the acts of Jabez I hope to see written in some future narrative, more agreeable, &c.

The PRESIDENT said that he had received a letter from the senior Vice-President, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, who is now in Italy, calling attention to the fact that at this meeting Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, whose name stands third on our present

roll, would complete fifty years of membership in the Society, and he hoped that some notice of it would be taken.

Rev. Dr. PAIGE, who was in excellent health, remarked that the meeting at which he was elected was held May 30, 1844, so that he had not quite rounded out a half-century.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then spoke as follows:—

At the present time the Historical Society has the remarkable distinction of bearing on its roll of living members the names of three gentlemen whose connection with the Society began at least half a century ago. Mr. Winthrop was chosen a member on October 31, 1839, more than fifty-four years since; and now for twenty-one years he has headed the list of membership, where the names are given in the order of election. Dr. Ellis follows Mr. Winthrop as a close second, having been chosen on October 28, 1841, two years later; and at the meeting to-day Dr. Paige completes his connection of half a century with the Society. At the time of his election the meetings were held, as a rule, on the last Thursday of the month, and he was chosen on May 30, 1844; but according to the monthly meetings he has rounded a period of fifty years. It seems eminently fit that now there should be some record of this remarkable conjunction of long and contemporary memberships; and to that end I wish to say—and I feel sure that the other members will agree with me—that we all feel not only great gratification in the fact, but also a deep pride in the association with these venerable gentlemen, who for so many years have adorned the meetings by their punctual attendance.

There have been but three other members who have given so long a service to the Society,—but not all covering a common period of fifty years,—and they were John Davis, Josiah Quincy, and James Savage. Mr. Davis's membership lasted from December 23, 1791, to January 14, 1847, a term of fifty-five years; Mr. Quincy's from July 26, 1796, to July 1, 1864, sixty-eight years; and Mr. Savage's from January 28, 1813, to March 8, 1873, sixty years. Such cases of continued membership are necessarily rare, but in all those just mentioned it is worthy of note that they comprise some of the most active and valuable workers in the Society during a period of more than a century of its existence. From these instances

is it not fair to assume that labors in the historical field are conducive to health and long life?

In common with President Quincy, Dr. Paige alone has the distinction of having reached the advanced age of ninety-two years; and of the other associates six have lived to be nonagenarians: David Sewall, at the time of his death, on October 22, 1825; John Adams, on July 4, 1826; John Welles, on September 25, 1855; and Thomas Aspinwall, on August 11, 1876, who all reached the age of ninety years; Jacob Bigelow, on January 10, 1879, and Theron Metcalf, on November 14, 1875, each aged ninety-one years.

Among the ten original members of the Society, at its formation on January 24, 1791, William Baylies, of Dighton, was the eldest in years; and so he may be considered as the senior associate until his resignation, which took place on April 27, 1815. As such he was followed by William Tudor, who remained the senior member until his death on July 8, 1819; and he in turn by James Winthrop, who died on September 26, 1821. On that date Thomas Wallcut attained the distinction of being the eldest in years, which he held until the death of James Freeman, one of the original ten, on November 14, 1835, when he became the senior member, according to the present use of the phrase. At Mr. Wallcut's death, on June 5, 1840, John Davis, who was chosen a member of the Society during the first year of its existence, became the senior associate, and he held this relation until January 14, 1847, when he died. He was followed by Josiah Quincy, whose death took place on July 1, 1864; and he in turn by James Savage, who remained the senior member until March 8, 1873, the date of his death. Since that time, now a period of a little more than twenty-one years, Mr. Winthrop's name has stood at the head of the list; and it is within the bounds of moderation to say that, during his long membership, no person has ever done either so much or so good service in the interest of the Society, as the distinguished scholar and statesman who for thirty years presided at our meetings with so much dignity and grace.

Of the ten original members at the formation of the Society, on January 24, 1791, James Freeman was the youngest, having been born on April 22, 1759; and he remained such until December 23, 1791, when John Davis (born on January 25,

1761) was chosen. Of the eight senior members already mentioned, four at the time of their election were also the youngest, namely: John Davis, Josiah Quincy, James Savage, and Robert C. Winthrop.

The following is a list of the junior members of the Society, with the dates of their birth as well as of their election:—

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Dates of Birth.</i>	<i>Dates of Election.</i>
James Freeman	April 22, 1759 . .	January 24, 1791.
John Davis	January 25, 1761 . .	December 23, 1791.
Daniel Davis	May 8, 1762 . . .	May 29, 1792.
William Dandridge Peck .	May 8, 1763 . . .	October 8, 1792.
Alden Bradford	November 19, 1765 .	January 2, 1793.
John Thornton Kirkland .	August 17, 1770 . .	January 26, 1796.
Josiah Quincy	February 4, 1772 .	July 26, 1796.
William Sullivan	November 30, 1774 .	April 29, 1800.
John Langdon Sullivan .	April 9, 1777 . . .	April 28, 1801.
Obadiah Rich	November 25, 1777 .	March 5, 1805.
William Smith Shaw . . .	August 12, 1778 . .	November 7, 1805.
Joseph Stevens Buckmin- ster	May 26, 1784 . . .	April 25, 1811.
James Savage	July 13, 1784 . . .	January 28, 1813.
Francis Calley Gray . . .	September 19, 1790 .	January 29, 1818.
Edward Everett	April 11, 1794 . . .	April 27, 1820.
James Bowdoin	July 23, 1794 . . .	August 27, 1821.
Francis William Pitt Green- wood	February 5, 1797 . .	April 28, 1825.
Joseph Willard	March 14, 1798 . . .	January 29, 1829.
Charles Wentworth Upham	May 4, 1802	January 26, 1832.
Robert Charles Winthrop .	May 12, 1809 . . .	October 31, 1839.
George Edward Ellis . . .	August 8, 1814 . . .	October 28, 1841.
Peleg Whitman Chandler .	April 12, 1816 . . .	January 25, 1844.
Francis Parkman	September 16, 1823 .	February 26, 1852.
Henry Austin Whitney . .	October 6, 1826 . . .	March 11, 1858.
Alonzo Hall Quint	March 22, 1828 . . .	July 8, 1858.
Samuel Abbott Green . . .	March 16, 1830 . . .	January 12, 1860.
William Henry Whitmore .	September 6, 1836 .	February 12, 1863.
William Sumner Appleton .	January 11, 1840 . .	May 13, 1869.
Henry Cabot Lodge	May 12, 1850 . . .	December 14, 1876.
Arthur Lord	September 2, 1850 .	February 9, 1882.
Arthur Blake Ellis	July 24, 1854 . . .	March 9, 1882.
Edward Channing	June 15, 1856 . . .	December 11, 1884.
Abbott Lawrence Lowell .	December 13, 1856 .	December 11, 1890.

Since the organization of the Society, one hundred and three years ago, there have been eight different senior members as to place on the rolls, and during the same period thirty-three different junior members as to age. Of the latter class John Langdon Sullivan was the youngest, being 24 years and 19 days old at the time of his election; and Abbott Lawrence Lowell the oldest, being 33 years 11 months and 28 days. Peleg W. Chandler held the position during the longest period, having been such for 8 years 1 month and 1 day; and Arthur Lord during the shortest period, namely, 28 days.

No other member rising to make a formal communication, the remaining time of the meeting was occupied by conversational remarks, in which Mr. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, JR., the Hon. E. R. HOAR, Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, and the PRESIDENT took part.

A new volume of the Proceedings, covering the meetings from October, 1892, to March, 1894, both inclusive, was ready for distribution at this meeting.

JUNE MEETING, 1894.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the May meeting and of the list of donors to the Library during the month, the Cabinet-Keeper announced the gift of a framed portrait of Rev. Eli Forbes, D.D., formerly pastor of the First Parish of Gloucester, Massachusetts. The portrait was bequeathed to the Society by the late Edwin Forbes Waters, of Boston.¹

The Treasurer reported that he had received from the executors of the will of the late Abbott Lawrence the sum of three thousand dollars, the income whereof is to be expended in publishing the Collections and Proceedings of the Society ; and on his motion it was

Voted, That a Fund be created to be called the Lawrence Fund, the income whereof shall be expended in accordance with the terms of the will of the late Abbott Lawrence.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

The recent decease of our associate, Edward Jackson Lowell, is an occasion alike of surprise and grief to us. He seemed to carry with him the promise of years and of vigor for the pursuit of work most congenial to him, literary and historical, with fine scholarship, talents and abilities, under personal and social advantages most favorable to it. From the ten years of his pleasant and attractive association with us, and the charm of his activity here, we had come to look to him as one of a select class of our members most likely to serve us in varied and continuous labors with fruitful products. In the two volumes which we have from his pen, on "The Hessians in our War for Independence," and on "The Eve of the French Revolution," we have evidence of the fidelity of his researches and his fine skill in narration.

¹ For a sketch of Dr. Forbes, see 2 Proceedings, vol. vii. p. 384.

Within a few days the announcement has reached us of the death of one of our Honorary Members, the Rt. Rev. Lord Arthur C. Hervey, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells, a friend and correspondent of our venerable retired President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. Lord Arthur Hervey, whose name had been on our roll for upward of thirty-five years, was eminent alike as a Biblical scholar and as an antiquary. For many years he was one of the Vice-Presidents of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; and more recently he was an influential member of the commission for the revision of the English translation of the Bible.

Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell was appointed to write a memoir of Edward J. Lowell for publication in the Proceedings; and Mr. Lowell was also appointed a member of the Committee to print a Calendar of the Pickering Papers, to fill the vacancy created by the death of Edward J. Lowell.

Voted, That the stated meetings of the Society for July, August, and September be omitted, and that the President and Secretary be authorized to call a special meeting if it should be desirable.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then said:—

Among the Suffolk Court Files is a large collection of miscellaneous manuscripts on a great variety of subjects, which are of much historical interest and value. Within the past few years these papers have been carefully arranged and catalogued, under the supervision of Mr. Noble, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, by our associate Mr. William P. Upham, who has called my attention to three in particular relating to Harvard College. As they seem to be worthy of a place in the Proceedings of this Society, I now offer copies for that purpose.

One would naturally expect to find such documents among the State Archives, but in early days the General Court combined among its functions both judicial and executive duties, as well as legislative; and these various powers were separated so gradually that the exact line between them during the Colonial period cannot now be drawn. This fact, perhaps, may explain why petitions or other papers addressed to the Governor, Magistrates, or Deputies should have come down

to the present time among the Suffolk Court files. The numbers given within brackets at the end of each paper correspond with those used in the order of their present arrangement.

The first paper is a petition to the Magistrates, and seems to be in part an answer to letters sent to various churches soliciting help for the College. It relates to a period when Leonard Hoar was president, and the institution was weighed down with many disabilities. At that time an effort was making to raise money in order to put up a new building, which after many delays was finally finished ten years later. This structure became known as Harvard Hall, and was the building burned down on the night of January 24, 1764, while in use by the General Court, which was then sitting temporarily at Cambridge on account of the small-pox in Boston. By this unfortunate fire many of the records of the College were lost, and the library, which contained John Harvard's bequest of books, was destroyed.

All the signers to the petition lived at Roxbury; and with the exception of Abraham and Isaac Newall, and perhaps of the Paisons and the Williamsses, the signatures are autographs. Abraham Newall was the father of Isaac; and, as he was an old man past ninety years of age at the time, and died a few weeks later, it is highly probable that the son wrote both names.

It is interesting to note what lay nearest to the hearts of the petitioners in their desire to remove all temptation from the young men at college. To their minds the wearing of long hair was a lust to be mortified, and a sin to be avoided. Pulpits had thundered against the evil, and legislative bodies had tried to restrain it, but the fashion would not down at their bidding. The name of John Eliot, the Indian apostle, is found among the signers, and there is reason to believe that he preached the same doctrine among his native converts.

The humble Petition of some of the people

that lyve under the Jurisdiction of the massachusetts

government, unto our honored Magistrates this 5 day of march 1672

Sheweth

That whareas it hath pleased our ever honored Magistrates to send their letters to the Chur[ch]es, to move us to a liberal contribution towards the Colledg, and in one of those letters declared that if any of

the good people have any obiection you give us leave to propose it, and also are pleased to promise us, to doe your indeavor to remove the same. We take the boldnesse to propose an obiection, not with any intent to shorten either our owne or others hands to so good and pious a work, as we trust we shaall make it appeare by our actions, but our only scope is, to indevor the removal of an evyl (as it appeareth to us) in the educasion of youth at the colledg, and that is, that they are brought up in such pride as doth no wayes become such as are brought up for the holy service of the lord, either in the magistracy, or ministry especialy, and in perticular in their long haire, which lust first took head, and brake out at the Colledg so far as we understand and remember, and now it is got into our pulpets, to the great greife and offence of many godly hearts in the Country

we find in the scriptures that the sons of the prophets, and such as were dedicated to god, were brought up in a way of mortification and humility. we beseech you to consider amos. 2. 11. 12. I raised up of your sons to be prophets and of your young men to be nazarites, is it not even thus o ye children of Israel saith the lord, but ye have given the nazarits wine to drink. Consider also pro. 16. 31 the hoary head is a crowne of glory if it be found in the way of righteousnesse, and are those hairens so found, that are defiled with this lust? we beseech you consider, whether all other lusts which have so incorrigibly brake in upon our youth, have not first sprung from the incorrigableness of this lust our humble request is that you would please to use all due indeavours to cure this evyl. and so we commend you to the lord and to the word of his grace and remaine your Vmble petecinors att the thron of grac to assist and inable you in all your waighty consarns and remain

your worships humble
petitioners

Thomas ffoster :
Abraham Neuall Seaner
Isaac Neuell
Jacob nuell
Robert Pepper
abraham how
Samu'l may
John watson
Ralph hemenway

Giles paizon
John Parpoint
Samuell Ruggles
Robbert williams
Samvell williams
Edward Bridge
edward paizon
Ritchard goad
John Eliot
John Bowles
Danil bwer : [Brewer]
Samuel gary
Robert Seauer
John poley
Edward morris

[Indorsed] M^r Elljots &c peticoⁿ
abt youth:

[1174]

The other two papers relate to certain details in the erection of the new building, and give some facts not found elsewhere. The initial letters in the margin of the first paper stand for John Leverett, Governor, and Samuel Symonds, Deputy Governor; and for Symon Bradstreet, Daniel Gookin, Daniel Denison, William Hathorne, Thomas Danforth, Edward Tyng, William Stoughton, and Thomas Clarke, Assistants.

present

J L. Go

S S. D: Go

S B:

D G:

D D

W H

T D

E T

W St:

Tho Cla:

The councill do appoynt & request the comitte
ordered to take the care for carying on the new
building at the colledge, to take the Presid^{ts} acc^{ts}
for his disburssm^{ts} there & to give him a dis-
charge, vnless they shall see just reason to except
ag^t y^e same
past by y^e Council 5th march 1674

EDW: RAWSON *Secret.*

[Indorsed] Councils act 5th
march 1674
for taking the
Presidents Accounts

[1594. Paper No. 1.]

To the honored gouern[or, Assistan]tes And Deputyes
now Assembled in the gen[era]ll Court

wee whose names are herevnto subscribed, being Intrusted & Employed by the worshipfull & Reuerend gentlemen the ouerseers of the Colledge at Cambridge As Agents & stewards, to mannage the worke of the new building for the Colledge both in hyreing & paying workmen & Artificers, in procureing & purchaseing materials And in doing all other matters & things Referring to the building & finishing the sayd Colledge, And to Receiue all the Contributions that are or shall be given for this worke &c;

wee haue accordingly through the good hand of our god with vs according to the matter manner form & dimensions prescribed vnto vs, disbursed such contributions of moneys, corn Cattel & other goods as wee could procure, & haue brought the building on so farr as that the outside worke is for the most part finished & the liberrary compleatly finished & one chamber, all the rest of the house, for the present vselese, the most of the floores wants boards, 3 cases of holpacte staires to bee made that will not be done with a litle cost, & the greatest part of the house to plaister & siele withinside, wee want at least 20 tunns

of limestones, 10, or 12000 foot of boards besides other materials, & wee haue nothing or very litle to purchase them withall, the old Colledge is part of it (besides the turret) fallen down, & mens eyes generally vpon vs to get the new building finished, but wee haue not wherewithall, most of the townes behind with a part of their subscribed contributions, some more some lese behind, & some towns neuer did contribute any thing at all, viz; Ipswich, salem, (only m^r higinson & m^r Batter) Andouer, hauerill, newbury, salisbury, hampton, hingam, & Bradford wee cannot but thinke it great pity so much cost & charge as is already expended should ly dormant & of so litle vse; as only the lyberarie wee would be glad & are very desireous it might be finished if wee had wherewithall wee feare the chimneys may sufer much damage by being out of vse so long
which is signified by you[r] Worships seruants

Cambridge this 29th of may [16]77

WILLIAM MANNING
JOHN COOPER

[Indorsed] M^r Manning & m^r Coopers
petition to y^e Gen^l Court
30 may 1677

[1594. Paper No. 2.]

This Report on the part of Mr. Manning and Deacon Cooper shows to what straits in raising money the College was put at that time, in order to erect the building; and subscriptions had then been coming in for some years. The authorities were very glad to receive corn and cattle, and other produce and stock from the farmers of the neighborhood, all which could be converted into ready cash. The erection of the Hall cost the little settlements of the Colony, in proportion to their means, a larger amount of labor, money, and thought, many times over, than did that of Memorial Hall, soon after the Rebellion. A great contrast is suggested here between these humble efforts of two centuries and a quarter ago and those put forth at the present day. Now, when President Eliot wants a huge edifice for a museum or a dormitory, he has little more to do than to say "Ædificetur," and the work is done. It is well, however, occasionally to turn back and study the narrow circumstances of the College in the earlier days of its history, and thus to learn of the privations practised by the friends of the institution at that period.

The Report also shows another interesting fact, that one of the first rooms finished in the building was intended for the

library, small though it was at that time. It bears witness to the value and importance of the use of books in the education of young men, as held by the founders of the College.

President Quincy, in his "History of Harvard University" (I. 43), gives a vignette of the first Harvard Hall, as taken in a reduced form from an old engraving of the College buildings, which was published originally in July, 1726, and again with some changes a few years later. There are in the Cabinet of the Historical Society copies of both these prints, which were given on October 27, 1795.

The Society also possesses a piece of embroidery, ten inches by nine in size, representing a large brick structure, which was intended probably for one of the College buildings. It is set in a black frame, with glass in front, though nothing is known now in regard to its history, not even when it was added to the Cabinet, which must have been during the early days of the Society. Perhaps it was given at the quarterly meeting, on October 27, 1795, as at that time "a View of the ancient Halls of Harvard, Stoughton, and Massachusetts; and a View of Yale College" were presented by Colonel William Scollay; and this may have been considered as of too little importance for special mention. A detailed account of the first of these Views is given in the Proceedings (XVIII. 318-322) with a fac-simile of the engraving. The View of Yale College is an old print made during the administration of Jonathan Law as Governor of Connecticut, who served in that capacity from the year 1741 till his death, on November 6, 1750. It was "Engrav'd & Printed by T. Johnston Sold by I Buck at y^e Spectacles in Queen-street BOSTON."

In the first volume of "The Harvard Book" (Cambridge, 1875), is a description of Stoughton Hall, by the late Reverend Samuel Longfellow, who in a note (page 80) alludes to a view of the original building which is introduced in the background of a portrait of Stoughton, now hanging in the great dining-room of Memorial Hall. Mr. Longfellow says: "There may also be seen a representation of the building in a tapestry in the rooms of the Historical Society, in Boston,"—evidently referring to this piece of embroidery in the Cabinet. He is probably mistaken in considering it a representation of Stoughton Hall, as it bears a much closer resemblance to the original Harvard, which was destroyed in the

early part of the year 1764. My own theory is that the work was intended to represent Harvard, while still standing, by some girl deft with the needle in order to show her aptness, much in the same way as girls used to make samplers. On the roof of the building are shown two winged-figures or angels, supporting what may have been meant for a symbol of some kind,—perhaps a hive with bees flying around,—with a scroll between them, on which is a Latin motto, which reads (as nearly as I can make it out, though I do not attempt a translation): “Neo. A PRÆSEPIBUS [A]RCENT” (see Virgil’s *Georgics* IV. 168; also *Æneid* I. 435). While the resemblance between the embroidered work and Harvard Hall might be much closer, I think that the needle-woman had in mind that structure.

MR. HAMILTON A. HILL spoke as follows:—

At the June meeting a year ago, our associate, Dr. Green, who, in response to an invitation, had been appointed delegate to represent the Society at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the American Philosophical Society, reported on his visit to Philadelphia on that occasion, and, in the course of his remarks, referred particularly and with much interest to the venerable president of that Society, Frederick Fraley. On the 28th of May last, Mr. Fraley completed his ninetyeth year; and, to commemorate the event, a dinner was given in his honor, at the Union League Club, by two hundred or more of his fellow-citizens and friends, representing the University of Pennsylvania, and the learned societies and other organizations with which he has been closely identified during his long and useful career. It was my good fortune to be present at this dinner, and I feel that a brief reference to it may well have a place in our Proceedings.

One of the speakers at the dinner, Provost Pepper, called attention to the fact that Mr. Fraley had lived more than one third as long as Harvard had existed; that two such lifetimes as his would exceed considerably the age of the University of Pennsylvania; and that his actual time of service as one of the trustees of the University, exceeding forty years, would cover more than a quarter of its history. Mr. Fraley is the only surviving founder of the Franklin Institute, established in 1824; and Dr. Coleman Sellers said that to him, then

a very young man, was due the credit of its establishment, and, in that connection, that he had done much in fostering and encouraging the arts in the city of Philadelphia. He became a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1842,¹ and has been its President since January, 1880. He was one of the founders of the Philadelphia Board of Trade in 1834, and has been one of its board of directors during the sixty years that have intervened.

The remarkable thing about Mr. Fraley's honorable old age is that he still fills with all his wonted ability and efficiency the various responsible positions which he has held for so many years. He is to-day chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University; and President of the Philosophical Society, of the National Board of Trade, of the Philadelphia Board of Trade, and of the Western Saving Fund, an institution which holds on deposit eight millions of dollars. As he enters upon his tenth decade, he illustrates, as few men have been permitted to do, "how far the gulf stream of our youth may flow into the arctic regions of our lives."

At our meeting last month, special mention was made of the three senior members of our own Society, the last of whom had just completed half a century in its membership; and appropriate recognition was given to their eminent worth, in both public and private life. It is gratifying and refreshing to observe such evidences of the consideration and appreciation, shown by many of the most learned and best men in cities like Boston and Philadelphia, for advanced years rounding out upright and useful lives, for the full maturity of noble character, and for the final endeavors which complete and crown long-continued and honorable public service. Such marks of respect are not only prompted by all that is highest in our common nature, but they are enjoined upon us by our holy religion, one of whose earliest inculcations was: "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man, for I am the Lord."

The Hon. MELLECHAMBERLAIN then spoke substantially as follows: —

¹ He is No. 1170 on the list of members. Dr. William H. Furness, who was elected a member in 1840, is No. 1130.

In a large mass of manuscripts relating to Chelsea history, which for more than a century have lain remote from that place and unknown, and recently come into my possession, I have found a scrap of paper which imports a fact of considerable interest that seems hitherto to have escaped notice. I have made no exhaustive study of the subject presented by the paper, which to me is an isolated fact thus far affording no clew to other essential facts. I therefore call the attention of the Society to it, hoping to elicit to-day, or on some future day, additional information respecting it. The paper reads as follows :—

Boston Dec 14. 1781

Received of the congregation of Chelsea nine pounds fourteen shillings & 4 for the distressed inhabitants of South Carolina & Georgia who are driven from their habitations by the British troops, — in behalf of Isaac Smith Esq.,

NATH^l. AUSTIN.

£9. 14. 4

This document certifies that the small congregation of farmers living chiefly in what is now Revere, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Phillips Payson, raised and paid over to Isaac Smith,¹ doubtless an agent authorized to receive it, a considerable sum of money for the relief of a people remote, and with whom they could have had no personal relations; and that they did this at a time when, as their town records show, they had been greatly distressed to raise their quota of soldiers for the Continental army. These circumstances lead to the conjecture that the Chelsea contribution must have been part of a more general contribution, in which Boston and the towns in its vicinity, and perhaps the State, participated. And if so, it is a little remarkable that no mention has been made of it by any historian of Massachusetts known to me, and that it escaped the notice of the late Richard Frothingham, whose study of an event with which it may have been connected was, as always, very thorough. I allude to the colonial relief of the people of Boston, distressed by the opera-

¹ It is noticeable that Isaac Smith, who received the Chelsea donation for South Carolina and Georgia in 1781, was the Boston agent, or one of the agents, who in 1775 (for these contributions continued as late as 1776) received contributions from other places "for the benefit of the sufferers in Boston." This seems to indicate some connection between the two transactions.

tion of the Boston Port Bill, in 1774, fully set forth in the correspondence edited and printed by Mr. Frothingham in vol. iv., ser. 4, of our Collections. A brief recital of the circumstances, and of what was done by South Carolina and Georgia for the relief of Boston in 1774 and 1776,¹ may possibly throw some light upon what seems to have been done for those States in their distress seven years later, in 1781.

The proximate cause of the Boston Port Bill was the destruction of the East India Company's tea, in Boston harbor, December 16, 1773, with the concurrence of the chiefs of the patriotic party. This act, though not that of the town in its municipal capacity, was regarded as such by the British ministry, it having been prompted by its principal citizens, and, as a punishment, the port of Boston was closed to sea-borne commerce, foreign and coast-wise, with some exceptions. The Bill passed May 31, 1774, to take effect the first of June following, was to remain in force until the town should pay for the tea destroyed, and certain other damages to property.

The consequences were immediate and disastrous, involving all classes and conditions of persons living in a sea-port district. It not only closed the port to commerce, but paralyzed all industries depending upon commerce.

When this state of things became known in the other colonies, it excited pity for the suffering people, and led to generous efforts for their relief. From every colony from Maine to Georgia, and even from Canada, on the north, and from St. Eustasia, on the south, came contributions of corn, wheat, rice, rye, oats, cattle, sheep, and money, as the circumstances of each community and facility of conveyance made most appropriate and convenient.

More touching even than these generous contributions, were letters of sympathy for their suffering and words of cheer and confidence as to their final triumph in a cause to which no colony could feel indifferent. In no instance do I recall a word of reproach respecting the conduct of the people of Boston which had brought upon them their heavy punishment; and only one letter — that from Groton, Massachusetts — which cautioned the town to "avoid all mobs, riots, and tumults, and the insultings of private persons and property."

¹ South Carolina sent 375 tierces, and Georgia 63 casks of rice.

Primarily and most deeply the people of Boston were sufferers; but not they alone, for Charlestown was then essentially, as in later times legally, a part of the port of Boston; and, August 9, 1774, Boston voted that "our sister town of Charlestown is equally entitled to a certain part of the donations that are and may be received for the employment and relief of such persons as are sufferers by the operation of the Boston Port-Bill."

That the contribution of the Chelsea farmers was prompted by a grateful remembrance of some direct or indirect participation in the relief afforded seven years before, by South Carolina and Georgia, I have no evidence.¹ But if so, we might reasonably expect to find that Malden, Cambridge, Medford, Charlestown, Brighton, Brookline, Roxbury, Dorchester, and perhaps Quincy, Weymouth, and even Hingham, would feel themselves under similar obligations. And this possible state of facts has led me to read carefully the Boston Port-Bill. I find that though historians have stated its general effect accurately, they do not appear to have considered its effect upon the towns surrounding Boston, by the definition in the Bill of the easterly boundary of the Port of Boston, which was by a line drawn from Nahant Point to Point Alderton. So that every "quay, wharf, or place, as well as every island, creek, landing-bank or other place within the Bay," thus defined, was closed to "every ship, lighter, boat, or bottom" for commercial uses. A glance at the map shows what towns whose rivers or creeks reach up from Boston harbor proper would be affected by the inclusive terms of the Bill; and every one familiar with the history of those towns knows that then the profits of farmers were largely derived from the sale of their hay, vegetables, and live-stock to foreign-bound vessels, all of which were destroyed by the shutting up of the port of Boston. I know that this was seriously felt by the people of Chelsea at the time; but I do not know that either they, or those similarly situated, participated in the relief afforded to Boston and Charlestown.

However this may have been, or whether the Chelsea contribution was isolated, or, as is most probable, part of a larger contribution, the circumstance, which seems to have been for-

¹ There is no entry, save of births, deaths, and marriages, in the Chelsea church records kept by Dr. Payson, from February 11, 1776, to April 26, 1782.

gotten, is honorable to all who took part in it; and my purpose in making this communication is (with your aid, which I solicit) to promote a fuller investigation of the matter, with the view to placing upon our records an interesting unrecorded fact in the history of the Commonwealth.

Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER presented a bound copy of an old French play, the scene of which is laid during our Revolutionary War, and said:—

As members of this Society we are not supposed to cultivate romantic literature very extensively, yet I presume we are not indifferent to the impression which prominent events in our history have made upon the popular mind at home and abroad, as seen in occasional works of fiction.

Some time ago I chanced to fall in with a copy of an old play which was brought out in Paris in 1829 at the Théâtre de Madame. It is one of the many joint productions of Scribe & Mélesville,¹ and bears the title “*La Bohémienne, ou l'Amérique en 1775. Drame Historique en cinq Actes et en prose.*”

The scene is laid mostly in Boston, partly at the country-seat of “Lord” Gage, the governor, who is correctly represented as good-natured and peaceably disposed, but disturbed by public anxiety and domestic grief, and like most of his countrymen, looking at us through the wrong end of the telescope, and minimizing our strength, our spirit, and our practical unanimity.

The *pièce de résistance* is the governor's secretary, who bears the appropriate name of Sir Cokney, a young swell, fresh from London, who has evidently come over with the purpose of marrying Gage's daughter. He cannot endure the Boston climate, nor the ways of the people. His dulness of intuition, his garrulity, and his amazing indiscretion are continually bringing him into trouble. He goes into a restaurant and calls for tea, to the consternation of everybody, though he cannot see why. He turns up at Lexington, and is frightened at seeing the farmers running across the fields, armed with sticks and axes and scythes, and shouting, “Down with the English! Down with the Redcoats!” He is greatly relieved when his

¹ Mélesville is the pseudonym of A. H. J. Duveyrier, who wrote “*Le Bon Homme Richard.*”

commander orders a retreat, and the troops hasten back to town, as he says, "with accelerated pace," under a shower of stones raining upon them on all sides.

Strange to say, there is no mention of Concord in the book, — an unpardonable omission even for a Frenchman. There are naturally some anachronisms, and of course there is a duel. For dramatic effect, the battle of Bunker Hill follows directly after that of Lexington, and the evacuation is not long delayed.

The sentiment of the play is decidedly in favor of the American cause, though not bitter toward England. France takes the part of the colonies, and has a ship in our harbor. Allusions are made to Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Clinton, and Burgoyne; also to Beacon Hill and "Funnel" Hall. The most prominent American officer takes the name of Lionel Lincoln, evidently borrowed from Cooper's novel which appeared a few years before this play was written.

When Gage is about to embark, he is charged to convey to the king and Parliament the demands of the colonies; namely, equal rights, equal taxes, and liberty under law. For Americans are citizen soldiers; not revolted slaves, but free men who before the world proclaim their independence and defend it.

Of the romance running agreeably through the comedy I have nothing to say, except that the heroine is a pleasing character, and the tribute paid to domestic life in America is very graceful.

I do not find that the play was ever translated or ever given in America. Certainly it would never be given in England; and now, as the style is somewhat antiquated, though easy and bright, it could not probably be reproduced anywhere, unless the rising tide of dramatic study in New England should give it a place among amateur performances.

The Théâtre de Madame was so called in honor of the Duchess de Berry, who was its patron from 1820 to 1830. It still exists, under the name of Gymnase, in the Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle.

I have obtained this reprint from Paris, and am happy to place it upon our shelves.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH then spoke, in substance, as follows: —

Some years ago I communicated, for publication in the Proceedings, the late Rev. Dr. John Pierce's notes on the Commencements at Harvard University, 1803-1848, from his manuscript memoirs in the possession of this Society.¹ I desire now to communicate his notes on the Anniversary Meetings of the Phi Beta Kappa Society during the same period. As is well known to our older members, Dr. Pierce was remarkably exact and methodical in all his ways, and during this period of forty-six years he missed only one anniversary meeting of the Society, — that held in 1808. But such was his extreme aversion to the use of wine and cigars that he dined with the members only twenty-one times. His notes are therefore mainly confined to the public exercises; but in a few instances he has given a hint of what was said at the dinners, from which reporters have always been excluded. Like Dr. Pierce's Commencement Notes this record is probably unique, and it supplies some facts nowhere else preserved. As I notice here this afternoon our valued associates, the President and the Treasurer of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, I shall take the liberty of reading a few short extracts in which they may be specially interested. In printing it I shall add a few notes, which have been rendered desirable by the length of time since the record was made.

Some Notes on the Anniversary Meetings of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, Alpha of Massachusetts, 1803-1848.

[1803.]

1 Sep. At Anniversary of the Φ B K. The poem by B'r Jenks² on The Social Principle was well received.

The oration by B'r Pipon³ on Man consisted of miscellaneous and severely critical remarks on man.

[1804.]

30 Aug. Met the Φ B K. After transacting the business of the day, we proceeded to the Episcopal Church.

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 167-263.

² Rev. William Jenks, D.D., born at Newton, Mass., Nov. 25, 1778; graduated at Harvard University in 1797; died in Boston, Nov. 13, 1866. A memoir of him, by Rev. George W. Blagden, D.D., is in Proceedings, vol. x. pp. 105-112.

³ Rev. John Pipon, born in Boston, Jan. 4, 1765; graduated at Harvard University in 1792; ordained at Taunton, Mass., Jan. 15, 1800; died there Jan. 7, 1821. See Emery's Ministry of Taunton, vol. ii. pp. 132-138.

The exercises were introduced by musick.

B'r Emerson¹ then prayed.

B'r Allyn of Duxbury² gave us an ingenious oration on Friendship.

B'r Knapp,³ Boston, delivered a poem.

[1805.]

29 Aug. With the Φ B K. The exercises at the Episcopal Church were introduced by instrumental musick. Then followed prayer by Dr. Kirkland.⁴

To this succeeded an elegant oration on Law by Peter Thacher, Esq.⁵

Rev. T. M. Harris⁶ delivered a poem on Patronage of Genius.

After this an oration by Dr. Fiske⁷ of Worcester closed the performances.

The following officers were chosen for the next year, — Rev. John T. Kirkland, D.D., President; Rev. Wm. Jenks, Vice-President; Sidney Willard, A.M., Secretary; Abra. Biglow, Esq., Treasurer.

[1806.]

28 Aug. Met the Φ B K in the chapel of Harvard University. At twelve the members walked in long procession to the meetinghouse, where Brother Harris⁸ of Dorchester prayed. Brother Benjamin Whitwell⁹ [1790] of Augusta delivered an acceptable poem. Brother

¹ Rev. William Emerson, born in Concord, Mass., May 6, 1769; graduated at Harvard University in 1789; died in Boston, May 12, 1811. A memoir of him by Rev. S. C. Thacher is in 2 Collections, vol. i. pp. 254-258.

² Rev. John Allyn, D.D., born in Barnstable, Mass., Mar. 21, 1767; graduated at Harvard University in 1785; ordained at Duxbury, Dec. 3, 1788; died there July 19, 1833. A memoir of him by Rev. Convers Francis, D.D., is in 3 Collections, vol. v. pp. 245-252.

³ John Knapp, born in Boston, April 3, 1779; graduated at Harvard University in 1800; died in Boston, March 9, 1849.

⁴ Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D.D., at this time minister of the New South Church in Boston, afterward President of Harvard University. He was born at Little Falls, N. Y., Aug. 17, 1770; graduated at Harvard University in 1789; died in Boston, April 26, 1840.

⁵ Peter Oxenbridge Thacher, born in Malden, Mass., Dec. 22, 1776; graduated at Harvard University in 1796; died in Boston, Feb. 22, 1843.

⁶ Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D., born in Charlestown, July 7, 1768; graduated at Harvard University in 1787; died in Boston, April 3, 1842. A memoir of him by Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, D.D., is in 4 Collections, vol. ii. pp. 130-155.

⁷ Oliver Fiske, M.D., born in Brookfield, Sept. 2, 1762; graduated at Harvard University in 1787; settled in Worcester; and died in Boston, Jan. 25, 1837.

⁸ Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, D.D.

⁹ Counsellor-at-law, born in Boston, June 21, 1772; died of consumption on the voyage from Charleston, S. C., to New York, April 5, 1825. See *Columbian*

Thomas B. Adams¹ [1790] then delivered an oration on Philosophy. Although there was such a numerous concourse of brethren, but 30 of us dined together at Porter's. I asked the blessing. Brother Dehon² returned thanks. Such was the extravagance exhibited in giving \$70 for the theatrical musicians, who were a nuisance, and in paying for 25 dinners which were not eaten, that I now feel resolved never to dine with the Society again. Expenses to each one was \$5.70.

[1807.]

27 Aug. Attended the anniversary meeting of the Φ B K. Dr. Kirkland having declined being any longer President, Rev. Joseph McKean was chosen President; Andrew Ritchie, Esq., Vice President; Peter Nurse, A.M., Cor. Sec. & Recording. A procession was formed at the chapel and went to the meetinghouse, where Rev. Dr. Holmes³ prayed, and Rev. Theodore Dehon of Newport [1795] delivered an elegant oration on Literature. Instead of dining with the Society, where there is commonly a great deal of extravagance, I invited a few friends who dined with me at Brookline.

[1809.]

31 Aug. The Φ B K had their anniversary.

Hon. Josiah Quincy was chosen President; Loammi Baldwin, Esq., V. Pres't.

At 12 a numerous company of the Society walked in procession to the meetinghouse.

The Rev. Dr. Kendal⁴ began the exercises with prayer.

The Rev. Jos. S. Buckminster⁵ delivered a highly polished and

Centinel, April 20, 1825. The title of Mr. Whitwell's poem was "Experience, or Folly as it flies."

¹ Son of President John Adams, born in Braintree, Sept. 15, 1772; died in Quincy, March 12, 1832.

² Rev. Theodore Dehon, D.D., then rector of an Episcopal church in Newport, R. I., afterward Bishop of South Carolina. He was born in Boston, Dec. 8, 1776; graduated at Harvard University in 1795; died at Charleston, S. C., Aug. 6, 1817.

³ Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., at this time minister of the First Church in Cambridge; born in Woodstock, Ct., Dec. 24, 1763; graduated at Yale College in 1783; died at Cambridge, June 4, 1837. A memoir of him by Rev. William Jenks, D.D., is in 3 Collections, vol. vii. pp. 270-282.

⁴ Rev. James Kendall, D.D., born at Sterling, Mass., Nov. 3, 1769; graduated at Harvard University in 1796; ordained minister of the First Church in Plymouth, Jan. 1, 1800; died there March 17, 1859. See Palmer's *Harvard Necrology*, pp. 216-220.

⁵ Born in Portsmouth, N. H., May 26, 1784; graduated at Harvard University in 1800; died in Boston, June 9, 1812. A memoir of him by Hon. James Savage is in 2 Collections, vol. ii. pp. 271-274.

ingenious oration on The Dangers and Duties of Literary Men. It was 55 minutes in length, & was received with the utmost attention & approbation.

Mr. Jos. Head¹ delivered a poem on Enthusiasm, which succeeding so elegant an oration was heard to great disadvantage.

I did not dine with the Society.

[1810.]

30 Aug. Attended the exercises of the Φ B K at Cambridge.

Rev. Thaddeus Fiske² of West Cambridge made a very appropriate prayer.

Brother William Allen³ delivered an oration on "The Misapplication of Talents," of 30 minutes. It was well written, and though he had but a few days to prepare it, as he was the substitute of Wm. Tudor, it was well delivered memoriter.

The poem by Washington Alston⁴ was received with great emotions of pleasure by those who heard it. But as he spake very low, & I was in a lateral situation, I was in the number of those who did not hear enough to form a correct judgment of its worth. It was 55 minutes in length.

[1811.]

29 August, I attended the anniversary of the Φ B K.

The Rev. Horace Holley⁵ introduced the exercises with a short and very pertinent prayer.

John Stickney, Esq.,⁶ delivered an oration, of $\frac{3}{4}$ hour, on The Qualifications of a Statesman. Through the course of it I reproached myself with the obtuseness of my faculties, as there was so large a portion of it of which I could not form the trace of a conception. But on mentioning my difficulty to intelligent men, I found that I was not

¹ A merchant, born in Boston, Aug. 20, 1785; graduated at Harvard University in 1804; died in Wheeling, Virginia, April 11, 1882.

² Born at Weston, Mass., June 22, 1762; graduated at Harvard University in 1785; died in Charlestown, Nov. 14, 1855. See Palmer's Harvard Necrology, pp. 67, 68.

³ Rev. William Allen, D.D.; afterward President of Bowdoin College, born in Pittsfield, Mass., Jan. 1, 1784; graduated at Harvard University in 1802; died at Northampton, Mass., July 16, 1868.

⁴ Washington Allston was born at Waccamaco, S. C., Nov. 5, 1779; graduated at Harvard University in 1800; died in Cambridge, July 9, 1843.

⁵ At that time minister of the Hollis St. Church, Boston; born at Salisbury, Conn., Feb. 13, 1781; died on the voyage from New Orleans to New York, July 31, 1827.

⁶ A physician, born at Newburyport, Feb. 24, 1784; graduated at Harvard University in 1804; died at Newbury, Dec. 14, 1833.

alone. In short, I could compare it to nothing more striking than a dark night now and then enlightened by flashes of lightning.

After this succeeded a poem by Dr. Bigelow¹ on the Difficulties of a Professional Life, admirably pourtrayed but miserably delivered.

I did not dine with the Society; but I am told that Sawney Biglow,² so called, & Baldwin exhibited great humour in Hudibrastick and Pindarick strains.

[1812.]

27 August, met Φ B K.

Rev. Wm. E. Channing³ prayed.

Edward Everett⁴ delivered a fine poem on "Columbian Bards."

James Savage, Esq.,⁵ gave an oration on "The Influence of Religion upon Letters."

The audience was larger & more respectable than a similar occasion has ever attracted.

[1813.]

26 August, attended the exercises of Φ B K at Cambridge.

The meeting was fuller than was ever before known, both of members & of auditors.

The Rev. Dr. Harris⁶ made the introductory prayer.

Mr. Alexander H. Everett⁷ delivered an oration, 55 minutes long, on The Character and Writings of Edmund Burke.

Mr. Nath. L. Frothingham⁸ delivered a poem on Genius, 35 minutes long.

¹ Jacob Bigelow, M.D., born at Sudbury, Mass., Feb. 27, 1787; graduated at Harvard University in 1806; died in Boston, Jan. 10, 1879. A memoir of him by Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., is in Proceedings, vol. xvii. pp. 383-467.

² William Biglow, born in Weston, Mass., Sept. 22, 1773; graduated at Harvard University in 1794; died in Boston, Jan. 12, 1844. The poem recited by him on this occasion was printed at the time under the title of "Commencement, a Poem: or rather Commencement of a Poem." A copy is in the library of this Society.

³ Minister of the Federal St. Church, Boston, born at Newport, R. I., April 7, 1780; graduated at Harvard University in 1798; died at Bennington, Vermont, Oct. 2, 1842.

⁴ Born at Dorchester, April 11, 1794; graduated at Harvard University in 1811; died in Boston, Jan. 15, 1865. The poem was privately printed, without a title-page, and is now scarce. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 176.

⁵ Born in Boston, July 13, 1784; graduated at Harvard University in 1803; died in Boston, March 8, 1873. A memoir of him by Hon. George S. Hillard is in Proceedings, vol. xvi. pp. 117-153. See also 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 169.

⁶ Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, D.D. See note, *ante*, p. 111.

⁷ Born in Boston, March 19, 1790; graduated at Harvard University in 1806; died in Canton, China, June 29, 1847. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 171.

⁸ Born in Boston, July 23, 1793; graduated at Harvard University in 1811; died in Boston, April 4, 1870. A memoir of him by Rev. Frederic H. Hedge,

Both of them spoke too low to be distinctly heard over the house. Mr. F. is a very elegant speaker.

[1814.]

1 Sep. Attended exercises of the Φ B K.

Rev. Henry Colman¹ prayed, 15 minutes.

Geo. Ticknor² delivered a popular oration on *The Literature of Greece*, 35 minutes.

The poem failed by the illness of Samuel Gilman, A.M.,³ who was to have delivered it.

[1815.]

31 August, at the exercises of the Φ B K at Cambridge.

Rev. Abiel Abbot⁴ of Beverly made a short and appropriate prayer.

Wm. Tudor, Esq.,⁵ delivered an oration on the subjects which America would furnish for future poets.

Mr. Samuel Gilman delivered a poem, of an hour and 20 minutes, on *Human Life*. There was much humour, some pathos, and a considerable interest in this production. His compliments, however, to several gentlemen who were present, and who were called by name, were somewhat indelicate, and to many, and especially to some of the gentlemen concerned, peculiarly disgusting. He was one hour and 20 minutes in length.

I dined at Professor Hedge's with Mr. & Miss Elliott, Mr. Rutledge, & Mr. Kinloch of South Carolina, &c. Took coffee at the President's.

[1816.]

29 August, met Φ B K.

Brother Lowell⁶ made a short & appropriate prayer.

D.D., is in *Proceedings*, vol. xi. pp. 371-386. See also 2 *Proceedings*, vol. v. p. 175.

¹ At that time minister at Hingham, Mass., born in Boston, Sept. 12, 1785; died at Islington, England, Aug. 14, 1849.

² Born in Boston, Aug. 1, 1791; died there Jan. 26, 1871. A memoir of him by William W. Greenough is in *Proceedings*, vol. xx. pp. 384-391.

³ Rev. Samuel Gilman, D.D., born in Gloucester, Mass., Feb. 16, 1791; graduated at Harvard University in 1811; died at Kingston, Mass., Feb. 8, 1858. See 2 *Proceedings*, vol. v. p. 176.

⁴ Born at Andover, Mass., Aug. 17, 1770; graduated at Harvard University in 1792; died at Staten Island, N. Y., June 7, 1828.

⁵ The younger William Tudor, born in Boston, Jan. 28, 1779; graduated at Harvard University in 1796; died in Rio Janeiro, March 9, 1830. A memoir of him by Charles C. Smith is in *Proceedings*, vol. i. pp. 429-433.

⁶ Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D., born in Boston, Aug. 15, 1782; graduated at Harvard University in 1800; died in Cambridge, Jan. 20, 1861. A memoir of him by Rev. William Jenks, D.D., is in *Collections*, vol. v. pp. 427-440.

B'r Francis C. Gray¹ delivered a sensible oration on History.

B'r Henry Ware, Junr.,² gave a fine poem on "Travellers."

The assembly was large & highly respectable; and the members of the Society present were more numerous than common.

[1817.]

[28 August.] At Φ B K, Cambridge.

Rev. Benjamin Tappan³ made a prayer of 15 minutes.

Wm. Crafts, Jr., Esq.,⁴ of Charleston, S. C., delivered an oration on the means of national greatness, 50 minutes long. It contained several brilliant passages, but was somewhat desultory. His elocution was forcible and genteel. Having but imperfectly committed it to memory he had frequently to recur to his manuscript. This soon became separated, and was scattered over the cushion & floor, but the orator notwithstanding betrayed no marks of perturbation or confusion. His notice of Bp. Dehon's recent death was very touching.

John Ware, M. D.,⁵ next delivered the poem, of 33 minutes, on Novels. It was chaste and humorous, but seldom arose to wit. The Society dined in University Hall. I counted 150 members who walked in procession. The audience was, as usual, large & highly respectable.

[1818.]

Thursday, 27 Aug. . . . There was then [after the speaking for the Boylston prizes] the longest procession we have ever had of members of the Φ B K, who walked from the chapel to the meetinghouse. Rev. James Flint⁶ began with a very appropriate prayer of 5 minutes. Edw. T. Channing, Esq.,⁷ delivered a fine oration on Indepen-

¹ Born in Salem, Sept. 19, 1790; graduated at Harvard University in 1809; died in Boston, Dec. 29, 1856. See Palmer's Harvard Necrology, pp. 120, 121.

² Born in Hingham, April 21, 1794; graduated at Harvard University in 1812; died in Framingham, Sept. 22, 1843. A memoir of him by Charles C. Smith is in Proceedings, vol. ii. pp. 278-282; see also 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 177.

³ Born in West Newbury, Nov. 7, 1788; graduated at Harvard University in 1805; died in Augusta, Me., Dec. 22, 1863. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 170.

⁴ Born in Charleston, S. C., Jan. 24, 1787; graduated at Harvard University in 1805; died at Ballston Springs, N. Y., Sept. 22, 1826. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 170.

⁵ Born in Hingham, Dec. 19, 1795; graduated at Harvard University in 1813; died in Boston, April 29, 1864.

⁶ Born in Reading, Mass., Dec. 10, 1781; graduated at Harvard University in 1802; died in Salem, March 4, 1855. See Palmer's Harvard Necrology, pp. 39, 40.

⁷ Professor of Rhetoric. He was born in Newport, R. I., Dec. 12, 1790; was temporarily in the class of 1808; was made a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in that year; and died in Cambridge, Feb. 8, 1856.

dence in Literary Pursuits; Wm. H. Gardiner¹ a classical poem on Taste.

About 50 members then dined together at University Hall. I asked the blessing. No thanks. The audience was large & brilliant, & the exercises appeared to give universal satisfaction. Members of the Society present whom I can recollect 115; before me 34.

[1819.]

Thursday, 26 August, I was present at the exercises of prize declamations & of the Φ B K. . . .

Then a procession, consisting of 160 members of the Φ B K Society moved in procession to the meetinghouse, where there was no prayer, as is usual. Pro. Brazer² [1813] delivered an acceptable oration, "A Comparison of Ancient & Modern Literature," & Cushing³ [1817] a poem on I cannot tell what. The former 45 minutes; the latter 35. A large & brilliant audience. Fine day. Members older than I, 26 present.

[1820.]

On Thursday, 31 Aug. . . . The declamations began at X., & closed at XII., when there was a long procession of the Φ B K from University Hall to the meetinghouse, where the Rev. Nath. Whitman⁴ [1809] of Billerica began the services with a prayer of 5 minutes.

John Glen King, Esq.,⁵ of Salem, 1807, delivered a well-written oration on Classical Literature, without any pretensions to oratory, of 1½ hour.

Dr. Gam. Bradford⁶ of Boston [1814] delivered a humorous poem, of 30 minutes, on Boston.

Splendid auditory. Cloudy day. Members present older than myself, 24.

[1821.]

30 August. At XII. the usual procession of the Φ B K moved to the meetinghouse.

¹ Born in Boston, Oct. 29, 1796; graduated at Harvard University in 1816; died in Boston, Feb. 16, 1882. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 181.

² Rev. John Brazer, D.D., at that time Professor of Latin. He was born in Worcester, Sept. 21, 1789; ordained over the North Church in Salem, Nov. 14, 1820; died in Charleston, S. C., Feb. 26, 1846. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 178.

³ Hon. Caleb Cushing, born in Salisbury, Mass., Jan. 17, 1800; died at Newburyport, Jan. 2, 1879. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 187.

⁴ Born at Bridgewater, Dec. 25, 1785; ordained at Billerica, Jan. 26, 1814; died at Deerfield, Oct. 29, 1869.

⁵ Born at Salem, March 19, 1787; died there July 26, 1857. A memoir of him by William P. Upham is in Proceedings, vol. xviii. pp. 37-40.

⁶ Born in Boston, Nov. 17, 1795; died there Oct. 22, 1839. A memoir of him by Rev. Convers Francis, D.D., is in 3 Collections, vol. ix. pp. 76-81.

The usual prayer was omitted.

John C. Gray¹ delivered an oration, of 45 minutes, on the Advantages to American Literature of enjoying a community of language with the English. It was uttered wholly memoriter, without hesitating in a single instance, and with great propriety of enunciation. There was but little ambition of ornament.

Next followed a poem by Wm. C. Bryant,² Esq., of Cummington, a graduate at Williamstown, but admitted into this Society in 1819. It was in Spencerean measure, & contained some fine passages. But I was unable to discern a unity of design or precision of subject. There were present 25 senior members to myself. The poem was 25 minutes long.

[1822.]

[29 Aug.] At XII. I walked with the procession of the Φ B K to the meetinghouse, 29 older members than myself being present.

Rev. Henry Ware, Jr.,³ addressed the Throne of Grace in a short & pertinent prayer.

Wm. J. Spooner, Esq.,⁴ of Boston, delivered an oration, of 56 minutes, on

O. W. B. Peabody, Esq.,⁵ Exeter, delivered a poem, of 30 minutes, on Subjects suitable for American Poetry.

The house was as usual crowded. Order was uninterrupted, except now & then by clapping.

On such occasions it is probably true, as the orator remarked, more literary people are convened than on any other occasion in the United States.

[1823.]

[28 Aug.] At XII. walked in procession to the meetinghouse with 140 members, 25 older than myself. About 10 who did not walk. 150.

¹ Born at Salem, Dec. 26, 1793; graduated at Harvard University in 1811; died in Boston, March 3, 1881. A memoir of him by John C. Ropes is in 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. pp. 22-27.

² Born at Cummington, Mass., Nov. 3, 1794; died in New York, June 12, 1878.

³ See note, *ante*, p. 116.

⁴ Born in Boston, April 15, 1794; graduated at Harvard University in 1813; died in Boston, Oct. 17, 1824. A memoir of him is in 3 Collections, vol. i. pp. 265-271. Mr. Spooner's address was printed at the time, and a copy is in the library of this Society. The address has no descriptive title, but it deals with the connection between English and American literature, and the independent literary destiny of our own country. Dr. Pierce left a blank for the subject, which he omitted to fill.

⁵ Rev. O. W. B. Peabody, born in Exeter, N. H., July 9, 1799; graduated at Harvard University in 1816; died at Burlington, Vt., July 5, 1848.

Rev. Dr. Thayer¹ addressed the Throne of Grace pertinently and judiciously.

Henry Holton Fuller, Esq.,² delivered an oration, of 50 minutes, comparing ancient & modern literature & science.

George Bancroft, P. D.,³ next delivered a poem on Rome.

Chancellor James Kent, from Albany, New York, a member of the Φ B K, Yale College, New Haven, dined with the Society, which made the company at dinner larger than is usual.

The house was filled to overflowing with people of literature, science, taste, & fashion.

[1824.]

[26 August.] At I. the Φ B K exercises commenced. They were delayed one hour to await the arrival of La Fayette.

The procession to the meetinghouse consisted of 264 members of the Society. There were doubtless already in the house enough to make the whole number 300 members.

Rev. James Walker⁴ made an appropriate prayer of 5 minutes.

Dr. Thomas G. Percival⁵ of Yale College was expected to deliver the poem, but he failing, the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr.,⁶ delivered one, which he had but since Tuesday to prepare. It was an ingenious versification of two dreams, both of a patriotick bearing. It was 15 minutes long.

Prof. Edward Everett⁷ then delivered an oration, of an hour & 51 minutes, on the means of intellectual improvement furnished by the condition and prospects of the United States. Long as it was, and crowded as was the house to overflowing, no uneasiness was evinced by a single individual. The address at the close to La Fayette exceeded any thing we have heard, and drew tears from almost every eye. Not a single recurrence to his notes.

¹ Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, D.D., of Lancaster, born in Hampton, N. H., July 11, 1769; graduated at Harvard University in 1789; died in Rochester, N. Y., June 23, 1840.

² Born in Princeton, Mass., July 1, 1790; graduated at Harvard University in 1811; died in Concord, Mass., Sept. 15, 1852.

³ Born in Worcester, Oct. 3, 1800; graduated at Harvard University in 1817; died at Washington, Jan. 17, 1891. Mr. Bancroft's Phi Beta Kappa poem is in the scarce little volume of Poems printed in 1823, pp. 63-77.

⁴ Afterward President of Harvard University, born in Burlington, Mass., Aug. 16, 1794; graduated at Harvard University in 1814; died in Cambridge, Dec. 23, 1874. A memoir of him by Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham is in 2 Proceedings, vol. vi. pp. 443-468.

⁵ A slip of the pen for James G. Percival. He was born at Berlin, Conn., Sept. 15, 1795; graduated at Yale College in 1815; died at Hazelgrove, Wisconsin, May 2, 1856.

⁶ See note, *ante*, p. 116.

⁷ See note, *ante*, p. 114.

After the exercises about 200 dined together in University Hall. For the first time we deviated from our practice, in favour of our distinguished guest, in inviting some to dine with us who were not of the Society. Rev. H. Ware, Jr., asked the blessing, & Dr. Lowell¹ returned thanks.

After dinner there was one continual expression of wit and genius and good sense in the toasts and sentiments, which were delivered from the chair, and from numberless volunteers who contributed to the entertainment of the company. It was a rare collection of eminent literary men.

[1825.]

On Thursday, 1 Sep., at performances of the Φ B K, Cambridge.

Rev. John Brazer,² Salem, prayed.

Rev. N. L. Frothingham³ delivered an oration, of 1 hour & 20 minutes, on The Revolutions in Letters. It was handsomely delivered, and abounded in fine imagery. It was almost entirely committed to memory.

Next succeeded a poem, of 47 minutes, by David Hatch Barlow, A.B.⁴ It had so extensive a subject, The Progress of the Mind, that the poet was obliged to glide over many interesting topics. Such, however, as he exhibited were generally acceptable. It was delivered wholly memoriter, without one recurrence to notes. An exceptionable part was extravagant eulogy of our own country, and unqualified condemnation of other countries of which distinguished literary men were among the hearers.

[1826.]

On Thursday, 31 August, attended the exercises of Φ B K.

Rev. Francis Wayland⁵ prayed.

Judge Joseph Story⁶ delivered the oration, of one hour & 55 minutes, on the improvements of the age, and the grounds we have for encouragement and admonition. He was as much confined to his notes as our clergy in general are in the delivery of their sermons.

Next succeeded a poem on our country and its prospects by the Rev.

¹ Rev. Charles Lowell, D.D. See note, *ante*, p. 115.

² See note, *ante*, p. 117.

³ See note, *ante*, p. 114.

⁴ Born at Windsor, Vt., Jan. 31, 1805; graduated at Harvard University in 1824; died Nov. 6, 1864.

⁵ Afterward President of Brown University. He was born in New York, March 11, 1796; died in Providence, R. I., Sept. 30, 1865.

⁶ Born in Marblehead, Sept. 18, 1779; graduated at Harvard University in 1798; died at Cambridge, Sept. 10, 1845. A memoir of him by Hon. George S. Hillard is in *Proceedings*, vol. x. pp. 176-205.

Wm. B. O. Peabody,¹ of Springfield, 40 minutes long. It was ingenious; and its wit helped to enliven the assembly after attending so long to the didactic discourse of Justice Story.

I can recollect 171 of the Alpha of Massachusetts who were present. Of these before me were² . . . 20.

[1827.]

[30 August.] At XII. a procession of Φ B K marched in procession from University Hall to the meetinghouse.

Rev. Chs. W. Upham,³ of Salem, prayed.

Rev. James Walker,⁴ of Charlestown, delivered an interesting oration, of 43 minutes, on The Duties of Professional Men.

Dr. Gamaliel Bradford,⁵ in failure of Rev. Dr. Flint,⁶ delivered a humorous poem on Education, of 25 minutes. It was highly entertaining.

166 walked in procession; and there were several of the Society on the stage as we arrived. Before me of the Society present . . . 13.

[1828.]

[28 August.] At XII. a procession of 142 of the Φ B K entered the meetinghouse, preceded by the band of musick. Others of the Society we found in the house.

The Rev. Convers Francis⁷ prayed.

Jonathan Porter, Esq.,⁸ of Medford, delivered an oration on The Causes of the Decline of Nations. He was very feeble in health, and had recently wounded his foot. This led him to omit some parts of his oration, and doggedly to read the rest. He was nevertheless an hour in reading, & he spoke so feebly that many of the assembly could not hear him.

¹ Twin brother of the poet of 1822. He was born at Exeter, N. H., July 9, 1799; graduated at Harvard University in 1816; ordained at Springfield, Mass., Oct. 12, 1820; died there, May 20, 1847.

² Dr. Peirce recorded their names.

³ Born at St. John, N. B., May 4, 1802; graduated at Harvard University in 1821; settled over the First Church in Salem, Dec. 8, 1824; died there June 15, 1875. A memoir of him by Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., is in Proceedings, vol. xv. pp. 182-221; see also 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 188.

⁴ See note, *ante*, p. 119.

⁵ See note, *ante*, p. 117.

⁶ See note, *ante*, p. 118.

⁷ Born in West Cambridge, Nov. 9, 1796; graduated at Harvard University in 1815; died in Cambridge, April 7, 1863. A memoir of him by Rev. William Newell, D.D., is in Proceedings, vol. viii. pp. 233-253; see also 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 180.

⁸ Born in Medford, Nov. 27, 1791; graduated at Harvard University in 1814; died in Medford, June 11, 1859. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 183; see also Palmer's Harvard Necrology, pp. 244-249.

To him succeeded Frederick Henry Hedge,¹ in a poem, of 48 minutes, on the Age, ingeniously written & spoken in an oratorical manner, without once recurring to his notes. There was a happy mixture of sentiment and humour which appeared to interest all parts of the audience; the most intelligent the most.

Of my seniors in the Society there were present . . . 13.

[1829.]

[27 August.] At XII. a procession of 197 members of the Φ B K Society moved from University Hall to the meetinghouse, preceded by a band of musick. Others of the Society had already entered.

The Rev. Alonzo Potter,² of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Boston, and a brother of the Alpha of Union College, Schenectady, prayed.

The Rev. Convers Francis,³ of Watertown, delivered a learned and elegant oration of 2 hours and 7 minutes.

Charles Sprague,⁴ of Boston, next delivered an interesting poem on Curiosity, of about 1 hour. It was full of humour and interest. Mr. S. has had only a common-school education. But his talents have brought him into notice to deliver addresses which have been highly acceptable on several publick occasions. He was chosen last year into the Φ B K, and appointed the poet for this season. He also had the degree of A.M. conferred this year. Though the house was overflowing, and some ladies stood, most if not all the time from 9 to 4, yet there was no appearance of fatigue.

Members present before me of Harvard University Society . . . 19, of these 7 in italics.

[1830.]

[26 August.] At XII. in a violent N. & N. E. rain a procession of 156 members of Φ B K moved to the meetinghouse, preceded by a band of musick, junior members walking first. At the front door these opened to the right and left, and the president, secretary, chaplain, orator, and poet first entered the house, followed by the members, two and two, according to seniority.

¹ Born in Cambridge, Dec. 12, 1805; graduated at Harvard University in 1825; died in Cambridge, Aug. 21, 1890. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 193.

² Afterward Bishop of Pennsylvania. He was born in La Grange, Dutchess County, N. Y., July 10, 1800; graduated at Union College in 1818; and died in San Francisco, July 4, 1865.

³ See note, *ante*, p. 121.

⁴ Born in Boston, Oct. 26, 1791; died there Jan. 22, 1875. A memoir of him by Edmund Quincy is in Proceedings, vol. xiv. pp. 39-51.

The Rev. E. S. Gannett,¹ of Boston, offered an appropriate prayer, of 13 minutes.

The Rev. Orville Dewey² read with emphasis and effect an oration on Intellectual Culture, of 1 hour & 22 minutes. It was considered by good judges a good oration. He is a member of our Society, though a graduate, in 1814, at Williams College.

Next followed the poem by Grenville Mellen,³ Esq., of North Yarmouth, Me. He is son of Chief Justice Mellen, of Me., of the class, at Cambridge, of 1818. I know not what he would consider the subject of his poem. But it seemed to be one continued satire upon the times. Being 1 hour and 15 minutes long, it was somewhat tedious to the audience in general.

The only members of the Society present who stand before me in the Catalogue were the six following. . . .

[1831.]

1 September. I did not attend the declamations as usual, because there was to be an interesting meeting of the Φ B K, in which it was to be considered whether the Society would sanction an essential alteration of their original constitution.⁴ From XIVth anniversary absent.

At XII. the Society walked in procession from University Hall to the meetinghouse, youngest first, preceded by the band of music.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Theodore Edson,⁵ Episcopal minister, of Lowell.

Next succeeded an oration by James T. Austin, Esq.,⁶ of 1½ hour, on the Character & Duties of Literary Men.

Then came the poem by the Rev. Benj. Kent,⁷ on Liberality. It abounded in humour, was 53 minutes long, and appeared to be received

¹ Born in Cambridge, May 4, 1801; graduated at Harvard University in 1820; ordained over the Federal St. Church, Boston, June 30, 1824, as colleague pastor with Rev. Dr. Channing; died at Revere, Aug. 26, 1871.

² Born in Sheffield, Mass., March 28, 1794; graduated at Williams College in 1814; died in Sheffield, March 21, 1882.

³ Born in Biddeford, Maine, June 19, 1799; graduated at Harvard University in 1818; died in New York, Sept. 5, 1841. The subject of his poem, which was afterward published, was "The Age of Print." A copy of the pamphlet is in the library of this Society.

⁴ See Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, vol. viii. p. 409.

⁵ Born in Bridgewater, Aug. 24, 1793; graduated at Harvard University in 1822; died in Lowell, June 24, 1883.

⁶ Born in Boston, Jan. 10, 1784; graduated at Harvard University in 1802; died in Boston, May 8, 1870.

⁷ Born in Charlestown, May 25, 1794; graduated at Harvard University in 1820; died at Taunton, Aug. 5, 1859. See Palmer's Harvard Necrology, pp. 319, 320.

with high approbation by the audience in general, as well as by the Society.

Besides members in the house there were 187 who walked in procession. The only members present before me were . . . 9.

[1832.]

[30 August.] At XII. procession of the Φ B K Society from University Hall. There were 187 in the procession. Band of musick preceded. Of these the following only my seniors, viz. . . . 8.

The Rev. Alvan Lamson¹ offered an appropriate prayer of 5 minutes.

Jared Sparks² delivered an interesting oration on History, particularly the history of this country, of 62 minutes.

Mr. C. C. Felton³ then delivered a poem, of 32 minutes, satirizing fashions, particularly of beaux & dandies.

[1833.]

On Thursday, 29 August, I went early to Cambridge, and attended first declamations for prizes, XVIth anniversary. . . . At XII. a procession of the Φ B K moved from University Hall, juniors first. On arriving at the meetinghouse the juniors opened to the right and left, and the whole procession, with the officers, orator, poet, & chaplain at their head, moved into the church by seniority.

The Rev. James Walker,⁴ of Charlestown, offered a short prayer, of 4 minutes.

Prof. Longfellow,⁵ of Bowdoin College, gave a poem, I know not on what subject, of 28 minutes. He is a young, handsome man, son of Hon. Stephen Longfellow, Portland, grad. at H. U. 1798. It was too faintly spoken to be generally heard.

¹ Born in Weston, Nov. 18, 1792; graduated at Harvard University in 1814; died in Dedham, July 18, 1864. A memoir of him by Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., is in *Proceedings*, vol. xi. pp. 258-262; see also 2 *Proceedings*, vol. v. p. 179.

² Afterward President of Harvard University; born at Willington, Conn., May 10, 1789; graduated at Harvard University in 1815; died at Cambridge, March 14, 1866. A memoir of him by Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., is in *Proceedings*, vol. x. pp. 211-310.

³ Afterward President of Harvard University; born in West Newbury, Nov. 6, 1807; graduated at Harvard University in 1827; died in Chester, Penn., Feb. 26, 1862. A memoir of him by Hon. George S. Hillard is in *Proceedings*, vol. x. pp. 352-368; see also 2 *Proceedings*, vol. v. p. 196.

⁴ See note, *ante*, p. 119.

⁵ Born in Portland, Maine, Feb. 27, 1807; graduated at Bowdoin College in 1825; died in Cambridge, March 24, 1882. A memoir of him by Horace E. Scudder is in 2 *Proceedings*, vol. viii. pp. 152-167.

Next succeeded a splendid oration by the Hon. Edward Everett,¹ of 1 hour & 5 minutes. John Quincy Adams had declined this service too late to appoint a new orator. As Mr. Everett was to deliver an oration to the Φ B K of New Haven the week before, he was desired to repeat it on this occasion. However, Prof. Goodrich,² who heard him at New Haven, as well as at Cambridge, informed me that about 20 minutes of what he delivered at the former place was omitted here, & about 20 minutes of original matter added at the end. It was a highly gratifying exhibition of talent, fine writing, and eloquent speaking, delivered in a very audible, and in some instances highly impassioned tone of voice, wholly memoriter, without the appearance of notes. He chose the trite subject of Education, yet he illustrated it in a very novel, ingenious, & impressive manner.

There walked in procession 196 members. These with those already in the house must have consisted of between 2 & 300 members present.

Of these the following only were my seniors . . . 11.

[1834.]

On Thursday, 28 August, . . . At XII. a procession of the Φ B K Society moved from the University Hall, and passed down south to the street leading to Boston by the University Bookstore; then by the President's house, & by Dane Hall. Arriving in front of the new meetinghouse the procession opened to the right and left, and we entered the house by seniority. I counted 160 in the ranks. The following only of my seniors were present . . . 14.

Rev. Francis Cunningham,³ prayer.

Wm. H. Gardiner, Esq.,⁴ a fine oration, on Classical Learning, 2 hours long, well worthy the subject.

Rev. Ralph Waldo Emerson,⁵ a poem, of half an hour.

[1835.]

At XII., on Thursday, 27 August, a procession of 220 members of the Φ B K proceeded to the meetinghouse.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Wm. Newell.⁶

¹ See note, *ante*, p. 114.

² Chauncey A. Goodrich, at that time Professor of English Literature and Rhetoric in Yale College.

³ Born in Boston, March 9, 1804; graduated at Harvard University in 1825; died in Meudon, France, Sept. 7, 1807. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 193.

⁴ See note, *ante*, p. 117.

⁵ Born in Boston, May 25, 1803; graduated at Harvard University in 1821; died at Concord, April 27, 1882. A memoir of him by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D., is in 2 Proceedings, vol. ii. pp. 107-117.

⁶ Born at Littleton, Mass., Feb. 25, 1804; graduated at Harvard University in

An oration was then delivered, precisely an hour in length, without one recurrence to his notes, by Theophilus Parsons,¹ 1815, of Boston, on "The Duties of Educated Men in Relation to the Democracy of the Country." It was a sound & sensible discourse, delivered with great propriety. It described in lively colors the dangers of our country. He would be called in England a Conservative politician.

The poem by the Rev. Ephraim Peabody,² of Cincinnati, by reason of his sudden illness, was read by his consent, & at the express desire of the Comtee for providing the orator & poet, by his friend the Rev. George Putnam of Roxbury. It was well read and well received. $\frac{3}{4}$ hour.

The only members of the Society before me on the Catalogue whom I saw were . . . 7.

[1836.]

On Thursday, 1 September, precisely at XII. the members of the Φ B K formed at University Hall, and 220 walked in procession to the meetinghouse, where they were joined by others of the Society.

After a voluntary by the band, the Rev. George Ripley³ offered an elaborate prayer of 13 minutes, elegantly composed and expressed. In my view it was deficient in not giving sufficient prominence to the "name which is above every name."

President Francis Wayland, D.D.,⁴ of Brown University, then delivered a sound and highly acceptable oration, of 1 hour & 15 minutes, on Veracity. Though not committed wholly to memory, it was written with much care, and delivered with great animation. In the course of his oration he alluded with deep feeling to the dangers of our Republic from the despotism of the *many*, in the language of passionate and unprincipled appeals to the prejudices of the vulgar, and in the form of mobs and other ways in which justice is anticipated or perverted by those not immediately authorized to dispense it. He paid a generous and earnest tribute to our University; and his best wishes for her prosperity, usefulness, and honor came from a heart too much expanded to be under the narrow influence of bigotted or sectarian partialities.

1824; died at Cambridge, Oct. 28, 1881. A memoir of him by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D., is in 2 Proceedings, vol. i. pp. 72-74.

¹ Born in Newburyport, May 17, 1797; graduated at Harvard University in 1815; died in Cambridge, Jan. 26, 1882.

² Born in Wilton, N. H., March 22, 1807; graduated at Bowdoin College in 1827; died in Boston, Nov. 28, 1856.

³ Born in Greenfield, Oct. 3, 1802; graduated at Harvard University in 1823; died in New York, July 4, 1880. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 190, 195.

⁴ Of Union College, 1813. — *Marginal note by Rev. Dr. Pierce.* See note, ante, p. 120.

At its termination the expression of unmingled applause was long, loud, and universal.

After a suitable interlude by the band, Oliver Wendell Holmes, M.D., of the class of 1829,¹ delivered a beautiful poem of 1 hour and 10 minutes, committed to memory, and uttered with charming ease and propriety. It was exceedingly miscellaneous. In it he paid a feeling tribute to this as the place of his nativity, to some of the most striking objects in its vicinity, and to his sister, who in the bloom and beauty of youth was consigned to the adjoining cemetery. He took an affectionate notice of Dr. James Jackson, Jr., with whom he had studied in Paris, and whose early death he deeply deplored. He was often interrupted by the spontaneous and long continued applauses of the Society and of the audience in general. Indeed, the entertainment afforded to the judgment, taste, and imagination by the exercises on this occasion was of a high order.

I returned home to dine. I have not dined with the Society since 1824, when my inducement was to meet La Fayette, who was then on his last visit to this country, a guest of the Society. My reason for not dining with the Society is that I meet there no classmate, and few, if any, contemporaries, so that while others are regaling themselves with social delights, such as the meeting with old friends is almost sure to inspire, my reflections are solemn as the grave, and are nearly allied to "meditations among the tombs."

There were present, on this occasion, of my seniors in the Catalogue of this Society only . . . 8.

[1837.]

31 August. Precisely at XII. a procession of the Φ B K Society, consisting of 215, walked in procession to the meetinghouse, and joined others already there.

After a voluntary by the band, the Rev. Wm. M. Rogers, H. U. 1827,² minister at the Odeon Chh., Boston, introduced the exercises with a singularly devout, short, and appropriate prayer.

Rev. Ralph Waldo Emerson³ gave an oration, of 1½ hour, on The American Scholar. It was to me in the misty, dreamy, unintelligible style of Swedenborg, Coleridge, and Carlyle. He professed to have method; but I could not trace it, except in his own annunciation. It was well spoken, and all seemed to attend, but how many were in my own predicament of making little of it I have no means of ascertaining. Toward the close, and indeed in many parts of his discourse, he

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 200.

² Born at Alderney, England, Sept. 10, 1806; died in Dorchester, Aug. 11, 1851.

³ See note, *ante*, p. 125.

spoke severely of our dependence on British literature. Notwithstanding, I much question whether he himself would have written such an apparently incoherent and unintelligible address, had he not been familiar with the writings of the authors above named. He had already, in 1834, delivered a poem before the Society.

To this succeeded a poem, of 42 minutes, by the Rev. William Parsons Lunt, of Quincy,¹ on the mind, which he denominated throughout the poem *Psyche*. He traced it in its various exercises, and without exhibiting originality evinced good common sense. By the lovers of excitement it was considered somewhat dull, yet was it beautifully enunited, and I should judge, who am a very imperfect judge in such matters, contained some genuine poetry.

Both of the performers were wholly confined to their notes.

Instead of dining with the Society, which is too Bacchanalian for my taste, I dined at Prof. Hedge's² in a select party.

At Φ B K of my seniors present only Judge Daggett, Yale, 1783, [and 7 Harvard graduates].

[1838.]

[30 August.] Precisely at XII. a procession of the Φ B K was formed at University Hall, & 238 walked into the church, and found some of their number already seated; in the whole at least 250.

After music by the band, and on the organ, Rev. Wm. Ware,³ of 1816, offered a prayer of 7 minutes.

The Rev. Caleb Stetson,⁴ of Medford, then gave an oration against Utilitarianism, of 1 hour & 23 minutes. He considered its effects on 1. Cultivation; 2. Literature; 3. Character of Society. This was a unique performance, abounding in good sense, yet containing some low & some flat expressions. It was received with close attention by all classes of hearers. For the most part it was clearly intelligible, though some, from his high admiration of the oration last year, anticipated something more in the affected & obscure style of thinking and writing made popular among some of our literati by Carlyle & kindred authors. Some of his allusions probably meant more than they directly expressed. He lumped the temperance movements with masonry, antimasonry, & similar combinations, and earnestly inveighed

¹ Born in Newburyport, April 21, 1805; died in Akabah, March 21, 1857. A memoir of him by Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, D.D., is in *Proceedings*, vol. iii. pp. 207-213; see also 2 *Proceedings*, vol. v. p. 190.

² Professor Levi Hedge of the class of 1792. His son had married a daughter of Rev. Dr. Pierce.

³ Author of "*Zenobia*," and other works. He was born in Hingham, Aug. 8, 1797; died in Cambridge, Feb. 19, 1852.

⁴ Born in Kingston, Mass., July 12, 1795; graduated at Harvard University in 1822; died in Lexington, May 17, 1870.

against the increasing Associations of the day, as tending to destroy or impair personal independence. He spoke of those who moved in them as being directed by others behind the scene, as puppets are guided by an invisible hand. In all this he plainly evinced himself as joining in the cry, first started some years since by Dr. Channing, and since reverberated by those who aspire to his influence in the literary world, and which is as really becoming a combination against combinations as any form of union which they thus oppose. The tendency of his oration was, however, good, aiming to exalt the spiritual over the animal part of man's nature, and to induce him to think more of intellectual cultivation, and less of mere sensual gratifications.

Next succeeded a poem by the Rev. James C. Richmond,¹ on King Philip, the Indian sachem, who gave our fathers such serious annoyance. Whereas the oration was mostly read, the poem was delivered not only without recurrence to notes, but also without the appearance of notes. It was spoken somewhat in a tone, but audibly, and in some parts with great earnestness and force. Yet it was on a portion of history so familiar to most of the hearers, and with so little of poetical imagination or embellishment that it was not very alluring to lovers of poetry. It, however, had this merit, not common even among some of our most celebrated poets, that it was intelligible throughout, and betrayed no symptoms of literary affectation.

The Society then, as I understand, in larger numbers than common, dined in the south University Hall. They had many speeches from the Governor and others, which rendered the meeting highly interesting. But though I have belonged to the Society for 47 anniversaries, yet I have dined with them but 14 times; the last in 1824, with La Fayette. My reason has been that the meeting is far too Bacchanalian for my taste.

My seniors present only . . . 7.

[1839.]

29 August. When the clock struck XII. a procession of 208 formed at the chapel, and moved to the I. Church, juniors first, who on arriving at the house opened to the right and left, and the whole entered the church by seniority.

We first had instrumental music.

After order was restored, the Rev. William Augustus Stearns,² of Cambridgeport, class of 1827, offered a devout and feeling prayer of 10 minutes.

¹ Born in Providence, R. I., March 18, 1808; graduated at Harvard University in 1828; died at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., July 20, 1866.

² Born in Bedford, Mass., March 17, 1805; died in Amherst, June 8, 1876. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 196.

To this succeeded an elaborate and eloquent oration of 1½ hour, by Hon. Caleb Cushing,¹ of Newburyport, class of 1817, on Reform. He endeavored to show what are the proper subjects of reform, and what the reasonable limitations. He dwelt most particularly on the rights of women, and exhibited the extreme absurdity of certain modern Reformers who would make them in all respects equal with the other sex. He also pretty clearly showed that in the present state of things war of certain kinds is a necessary evil. The oration was mostly committed to memory, and delivered with great animation, in a sufficiently loud tone of voice, and with many gestures.

After an interlude of instrumental music came the poem, of 50 minutes, by the Rev. Dr. Flint,² of Salem, a graduate of the famous gregarious class of 1802, who this year assembled about a dozen of their class, who dine at the same table in the south Hall. Dr. Flint's poem was on the changes which everywhere present themselves in looking around on classic ground. He spoke of changes in the modes of education, in the scenery around, alluding in a very touching manner to the neighboring cemetery, which in his collegiate days was called *Sweet Auburn*. He spoke of the changes in the buildings, in the churches, in contemporaries, who in such quick succession leave the stage of active life. In mentioning the changes among the College officers he paid deserved respect to the memory of President Willard and the other instructors of his day. The whole was mostly committed to memory, had a due mixture of serious and humorous strains, and was heard with a good degree of attention.

My seniors present . . . 11.

[1840.]

When the clock struck XII. on Thursday, 27 August, a procession was formed at the College Chapel, and proceeded to the First Church. The President of the Society appointed me to walk with Governor Morton. I ascertained by enumeration that 248 members walked in the procession.

The exercises began with instrumental music.

The Rev. Chandler Robbins,³ of the II. Church, Boston, prayed, 13 minutes.

An oration, of 2 hours and 12 minutes, by President Leonard Woods, Jr.,⁴ was then delivered, on the Union of Religion and Learning. It was uttered with great earnestness, and without the appearance of notes,

¹ See note, *ante*, p. 117.

² See note, *ante*, p. 116.

³ Born in Lynn, Feb. 14, 1810; graduated at Harvard University in 1829; died in Boston, Sept. 11, 1882. A memoir of him by Charles C. Smith is in *Proceedings*, vol. xx. pp. 403-417; see also 2 *Proceedings*, vol. v. p. 200.

⁴ President of Bowdoin College. He was born in Newbury, Mass., Nov. 24, 1807; graduated at Union College in 1827; died in Boston, Dec. 24, 1878.

and with many gestures. Some of his positions were considered unsound. But his opinions were expressed with such candor that he was heard with apparent interest by all.

After him succeeded a poem by the Hon. Francis C. Gray,¹ of about one hour. The Rev. George G. Ingersoll, Burlington, Vt., had been appointed to deliver it, but sickness prevented him, and it was not generally known that Mr. Gray was to be his substitute. What of the poem was heard gave great pleasure. But his speaking was so guttural, and his enunciation so imperfect, that a large portion of the Society could not hear enough to form a decided opinion.

I then dined with the Society for the 15th time, having not dined with them before since La Fayette dined with them, in 1824, on account of the Bacchanalian character of the entertainment. I have known young men drunk with wine at these meetings who were never known to be intoxicated in any other place. I was, however, induced to dine with them by understanding that Doctors Cox and Skinner, of N. Y., Professor Park of Andover, Rev. Wm. Adams, N. Y., & Rev. G. W. Blagden, &c., &c., were to dine with them. At dinner the chaplain, Rev. C. Robbins, asked the blessing; and there was a constant flow of wit and mirth till the dusk of evening. Expense of a ticket, \$1.50.

My seniors present . . . 7.

Song at Φ B K by William Biglow, 27 Aug., 1840.

I.

This day with heartfelt glee we greet,
Most joyous of the year,
When at the festive board we meet
Our brethren dear;
When sparkling wit and jocund song
And temperate mirth combine,
And grateful recollections throng
Of auld land syne.

Chorus. Of auld lang syne, my friends,
Of auld lang syne;
And grateful recollections throng
Of auld lang syne.

II.

Let true Philosophy our light,
Our trust, and pilot be,
Directing still our course aright
O'er life's dark sea.

¹ See note, *ante*, p. 116. Mr. Gray's poem was printed without a descriptive title. It forecasts the future of poetry in America, and closes with tributes to President Kirkland, who had died a few months before, and to Nathaniel Bowditch, who had died while Mr. Gray was in a foreign land.

Our worthy deeds may others see
On history's pages shine,
When these our days shall numbered be
With auld lang syne.

Chorus. With auld lang syne, my friends,
With auld lang syne,
When these our days shall numbered be
With auld lang syne.

III.

The strife of sect and party rude
We from our presence bar,
Nor on this hour shall aught intrude
Our mirth to mar.
We'll take our choice, who here are met,
Of water or of wine,
And take a cup of kindness yet
For auld lang syne.

Chorus. For auld lang syne, my friends,
For auld lang syne;
We'll take a cup of kindness yet
For auld lang syne.

IV.

Though we must part — some for a year,
And some must part for aye,
To memory ever shall be dear
This gladsome day.
Now let my proffered hand be met,
Brother and friend, by thine,
And take a grip of kindness yet
For auld lang syne.

Chorus. For auld lang syne, my friends,
For auld lang syne;
We'll take a grip of kindness yet
For auld lang syne.

[1841.]

[26 August.] At a meeting of the Φ B K in University Hall considerable heat was manifested by certain Transcendentalists because the Rev. Theodore Parker, of Roxbury, could not be elected. Severe threats were thrown out by some who aspired to have the pre-eminence. But when they saw that their vamping and strutting was in vain, they at length desisted.

When the clock struck XII. a procession was formed of 236 who walked into the meetinghouse by seniority, the Brass Band preceding.

The exercises began with sacred music.

Prayer by Dr. Parkman,¹ of Boston, was 21 minutes long.

Oration by Rev. Frederic Henry Hedge,² of Bangor, 1 hour & 20 minutes, on Conservatism & Reform.

Poem by Rev. George G. Ingersoll,³ of Burlington, Vt., of 58 minutes.

At this anniversary, Josiah Quincy, Jr., was chosen President, & Rev. Caleb Stetson, V. President.

For the 16th time I dined with the Society, though my judgment and feelings equally revolted at the quantities of wine drunk, among others by clergymen, and of these by one who not long since delivered an eloquent lecture in many places on total abstinence from all which can intoxicate. So also, we had scarcely dined before the room became dark and nauseous by the tobacco smoke, and consequent expectorations which it occasioned.

There was considerable humor when the sentiments were given, particularly from the new President.⁴ I was glad to hear for the first time on such an occasion that he did not preface the sentiments to be uttered with calling on his brethren to fill their glasses.

Comparatively little wine was drunk, and consequently there was the less boisterous mirth. It is my earnest wish yet to witness a Φ B K dinner, at which there shall be no unnatural excitement from alcoholic liquors, and at the same time "a feast of reason and a flow of soul."

My seniors present . . . 5.

[1842.]

25 August. At the meeting of the Φ B K, the trial was repeated without success, to elect Rev. Theodore Parker, the noted infidel writer under a Christian name.

At XII. a procession was formed, consisting of 205, and walked from Gore Library to the First Church.

The Rev. Cazneau Palfrey,⁵ H. U. 1826, minister at Grafton, chaplain of the day, offered a good and appropriate prayer of 13 minutes.

Wm. G. Reed,⁶ a respectable lawyer of Philadelphia, gave a truly

¹ Born in Boston, June 4, 1788; graduated at Harvard University in 1807; died in Boston, Nov. 12, 1852.

² See note, *ante*, p. 122.

³ Born in Boston, July 4, 1796; graduated at Harvard University in 1815; died at Keene, N. H., Sept. 16, 1863.

⁴ Josiah Quincy, Jr. — *Marginal note by Rev. Dr. Pierce.*

⁵ Born in Boston, August 11, 1805; died in Cambridge, March 12, 1888.

⁶ This is a slip of the pen. The orator was William B. Reed, grandson of

acceptable oration, of 1 hour & 20 minutes, on The Early History of our Revolution. It was written in a truly historical style, uttered in a sufficiently loud tone, with great distinctness and propriety, and without those constant brandishings of the hands for which our Cambridge declaimers are so famous.

No poem was delivered.

My only seniors on this occasion were Dr. Ware & President Quincy; the latter of whom was my only senior of the Society at dinner.¹

At dinner the chaplain, Rev. C. Palfrey, asked the blessing.

As the tickets for dinner were 1½ dollars, wine in abundance was furnished, and, I fear, drunk.

When the services at the Church were closed, the rain poured down in torrents.

At precisely II½ Lord Ashburton, who, as Minister from England, has just negotiated a treaty with our government, arrived at the Gore Library, and passed through the double ranks of the Society, arranged to receive him, introduced by Pres. Quincy and his son, the President of our Society. He was accompanied by Lord Hay, Consul Grattan & son, & Consul Peter, of Phila.

I. At the close of dinner, Pres. Quincy, Jr., made a short speech, and toasted the College, to which Pres. Quincy, the father, responded; not here, but after the III^d toast.

II. Our distinguished guest was next introduced by some appropriate remarks, closing with the following neat sentiment, — "Our national disputes. They would all be easily settled could they only be brought to their proper bearing" [Baring], the negotiator's name.

To this Lord Ashburton responded, with deep emotion, in a few words which he could with difficulty utter. He is a plain, unaffected old gentleman, not far, on either side, from 70. He was plainly dressed, had a little of the appearance of the late Israel Thorndike, and was the farthest possible from assuming any airs of stateliness. He sat between Pres. Quincy, father and son.

III. The sons of Harvard. May the purity of the streams be in accordance with the purity of the fountain. Pres. Quincy, as before mentioned, responded in a few words, & closed with "The high-bred & well-bred English gentleman."

IV. "The orator of the day. In telling us the virtues of his fathers, he has fully illustrated his own." Mr. Reed responded.

V. "Prosperity to the present administration — of justice, in all our Courts." Judge Story responded.

Gen. Joseph Reed. He was born in Philadelphia, June 30, 1806; and died in New York, Feb. 18, 1878.

¹ I dined with the Society the 17th time. My great inducement at this time was to meet with Lord Ashburton. — Marginal note by Rev. Dr. Pierce.

VI. Toast in praise of the British Admiralty, to which Lord Hay responded in a short, plain, & unambitious answer.

VII. To the memory of James Grahame, the historian. George Bancroft responded in a highly animated manner.

VIII. "Consul Grattan" drew a witty reply from that gentleman. He closed with a toast to Prof. Longfellow, now absent from the country.

IX. Mr. Peter, English Consul at Philadelphia, was complimented & replied.

X. When Mr. Hillard was drawn up as one of the Vice Presidents, he spoke highly in praise of Hon. E. Everett, Minister to the Court of St. James.

XI. The divines of Philadelphia drew up Dr. Bethune from that city, who uttered himself with much humor and propriety.

XII. Judge Story was again constrained to utter himself in praise of Phila.

XIII. Dr. Bigelow, as Vice President, made the most entertaining address on the occasion.

XIV. Richard H. Dana, Jr., arose, & I was obliged to leave.

[1843.]

[24 August.] At noon a procession of the Φ B K was formed at University Hall, and proceeded in reversed order to the I. Church.

On arriving at the Church the procession opened to the right and left, and 220 members entered by seniority. To my amazement I was the 4th in age, in this company, President Adams & Judge Putnam, of 1787, & President Quincy, of 1790, only before me. In walking 2 & 2 my companion was Wm. Biglow, of 1794, who has often accompanied me before, we having been the only representatives of our respective classes for several years.

The Rev. Samuel Osgood,¹ of Providence, very judiciously offered a very short prayer.

George S. Hillard, Esq.,² 1828, a lawyer in Boston, gave an uncommonly fine oration, of 2 hours lacking 10 minutes, on "The Relation of Poetry to Life." It was charmingly written, and delivered with much eloquence, wholly memoriter. The attention of the whole audience was completely chained throughout the whole exercise; nor did it flag to the very end.

¹ Born in Charlestown, August 30, 1812; graduated at Harvard University in 1832; died in New York, April 14, 1880.

² Born at Machias, Me., Sept. 22, 1808; died in Brookline, Jan. 21, 1879. A memoir of him by Francis W. Palfrey is in *Proceedings*, vol. xix. pp. 339-348. See also 2 *Proceedings*, vol. v. pp. 198, 206.

To this succeeded a poem by the Rev. Chandler Robbins,¹ of Boston, who was a substitute for Albert G. Greene, Esq., of Providence. This was on the follies of the times, 23 minutes long. Had this poem been delivered before the oration, it would have appeared better, but coming after the audience were completely saturated and exhausted it was heard under some obvious disadvantages.

Indeed, the remark of Jacob N. Knapp, of Walpole, N. H., was not wholly unfounded, that "the orator had all the poetry, and the poet all the rhyme."

I did not dine with the Society, not only because by the free use of wine the entertainment becomes too Bacchanalian for my taste, but also because I should find hardly a contemporary at the tables, and I should feel too much like meditating among the tombs. However, I understand that President Adams dined with them, as he proposed to bid farewell; but he was so captivated by the occasion that he expressed his purpose to dine with the Society so long as he shall live. Upon which a member offered this sentiment, "John Quincy Adams, may he live a thousand years."

[1844.]

At XII., Thursday, 29 August, a procession of the Φ B K moved from University Hall by juniority. On arriving at the Church, it opened at the right and left, and we entered, 308, by seniority.

Prayer, of 5 minutes, by the Rev. Henry W. Bellows,² of New York.

The Rev. George Putnam, H. U. 1826,³ of Roxbury, gave an oration, of 1½ hour, on the Connexion between Intellect and Moral Culture, of which it would be difficult to speak in measured terms. Though read from the manuscript it was eloquently spoken, for it proceeded warm from the heart, and reached the heart, I should judge, of every hearer. From all with whom I conversed, or from whom I heard an opinion, there was unqualified approbation. I acknowledge that my own sanguine expectations were more than realized.

The poem, by William W. Story, H. U. 1838, son of Judge Story, of 1½ hour, on art, as the minister and expounder of nature to man, was rich in imagination and eloquent in delivery.

I dined with the Society, the 18th time, though I felt aggrieved at the quantity of wine drunk, and was nauseated by the tobacco so freely smoked. The Rev. H. W. Bellows, chaplain, asked the blessing.

¹ See note, *ante*, p. 130.

² Born in Boston, June 11, 1814; graduated at Harvard University in 1832; died in New York, Jan. 30, 1882.

³ Born in Sterling, Mass., August 16, 1807; settled over the First Church in Roxbury in 1830; died there April 11, 1878.

Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr., in giving a sentiment, spoke of a tree. I then arose, and showed him and the company a cane given me last Lord's day by George Livermore, of Cambridge, made from an oak tree, in Natick, under which the Apostle Eliot, first minister of the church of which our orator is, the present pastor, evangelized the Indians. President Quincy, Jr., responded that he had always understood the birch to be a chief agent in education. I replied that I could refer in the history of the College to a different mode of discipline. I had been informed by the Rev. Grindall Rawson, H. U. 1741, that he had been to recitation in Greek to Tutor Nathan Prince, brother of the historian, when he would put a Greek word to be parsed, which the first would miss, then the second, then the third, &c., till he came to one who could parse the word. He then would begin with the first who missed, and go down [to] the last, giving each delinquent a rousing box on the ear. This punishment was sanctioned for the first 113 years of the College history, till 9 July, 1755, the very month in which John Adams was graduated, when the power of boxing was taken from the tutors by statute.

I was then desired to sing the following song, prepared for 1842,¹ by William Biglow, A.M., nicknamed Sawney, who died in the General Hospital penniless, and almost friendless, 12 Jan., 1844, 70.

The singing was accompanied by the band. It was pitched so high that I was obliged to sing at the top of my voice; and I caused no little amusement by substituting in two or three of the verses *a cup of water yet* for "a grip of kindness yet."

The whole occasion was a constant succession of sparkling wit, chiefly from the President of the Society. But he knew well on whom to call to aid him in this way. One of the most humorous of the *jeux d'esprit* was from Dr. O. W. Holmes. Judge Warren was also very happy in the coruscations of his wit.

When England was toasted we had a short, but very interesting, speech from Dr. Scoresby already mentioned. He was clapped heartily on rising. In several parts of his speech he was cheered. When he closed the band struck up "God save the Queen," which met a most cordial acceptance.

The following ode was next sung:—

¹ The song was first given in 1840; and in the library of this Society is Dr. Pierce's copy of the broadside on which it was printed. The song was reprinted for the dinner of 1842, and a copy of that broadside also is in the library of the Society.

Φιλοσοφία Βίου Κυβερνήτης.

Air. Jessie of Dumblane

When green-eyed Minerva asked Paris to serve her,
 And give her the apple-prize offered by strife,
 All other bribes scorning, she gave him a warning
 And bade him make wisdom his pilot through life.

But the little god Cupid this counsel thought stupid,
 And so he convinced the unfortunate boy.
 He looked round for pleasure, refused her the treasure,
 And that shake of the head was the ruin of Troy.

Some hundred years after this fatal disaster
 The Greek Epicurus established his fame.
 He showed what a blunder poor Paris was under,
 For wisdom and pleasure are one and the same.

His course we will run in; that great blunder shunning
 Whatever the Alford Professor may say;
 We'll applaud *him* next week, should he *row up* the Greek.
 But we own ourselves Epicureans to-day.

We've old friends beside us; let old wisdom guide us.
 Let pleasure be wisdom, at least for to-day.
 With this Κυβερνήτης, a band of Phi Betys
 Shall guide the swift hours now flying away.

The following ode was prepared, but not sung: —

Air. Fair Harvard.

The pilgrim oft, in days of old,
 Turned from the weary road
 Where guarded by some rude-hewn cross
 The fountain's current flowed,
 His hot thirst quenched, his forehead cooled,
 Before the shrine he fell
 To bless in prayer the name of him
 "Who built the cross and well."

We in our weary pilgrimage
 Have turned aside to-day;
 For thick upon our sandal lies
 The dust of life's hot way.
 We drink of wisdom's healing wave
 In friendship's sacred dell,
 And bless the memory of those
 "Who built this cross and well."

[1845.]

[28 August.] Precisely at XII. 277 members of the Φ B K walked in procession to the meetinghouse. Alas! but 2 were my seniors, viz. John Q. Adams, 1787,¹ & Rev. Thaddeus Fiske, 1785.

Dr. Sharp,² as chaplain of the day, offered an appropriate prayer of 8 min.

The Rev. Andrew Preston Peabody,³ H. U. 1826, delivered an ingenious oration, 1 hour & 6 minutes long on the Connexion of Science with Religion. It was read with earnestness, but a large portion of it was too metaphysical and profound to arrest the attention of the multitude.

The poem, by the Rev. Chs. T. Brooks,⁴ 1 h. and 8 m. long, on the Associations connected with Harvard, was beautifully written, and delivered wholly memoriter. It was received with a good degree of attention, but was pronounced to be too long by one half for an already fatigued audience.

After the exercises a large portion of the Society dined in Alumni Hall. I dined the 19th time. The chaplain of the day invoked the blessing. The dinner was good. There was an abundance of wine, partaken largely by wine-bibbers.

At about IV. Judge Charles Henry Warren, H. U. 1817, introduced the intellectual part of the entertainment with a few preliminary remarks which savored of his usual wit and humor. At the head table were the following persons:—

The orator.	Judge Warren.	J. Q. Adams.
The poet.		Pres. Quincy.
Dr. Henry Henry, Pres. Col. S. C. ⁵		Judge Wayne, Ga.
Mr. Rives, Jr.		Mr. Hynes, N. C.
Mr. Hodgson.		Judge White.
Bellamy Storer, Ohio.		Mr. Devereux.
Mr. Gales, Ed. Na. Intel.		S. C. Phillips.
John Pierce.		
Dr. Kendall.		

1. Judge Warren first gave a sentiment on the Orator. He made no response, on the ground that he had already said enough.

¹ See Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, vol. xii. pp. 209, 210.

² Rev. Daniel Sharp, D.D., born at Huddersfield, England, Dec. 25, 1783; for more than forty years a highly respected clergyman in Boston; died at Stoneleigh, near Baltimore, Maryland, June 23, 1863.

³ Born in Beverly, Mass., March 19, 1811; died in Cambridge, March 10, 1893.

⁴ Born in Salem, June 20, 1813; graduated at Harvard University in 1832; died in Newport, R. I., June 14, 1883. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 209, 215.

⁵ A slip of the pen. The name should be Robert Henry.

2. When the Poet was toasted, he replied in a few neat poetical lines, of great simplicity and beauty.

3. Dr. Sharp was complimented, without a reply.

4. When Pres. Quincy was toasted by J. Q. Adams, he was greatly affected, and answered briefly and faintly.

5. When Virginia was toasted, W. C. Rives arose, and offered a very elegant address.

6. John Q. Adams responded to a complimentary sentiment, partly in a jocose and partly in a serious manner.

7. Col. Winthrop spoke with singular propriety and felicity.

8. Mr. Gales, Editor of the National Intelligencer, whom he complimented, offered a short sentiment.

9. Josiah Quincy, Jr., then spoke with usual humor and point.

10. President Henry, Columbia, S. C., made a short reply to an allusion to himself and his University.

11. S. C. Phillips, Vice President, made an animated address, which called up

12. Bellamy Storer, from Cincinnati, Ohio. He spoke of the close connexion subsisting between his adopted State and N. England.

13. Caleb Cushing, late Minister to the Celestial Empire, said he felt now as if among the Celestials. After a few remarks, he drew up

14. Mr. Hodgson, who is said to be a profound scholar, but who took pains to be very short in his address.

15. Prof. Rogers, the geologist, whom the President wished to unearth, made the longest speech on the occasion.

16. Prof. Gammell, of Brown University, responded to a call with a short speech and sentiment.

17. So also did Professor Brown, of Dartmouth College.

18. Mr. Hynes, of N. C., said a few words in a plain and familiar manner.

19. Mr. Rives, Jr., Secretary of Legation to our Minister to England, said but little, which drew from the chair the witticism, "We expected the sun to rise, but not to set so soon."

After listening to speeches and sentiments for 3 hours, the President called for the song, copies of which had been placed at every plate, written by Wm. Biglow, in 1842,¹ to Auld Lang Syne. It was sung with great animation.

The President then closed the exercises of the day by a solemn and affecting allusion to the death of Leverett Saltonstall, who was with us at the last annual meeting, and who contributed much to the entertainment of the company. His death has left a sad breach, not merely among his family connexions and his fellow citizens, but also in many societies, of which he was the life and the soul.

¹ See note, *ante*, p. 137.

[1846.]

[27 August.] Precisely at XII. a procession, consisting of 324 formed at Harvard Hall, & walked by juniority. On arriving at the I. Chh., the whole opened to the right and the left, and walked into the meeting-house by seniority. Alas! but 2, J. Q. Adams & Ex-President Quincy were my seniors.

The Rev. Hubbard Winslow¹ offered a prayer of 5 minutes.

Chs. Sumner, Esq.,² H. U. 1830, delivered an exceedingly interesting oration, of 2 hours lacking 5 minutes, on the biographies of 4 members who have deceased since our last Catalogue was printed. The order in which he treated them was Pickering, the Scholar, 25 minutes; Story, the Jurist, 25 minutes; Allston, the Artist, 21 minutes; & Channing, the Philanthropist, 28 minutes. The oration was received with long continued marks of applause.

Next succeeded a poem, of 34 minutes, by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke,³ H. U. 1829, on I cannot tell what. The audience had been so exhausted by an absorbing attention to the previous exercise that the poem, delivered with perfect sang froid, appeared to make but a feeble impression.

At a meeting of the Society this day, when I was not present, I understand that a letter from President Everett to the President of our Society was read, respectfully requesting that no wine or kindred liquors might be used at the dinner of the Society. It is said that Judge Warren, President, returned for answer that it was not competent for one part of the Society to dictate sumptuary regulations to the rest of the body. The result was that though wine would not be furnished as a component part of the dinner, yet every one should be allowed to judge for himself as to the use of wine, it being the understanding that wine would be furnished to such as desired it, and would pay for it. This measure would have been sufficient to prevent my dining with the Society. I had moreover an engagement at a wedding party in my parish at V. P. M., so that I left Cambridge at III., when the exercises closed.

They who remember the dissipation of former times at their beloved Alma Mater, when even at the dinner of the Φ B K Society, comprising the best scholars in College, wine was sometimes drunk at the rate

¹ Born at Williston, Vt., Oct. 30, 1799; graduated at Yale College in 1825; died at Williston, Aug. 13, 1864.

² Born in Boston, Jan. 6, 1811; died in Washington, D. C., March 11, 1874.

³ Born at Hanover, N. H., April 4, 1810; died at Jamaica Plain, June 8, 1888. A memoir of him by Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., is in 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. pp. 320-335. He announced the subject of his poem in these words,—"Our Country and its Hopes, the theme I choose."

of two bottles to a scholar, cannot but earnestly desire that the Bacchanalian practices should be reformed.

[1847.]

[26 August.] At XII. a long procession started from Harvard Hall, of the Φ B K Society. I was the oldest Cambridge graduate who walked.

The exercises commenced with instrumental music.

Next followed a short and well adapted prayer by the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, of Worcester.

This was followed by a fine oration, of $1\frac{1}{4}$ hour, by George P. Marsh, Esq.,¹ D. C. 1820.

At the meeting of the Society this day, Theophilus Parsons, H. U. 1815, was chosen President.

By a large majority it was voted to dispense with wine at our future anniversaries. This was a great improvement in the habits of Society. Formerly the average of wine on some occasions was two bottles to each student! I accordingly dined with the Society the 20th time. Rev. E. Everett Hale as chaplain of the day asked a blessing. The price of a ticket was \$1.25 cts.

After dinner Mr. Parsons, as presiding officer, made an interesting speech, in which he spoke of himself as an old man. I started up and remarked that I objected to the sentiment that he was an old man, as some at my end of the table were settled in life before he was born. Mr. Parsons replied by some pleasant personalities. He spoke of meeting Dr. Harris and myself on a certain occasion, when the Dr. gave me some valuable information. After my departure, Dr. Harris spoke to Mr. Parsons in words to this effect, — Now brother Pierce will go home, and make a particular record of what he has heard from me. In short, continued the Dr., he will leave "the recording angel" but little or nothing to record. This brought up another speaker who stated, that in company with Judge Davis I was once asked, where a certain person was born? To which I replied, I know not. "Then," said Judge Davis, "I don't believe that he was born anywhere." In short, the whole meeting was one of perpetual jest, repartee, and good humor, sufficient to give evidence that wine is by no means necessary to a social gathering.

The oldest members present were, 1790, Quincy, alas! my only senior present of H. U. Society; 1795, Bemis; 1796, Wm. Wells; 1797, Wm. Abbot, Dr. Warren; 1798, Devereux, Willard. C. C. Lee, of Alexandria, Virg., H. U. 1819, contributed much to the enter-

¹ Born at Woodstock, Vt., March 17, 1801; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1820; died at Vallombrosa, Italy, July 23, 1882.

tainment of the company by his stories and songs. The oldest graduate of other colleges present was Jeremiah Mason, Y. C. 1788, born 27 April, 1768.

[1848.]

[24 August.] At XII. 346 of the Society of Φ B K moved from Harvard Hall to the Church.

Rev. C. A. Bartol offered a short and interesting prayer.

Rev. Horace Bushnell¹ of Hartford, Conn., delivered an address, of 1 hour & 27 minutes, on Play and Work. It completely enchained the attention of this large audience.

Next succeeded a poem on The Times, of 34 minutes, by Epes Sargent,² Editor of the Transcript.

I then dined with the Society the 21st time. The chaplain, Rev. C. A. Bartol asked the blessing. This was but the 2d year in which the Society dispensed with wine. Theophilus Parsons presided, and contributed greatly to the amusement of all present by his inexhaustible humor. I was the oldest graduate at dinner. We had few or no strangers of distinction, such as sometimes favor us with their company on such occasions.

In the course of some informal remarks which followed the reading of the extracts from Dr. Pierce's memoirs, the PRESIDENT related several interesting reminiscences of Dr. Pierce, and said that the most sympathetic piece of characterization which he remembered to have seen in the volumes was a sketch of President Kirkland. As Dr. Kirkland was for many years a member of this Society, and no memoir of him had been printed in the Collections, he hoped that Dr. Pierce's sketch might be inserted in the Proceedings.

From the record it appears that Dr. Kirkland was chosen a member in January, 1796, and that a letter resigning his membership was read at the meeting in April, 1828, shortly after his resignation of the Presidency of Harvard University. At the meeting in June, 1840, held a few weeks after his death, Rev. Alexander Young was requested to prepare a memoir for publication in the Collections, — the unwritten rule of the Society which limits its memoirs to those persons whose membership is terminated by death not having been adopted at that time.

¹ Born in New Preston, Conn., April 14, 1802; graduated at Yale College in 1827; died in Hartford, Feb. 17, 1876.

² Born in Gloucester, Mass., Sept. 27, 1813; chosen an Honorary Member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, in 1847; and died in Boston, Dec. 31, 1880.

As Mr. Young had already printed the memorial discourse preached before the New South Society, he probably was reluctant to write a second sketch of Dr. Kirkland's life and character, and no other appointment was made by the Historical Society. Mr. Young's discourse was no doubt regarded as fully answering the purpose intended by the publication of a memoir in the Collections. Rev. Dr. Pierce's sketch is as follows:—

President Kirkland.

On Lord's day, 26 April, 1840, died at the boardinghouse of Widow Otis Fairbanks, Otis Place, Boston, the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., late President of Harvard University, aged 69 years, 8 months, 9 days.

He was son of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who spent his life as missionary, first to the Seneca, and then to the Oneida tribe of Indians. The wife of this missionary, and mother of the President, was Jerusha Bingham, daughter of Mr. Jabez Bingham, of Salisbury, Connecticut, and niece of President Eleazer Wheelock, of Dartmouth College. He descended on the maternal side from Miles Standish, the redoubtable military officer of the Pilgrim band which first settled Plymouth, in New England, 1620.

I shall not here more particularly record his ancestry, as this is done in so ample and satisfactory a manner by the Rev. Alexander Young, one of his successors in the New South Church, Boston, in a double sermon preached to his people both forenoon and afternoon, of 3 May, 1840, and printed by vote of said Society.

John Thornton Kirkland, with a twin brother, George Whitefield, was born in Herkimer, in the house of Gen. Herkimer, of Herkimer County, N. Y., whither his mother had repaired from the Indian country, on 17 August, 1770. His name was given out of respect to an eminent benefactor of the family and of this country in England. The Indians called him Agonewiska, or fair face.

Mrs. Kirkland soon returned with her children to Oneida, where she resided two years. At that time apprehending danger from the approach of hostilities with Great Britain, she resided awhile in Windham, Conn., her mother's native place. Receiving £50 sterling from the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, she purchased a small place in Stockbridge, then a frontier town, where her son lived with her till he went to Andover Academy, and resided as a beneficiary in the family of the late Lieut. Gov. Samuel Phillips, in March, 1784. Here he was under the tuition of Dr. Eliphalet Pearson, an eminent scholar and critic, who pronounced this pupil the best

but one whom he had ever instructed. Who this distinguished scholar was, there are now, it is believed, no means of determining.

On 4 April, 1786, young Kirkland was admitted at an advanced standing into the freshman class, he paying the smallest sum, on account of his father's poverty, which the regulations in such cases provided admit.

Here he distinguished himself as a scholar, though in a brief autobiography extant he says, not so highly as he might and ought to have done. He acknowledges and laments that the absurd notions then prevalent at college of hard study as inconsistent with genius hindered him from making that application and improvement which he might otherwise have accomplished.

His rank, however, in the class was high, and on taking his degree he delivered the Latin salutatory oration, at that time the second part in honor assigned to his class, as there was but one English oration. This salutatory oration was delivered down to my times in college, though in manuscript, as an extraordinary specimen of elegant college Latinity.

On leaving college young Kirkland was for a year usher in Andover Academy, where he had fitted for college. Some of his letters to classmates while he was there have been preserved, and evince fine taste, beautiful composition, and a longing ambition.

On leaving Andover he seems to have vibrated for some time between the purposes of studying law and divinity. At length he went to Stockbridge and studied some time with Dr. Stephen West, an eminent divine, yet ultra-Hopkinsian. The extravagance of this teacher's system had the effect to determine his pupil never to become a divine of that stamp.

Accordingly he came to Cambridge as a resident graduate, where with his classmate Emerson and other kindred souls he pursued theological studies, unbiassed by the shackles of human creeds.

While here, on the resignation of Amos Crosby, he was on 16 November, 1792, when a little more than 22 years of age, my senior year at college, chosen logical and metaphysical tutor. He now moved in a sphere adapted to call forth his peculiar powers. I distinctly remember what a privilege the more reflecting students thought it to enjoy the instructions of such a scholar and genius. He rendered our recitations peculiarly attractive by rich and copious illustrations of the various subjects which successively occurred.

Under the administration of the stiff and unbending, yet honest and conscientious President Willard, who feared to treat his most exemplary pupils with the least familiarity lest it should engender contempt, this young tutor was a complete gentleman in his manners; and he aimed to treat the students as gentlemen that, if possible, he might make

As Mr. Young had already printed the memorial discourse preached before the New South Society, he probably was reluctant to write a second sketch of Dr. Kirkland's life and character, and no other appointment was made by the Historical Society. Mr. Young's discourse was no doubt regarded as fully answering the purpose intended by the publication of a memoir in the Collections. Rev. Dr. Pierce's sketch is as follows:—

President Kirkland.

On Lord's day, 26 April, 1840, died at the boardinghouse of Widow Otis Fairbanks, Otis Place, Boston, the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D. D., LL. D., late President of Harvard University, aged 69 years, 8 months, 9 days.

He was son of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who spent his life as missionary, first to the Seneca, and then to the Oneida tribe of Indians. The wife of this missionary, and mother of the President, was Jerusha Bingham, daughter of Mr. Jabez Bingham, of Salisbury, Connecticut, and niece of President Eleazer Wheelock, of Dartmouth College. He descended on the maternal side from Miles Standish, the redoubtable military officer of the Pilgrim band which first settled Plymouth, in New England, 1620.

I shall not here more particularly record his ancestry, as this is done in so ample and satisfactory a manner by the Rev. Alexander Young, one of his successors in the New South Church, Boston, in a double sermon preached to his people both forenoon and afternoon, of 3 May, 1840, and printed by vote of said Society.

John Thornton Kirkland, with a twin brother, George Whitefield, was born in Herkimer, in the house of Gen. Herkimer, of Herkimer County, N. Y., whither his mother had repaired from the Indian country, on 17 August, 1770. His name was given out of respect to an eminent benefactor of the family and of this country in England. The Indians called him Agonewiska, or fair face.

Mrs. Kirkland soon returned with her children to Oneida, where she resided two years. At that time apprehending danger from the approach of hostilities with Great Britain, she resided awhile in Windham, Conn., her mother's native place. Receiving £50 sterling from the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, she purchased a small place in Stockbridge, then a frontier town, where her son lived with her till he went to Andover Academy, and resided as a beneficiary in the family of the late Lieut. Gov. Samuel Phillips, in March, 1784. Here he was under the tuition of Dr. Eliphalet Pearson, an eminent scholar and critic, who pronounced this pupil the best

but one whom he had ever instructed. Who this distinguished scholar was, there are now, it is believed, no means of determining.

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them so. Such was our respect for his talents and character that I believe no advantage was ever taken of this urbanity.

But what increased the admiration of our new tutor to the highest possible degree was the peculiar propriety, the rich glow, and the wonderful variety of his devotional exercises.

These had been conducted by President Willard, who, as young Kirkland once said of him, seemed not to have the principle of taste in his nature, with singular infelicity of manner and of matter, with a tiresome monotony, and with ceaseless repetitions of the most commonplace thoughts. The tutors in general were only the more interesting in this service because they did not officiate so often. But young Kirkland in his very first devotional exercise may justly have been said to electrify the audience. With such singular felicity did he utter himself, so well selected were his expressions, and so admirably adapted to the real purposes of devotion, that the attention of every student was arrested, and they who had been in the habit of attending the chapel exercises with dull formality now found in them the highest possible entertainment both of the head and heart. Nor was this a merely accidental effect which repetition had the tendency to diminish. It was found that every additional exercise of this highly gifted man was a fresh manifestation of the qualities which were at first so engaging. Indeed, students of the finest capacities and the best memories maintained that not a single expression in these devotions was used twice, but that they evinced not only the greatest fertility of thought and of expression, but also exhaustless variety. No wonder that these circumstances rendered him the favorite officer and instructor.

It was difficult to account for this singular felicity in his devotional services till, since his death, it has been ascertained that they were all precomposed with the most diligent and untiring exactness and care.

Mr. Kirkland first preached as a candidate at the New South Church, Boston, on 23 August, 1793. On 13 October the Society recommended to the Church to invite him to settle with them. Accordingly, on 23 October, he was unanimously chosen by the Church their pastor, in which election the Society concurred on the 27th of said month.

His ordination took place on 5 February, 1794, Dr. Tappan, a moderate Calvinist, Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard University, preaching the sermon; his father giving the charge; and the Rev. Dr. Belknap tendering the fellowship of the churches. So far was young Kirkland at this time from taking his stand as a Unitarian that it is observable in a prayer which he composed on commencing the study of theology there is this remarkable close, "To Thee, with the Saviour and Spirit, be all glory. Amen."

The reason of his selecting Dr. Tappan to preach his ordination sermon doubtless was that he was one of the most popular preachers of

the day. He was not, indeed, a thorough-going and consistent Calvinist, as appears from a controversy extant with Dr. Spring, of Newburyport, in which the latter is commonly thought to have gained the advantage. Nor did he ever, in his almost constant preaching in the pulpits of this vicinity, deliver a sermon upon either of the five points of Calvinism so called. But his sermons and prayers commonly contained expressions savoring of the peculiarities of the Genevan Reformer. Indeed, in a conversation with me he maintained the propriety and expediency of using such terms, though you might annex a different meaning to them from that which is generally understood. Nevertheless, the Hon. George Cabot told me that he considered Dr. Tappan a first-rate preacher.

From his first settlement in the ministry Mr. Kirkland took a distinguished rank as a writer and preacher. So few were his competitors at that time that it may be said of him that he

“Bore, like the Turk, no rival near the throne.”

Men of first-rate distinction, such as Chief Justice Parsons, joined his Society. He was perhaps more remarkable for his social powers than for pulpit talents, so that he at once became a favorite with intellectual men, such as Judge Parsons, George Cabot, Fisher Ames, Christopher Gore, Alexander Hamilton, &c., &c., &c. Remaining single, he could the more conveniently accept invitations to dine, which were constantly pouring in upon him. On such occasions he was much distinguished for powers of conversation, evincing a knowledge of men and things and an original vein of thought truly captivating.

In Boston he had no rival in the pulpit till the ordination of William Ellery Channing, 1 June, 1803, and of Joseph Stevens Buckminster, 30 Jan., 1805. These served to divert, in some measure, the attention which had been appropriated to himself alone. Yet even these brilliant and growing geniuses did not render discerning men insensible to the real merits of Mr. Kirkland. So far was he from envying their talents that he was loud in their praises, and was the author of the expression so generally applied to those times that they had introduced “*a new era in preaching.*”

So often did he dine in public, and so much of his time was occupied in company, that many wondered how he could find time for writing his fine sermons. But the wonder will be lessened when it is known that he sat up late at night, and often repeated his discourses, not only abroad, but at home.¹

¹ In his discourse on the Life and Character of Dr. Kirkland, Mr. Young says (p. 41): “It was not uncommon for him to bring into the pulpit half a dozen sermons or more, and, on the instant, construct from their pages a new sermon as he went along, turning the leaves backwards and forwards, and connecting them together by the threads of his extemporaneous discourse.”

In company it was observable how readily he could adapt himself to all classes of society. The most gifted knew best the value of his company. But he never showed a conscious superiority to the humblest individuals with whom he came in contact, always acting upon his own favorite maxim not to "betray so much self-love as is inconsistent with a due respect to the self-love of others."

On 16 October, 1799, his classmate, William Emerson, who had been settled in Harvard, but who could not support his family there with the moderate salary allowed him, was translated to the First Church, in Boston, the people there paying the debts which he had contracted in Harvard without the prospect of ever extinguishing them by his own efforts. Mr. Emerson was a handsome man, genteel in his manners, a popular writer and speaker, and of a consuming ambition. The distinction of his classmate, Kirkland, which he could never hope to attain, was a constant "thorn in his flesh." Yet such was the respect which Mr. Emerson could not but feel for his classmate, and so little disposed was Mr. Kirkland to assume airs of superiority, and at the same time so attentive to his friend, that they invariably co-operated with much harmony.¹

The published discourses which gave this aspiring preacher his greatest celebrity were :

1. A sermon before the Antient & Honorable Artillery Company, 1 June, 1795. This was so popular at the time of delivery as to be clapped !

2. A Fast Sermon, 9 May, 1798. In this he evinced the singular faculty of attacking errors without offensive personalities, and of maintaining general principles to almost universal acceptance, which had they been distinctly applied to the party politics of the day would have excited bitter opposition, even in his own Society.

¹ In a brief memoir of Mr. Emerson, written for the Collections, Rev. S. C. Thacher, Dr. Kirkland's immediate successor in the pulpit of the New South Church, says of Mr. Emerson : "He was a man of lively and vigorous talents, and possessed the rare felicity of having them so constantly at command, that his literary efforts are almost all of nearly equal excellence. He possessed great diligence and activity in every pursuit in which he engaged, and was remarkably methodical and exact in the distribution of his time. If we were to select any single feature as marking his character more distinctly than any other, we should say it was the singular propriety with which he filled every station to which he was called. His strong curiosity led him to engage in a great variety of studies ; and his love of activity allowed his friends to lay upon him the burden of a great multitude of occupations in the various literary and charitable societies of which he was a member. . . . In all the private relations of life he was most exemplary and conscientious. His purity was without a stain. His integrity was above all suspicion. No man delighted more in the happiness of his friends, or would more actively and disinterestedly exert himself to promote it." — See 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. pp. 254-258.

3. On 22 June, 1798, he published a discourse delivered at the funeral of Dr. Belknap, which was considered a fine exhibition of power, especially considering the short time afforded for its preparation.

4. On 19 July, 1798, he delivered a much admired oration before the Φ B K Society at Cambridge. From the circumstances of its appropriateness, as well as ingenuity, it was considered a singularly happy production. At that time the sentiments of the French infidel philosophers, from the prevalent sympathy of our countrymen with the French in shaking off the restraints of royalty, were making alarming progress in this country. In promotion of the same unrighteous and ungodly cause Godwin's Political Justice, a mischievous English work, had just been republished in Boston. At this critical period, as one of the first occupants of the field, Mr. Kirkland devoted the whole powers of his mind to counteract the evil. He accordingly wrote his oration with great care, committed it wholly to memory, and delivered it in a truly oratorical manner. It was received with unbounded plaudits, and, it is said that the Hon. George Cabot distributed one thousand copies, as the best means he could devise for meeting the exigencies of the times.

5. But the mental effort which was most signally manifested and honored was a sermon delivered 29 December, 1799, the Lord's day after the news of Washington's death had arrived at Boston. This sermon was considered by the best judges as a singularly happy production. It was read with high gratification at the South, as well as in these regions. It was reviewed with high honors by the celebrated Dr. Miller, in a New York Review. It was probably the principal instrument of procuring for Mr. Kirkland the title of D.D. from Princeton College, N. J., in 1802, when he was but 32 years of age. Had this degree been deferred till the Odium Theologicum had begun to prevail in our land it would have been difficult for the Faculty of this University to unite in conferring such an honor on such a reputed heretic.

Dr. Kirkland continued to discharge his pulpit duties to rare acceptance, and to constitute the delight of the social parties into which he freely entered, till a vacancy occurred in the Presidency of Harvard University, by the death of President Webber. Then it was that the friends of Harvard University, with wonderful unanimity, fixed on Dr. Kirkland to fill the vacancy. I myself heard George Cabot declare, "If you wish to elevate the University to the highest degree of prosperity of which it is susceptible, elect Dr. Kirkland for its President. Choose any other man, and it will remain on the same dead level to which it has for so long a time descended."

Accordingly, Dr. Kirkland was elected President of Harvard University by the Corporation 7 Aug., 1810. The election was confirmed

by the Overseers 23 August. His letter of acceptance was communicated on 1 October. He was inducted into office on 14 November, 1810, with unusual demonstrations of joy and hope.

But the year before his induction into this office he wrote a biography of Fisher Ames, to be prefixed to a collection of his works. This effort cost him great labor, as well as taxed the patience of his friends. So difficult was it to fix his attention to the undertaking, and to procure copy in any season to meet the demands of the printer who was engaged to publish it, that his friend George Cabot went once, if not oftener, to his study with the avowed determination not to leave it till he had obtained the desired supply. This happened on an afternoon when the Boston Association met at Dr. Kirkland's. So wholly was he absorbed in the requisite preparation that he did not for once come down stairs to welcome or see his brethren, or even to take tea with them!

At the University he was singularly honored and beloved. A new impulse was given to its reputation; and the numbers of its students were much increased. Many valuable improvements were executed. Men of the first talents were called into the instruction and government of the College.

On 1 November, 1814, University Hall was completed; and on an Exhibition day the President dedicated it by a short address & prayer. Then for the first time were religious exercises appointed to be held in the chapel for the students exclusively, with the families of the teachers. The President was expected to preach half of the time, and the Hollis Professor of Divinity the other half.

I recollect when dining in company with President Kirkland about this time, Dr. Freeman remarked to him that the sermons which had procured him the Presidency would certainly be fitted to deliver after he had become President. Dr. Kirkland at once made this shrewd reply: "Ah! the government of the University chose me for what I *could* do!"

It would be difficult to estimate the amount of good which the President did at the University by removing deeply-rooted prejudices, by fostering genius, even lavishing from his own moderate means funds which have proved essential aids to many poor students, and but for which they must have left the University with their education unfinished. From the estimation in which he was holden fresh funds were supplied to the University, new professorships were founded, and additional buildings erected. Great improvements were made in the studies pursued.

In the government of the College President Kirkland was lenient, in the opinion of many, to a hurtful extent. Some maintain that essential injury accrued to the institution from the continuance of members there, through his reluctance to exclude them, who served greatly to

corrupt all with whom they came in contact. Be this as it may, he was very generally beloved, even by the dissolute and unprincipled. Whatever complaints they uttered of the punishment, which without doubt they richly deserved, their regard for the President generally remained unabated.

While he was thus popularly fulfilling the duties of his office he was, early in August, 1827, when 57 years of age, suddenly seized with paralysis, which disabled him from officiating as President on the approaching Commencement. It did not, however, prevent the consummation of his nuptials with Elizabeth Cabot, the daughter of his tried friend, George Cabot. They were married on 1 September, 1827.

It was not long after this event before the Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch, the famous mathematician and a member of the Corporation, became so dissatisfied with the fiscal concerns of the University, not because he doubted for one moment the honesty of the President or of the Treasurer, Judge Davis, but because he thought them not managed according to his notions of propriety, that he expressed himself in such a manner as contributed, with other causes, to the resignation of the President, on 29 March, 1828. This event produced at the time a high excitement among many devoted friends of Harvard. The students almost universally bewailed the measure, and were for a season for venting their resentment against the supposed authors. This feeling was particularly observable on the first Commencement after the resignation. Almost all the speakers testified in their compositions the most ardent feelings of attachment toward the President, and deep regret that his course was so prematurely run.¹

It can hardly be doubted that paralysis had considerably affected not only his corporeal but mental powers. It was therefore probably wise, all things considered, that his connexion with the University should then terminate.

Immediately after his resignation the President with his wife journeyed over the Southern and Western States. He went nowhere but he met some of his former pupils, who failed not to manifest toward him the most cordial and respectful attachment.

They next took the tour of Europe. During their absence the

¹ Mr. Young remarks in his Discourse (p. 55): "Let it be remembered, that the only charge ever whispered against Dr. Kirkland was that he did not know how to take care of money, manage accounts, and keep records. His deficiency in this respect is freely admitted by his warmest friends, and he himself was fully aware of it. But the man who before his elevation to the presidency was known never to have attended to his own pecuniary affairs, ought not to have been expected to keep the books or watch over the financial concerns of the College. He was elected to be its President,—not its clerk, its steward, or its banker." See also Quincy's History of Harvard University, vol. ii. pp. 853-372.

President wrote home letters to several friends which are said to be full of sound sense and valuable information.

He returned home without essential benefit to his health; and though his bright intellectual powers were evidently somewhat affected, yet his former pupils of every age and class have been astonished to find themselves and their very names recognized by their beloved President. In this respect he had the advantage of the present incumbent, Quincy, who, it is said, is commonly obliged to ask almost every student's name during his whole residence at the College.

For some years it has been manifest to his friends that his health and strength, both his bodily and mental powers, were gradually declining. Nothing could have been more fortunate in respect of his worldly circumstances than his matrimonial connexion. For this has furnished him with the means of procuring whatever supplies his wants or convenience have required. Otherwise, as he probably reserved not a single dollar for future necessities, he must have been dependent for support on the charity of friends. The only regret which his friends have generally expressed at his condition has been that he should have appeared in public in a dress better adapted to a devotee of fashion than to a late venerable President of the University and preacher of the gospel. Though in this respect his wife is supposed grievously to have erred in judgment, yet it is the uniform testimony of those acquainted with the facts that she has taken care of him and watched over him through the whole of his protracted illness with devoted affection and untiring fidelity.

For several of the last weeks of his life he has been losing his mental powers, so as to make singular mistakes in conversing with friends, and sometimes so as not to recognize his wife.

At length, on Lord's day, 26 April, 1840, he calmly fell asleep in death, aged 69 years, 8 months, and 9 days.

As he had been so long out of office, in private life, the family first intended that his funeral should be from the house of his brother-in-law, Henry Cabot, Esq. But Governor Everett and others prevailed on them to alter the arrangements, and have a public funeral from the New South Church, where he was formerly pastor; and though notice to this effect was given only in the evening previous to the funeral, yet it was attended by a large number of his former friends and pupils. There were 13 present who stand before me in the Catalogue. The exercises consisted of a dirge, a hymn, and a prayer by the Rev. Alexander Young. It was regretted that Gov. Everett, of the first class, 1811, which was graduated under his Presidency had not been appointed to deliver a eulogy at the funeral. As this was not done, there was a meeting of alumni at Dr. Palfrey's, where the Governor was appointed for this service. But as he was about to embark for Europe, he is under-

stood to have declined the service, and Dean Palfrey, Professor in the Divinity School, Cambridge, was chosen in his place.

In the mean time Dr. Parkman, of the New North Church, delivered a funeral sermon upon the President, in Brattle Square Church, Boston, whose pastor, the Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, is the President's nephew. By vote of the Society a copy of the sermon was solicited for the press, and it was accordingly printed. The text was, John v. 35, "He was a burning and a shining light." The same day, namely, on 3 May, the Rev. Alexander Young preached all day from Daniel v. 11, 12, "Light and understanding and wisdom and knowledge, and an excellent spirit were found in him." The Society asked a copy for the press; and it was accordingly published with copious notes and an appendix, amounting in the whole to 104 pages.

This is a most cordial tribute of respect and affection from one who had spent 7 years under his tuition, and enjoyed his uninterrupted friendship and counsels. The last time the President preached in the New South Church was 15 April, 1827.

Mr. Young has evidently taken great pains to gather facts from all quarters which may serve to throw light on the character and family of the President. He wrote letters to all persons who, he thought, could give the desired information. I was so happy as to furnish him with the autobiography on p. 24, the prayer on p. 80, and the hints on reading on 100. These I had some time since obtained from Dr. Harris, to whom they had been given by Dr. Kirkland not to be returned. I not only furnished Mr. Young with these papers, but also with a complete list of the President's published pamphlets, as also with a list of such as he had been requested, but had refused or neglected to publish.

On Thursday, 4 June, at IV. P. M., the time appointed for the eulogy on President Kirkland, there was a meeting in the Rev. Alexander Young's church.

The exercises commenced with a voluntary on the organ. Mr. Young read a hymn, which was sung to solemn music.

Dr. Ware, Senior, who by reason of obscure vision groped his way into the pulpit, next offered a short prayer.

Dean Palfrey then read a eulogy, of 1 hour and 46 minutes. He stated what he conceived to be the prominent traits in his character, avoiding the course which had already been occupied by the two former eulogists. He did not claim for him universal genius or scholarship, but endeavored to give an impartial account of his qualifications and defects.

He spoke of the impulse which Dr. Kirkland gave to literature on assuming the Presidency, of the increasing number of students, and of the men of genius and talents whom he gathered around him to assist in instruction.

He had previously mentioned that he came forward as a preacher when there were no preachers of distinction in the capital, and thus commenced what he himself afterwards denominated "a new era in preaching."

But though the President constantly preached one half of the time, from 1 November, 1814, during his continuance in office, yet the Dean said not one word of his religious influence at the University. Some suppose that but little could be said on this subject. Others maintain that he was of essential service to the young students of divinity, and that he also recommended the religion of the gospel to others who would not otherwise have been so favorably disposed toward it.

The eulogy, on the whole, was rather dry. Fewer, by many, were present to hear it than attended the funeral. This circumstance confirmed the opinion of the most judicious friends of the President that it would have been better to have had the eulogy on the day of the funeral.

In reflecting upon my own relation to the President, I cannot but add my feeble tribute to the excellence of his social qualities and to the improving nature of his conversation. He was my tutor for 8 months at the University. He has ever since treated me with kind attentions. Never have I known one who in the freedom of social converse threw out more original thoughts.¹ He invariably acted upon his own maxim not to betray so much self-love as not to respect the self-love of others.

He felt conscious of his defects. I well remember that sometime in 1814, when it was contemplated to have public worship in University Hall, which was then building, instead of worshipping, as had always been the custom, in the meetinghouse of the First Society, Dr. Freeman remarked to him, in company, "The sermons which procured for you the Presidency, will certainly be suitable for you to deliver as President." "Ah!" rejoined the President, "the Corporation chose me for what I could do."²

¹ In a marginal note Dr. Pierce refers to a later volume of his Memoirs, where is the following "*Anecdote of President Kirkland*. — President Kirkland was not married till late in life. When joked about his bachelorship he always had some ready reply. I remember when dining with him at Lieut. Gov. Phillips's, in a large party, as some one was jesting with him about his single life, he said he would reply in the language of an Indian, member of his father's congregation among the Indians. In conversation with some whites who wished to elicit his opinions upon matrimony, he suddenly inquired, 'Do you wish to know what kind of a wife I should choose?' Upon their answer in the affirmative, he took a piece of board, and with some chalk drew the rough sketch of a female form. 'There,' said he, 'is the kind of wife I should like, no like 'em, rub 'em out.' This put all the company in good humor, and at once turned the current of conversation."

² Already mentioned. — Marginal note by Rev. Dr. Pierce.

He once observed, "It is hard work when we are obliged to think what to write, instead of writing what we think."

At the ordination dinner of the Rev. John Pierpont, 14 April, 1819, he gave the following sentiment, "The principal doctrine of the Anti-sectarian sect, that goodness consists in being good." He complained that some Southern papers, in publishing this sentiment, altered it to this effect, "goodness consists in *doing* good," as if he intended to maintain, contrary to his well known sentiments, that goodness consists in beneficence alone.

Some of his discourses which were highly approved by the best judges have already been mentioned.

His discourse at the funeral of the Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, 12 June, 1812, on "Thou destroyest the hope of man," was good. It was desired for the press. But he could not be induced to publish it.

His Dudleian Lecture on the Errors of Popery, in May, 1813, received the high commendation of Chief Justice Parsons. Yet so far from preparing it for the press, as he has been desired, it was a number of years before he copied it so as to secure the fee, of about \$25, which is given to the preacher on condition that a fair copy is lodged in the archives of the College.

His Convention Sermon, in 1813, gave high satisfaction to his friends. But no persuasion could prevail on him to copy it for the press.

His Election Sermon, 29 May, 1816, gained him deserved celebrity.

The paralysis which seized him at 57 years of age affected not merely his corporeal, but, as is common in such cases, his mental powers. His friends could not but regret that on visiting foreign lands he should exhibit the wreck only of his superior mind. On his return he walked much in the streets for the benefit of exercise, but it was with growing difficulty. In his effort to go forward he was obliged to describe a semi-circle with his right leg every time he advanced.

Such was the failure of his mental faculties, as well as of his bodily strength, for the last few months, that many of his friends have forbidden to visit him; and they who called to show their respect and love have been painfully affected by the woful changes which they have witnessed in him.

It may be truly said to have been a relief to his best friends to witness his exit; for there was not the least prospect of his restoration to health or reason, and his bodily sufferings were such as they might very naturally wish to see terminated.

His death was therefore generally considered rather as a merciful release than as an event to be greatly deplored.

The following is a list, as far as known, of Dr. Kirkland's publications: —

1. Sermon before the Ancient & Hon. Art., 1 June, 1795.
2. Sermon on the National Fast, 9 May, 1798.
3. Funeral Sermon on Dr. Belknap, 22 June, 1798.
4. Oration before the F B K, 19 July, 1798.
5. On the death of Gen. Washington, 29 December, 1799.
6. At the ordination of Rev. John Pison, Taunton, 15 Jan., 1800.
7. Before the Mass. Char. Fire Society, 29 May, 1801.
8. Before the Mass. Soc. for sup. Intemper, 27 May, 1814.
9. Election Sermon, 26 May, 1816.
10. On the death of Hon. George Cabot, 18 Ap., 1823.

Notices of Fisher Ames, prefixed to his Works.

Sermon in "A Gen. View of Xnty." 1809.

Life of Commodore Preble, Port Folio. 1810.

Review of Rev. Abiel Abbot, &c. Gen. Repos. 1812.

Obituary Notice of Dr. John Lathrop, Xn. Dis. 1816.

On John Adams & Thomas Jefferson, 30 Oct., 1826.

Letter to Judge Davis on the Holy Land, 31 May, 1832.

In Collections of Mass. Histor. Soc.

Answer to queries resp. Indians. Vol. iv. 1795.

Notices of Gen. Lincoln. Vol. iii. Sec. Ser. 1815.

Sketch of life of Caleb Gannett. Vol. viii.

Notice of Professor Peck. Vol. x.

In Monthly Anthology.

Review of the Xn. Monitor, No. 3. Vol. iii.

Address of the Editors. Vol. iv.

Memoir for the Boston Atheneum.

Review of Mem. of Dr. Priestley.

An essay on the seasons.

Review of Dr. Joseph Lathrop's sermons.

An essay of sympathy.

Review of the Xn. Monitor, No. 6.

Character of Hon. Fisher Ames.

Review of McFarland on heresies.

Essay on truth.

Anecdote of Franklin.

Review of Cœlebs.

An essay on advice.

Review of Eliot & Allen's Biog. Diet.

Review of Memoirs of Dr. Wheelock.

Discourses which Dr. Kirkland was requested, but declined or omitted to publish : —

1. Commemoration of Plymouth landing. 22 Dec., 1808.
2. Before Soc. for Xn. knowledge, piety, & charity. May, 1808.

3. Before the Humane Society. June, 1810.
4. On leaving Church Green. 4 Nov., 1810.
5. Ordination, Rev. S. C. Thacher. 15 May, 1811.
6. At interment Rev. J. S. Buckminster. 12 June, 1812.
7. Dudleian Lecture. May, 1813.
8. Convention Sermon. 27 May, 1813.
9. Ordination of Rev. Edward Everett. 9 Feb., 1814.
10. Ordination of Rev. Francis Jackson. Nov., 1816.
11. Ordination of Rev. Thomas Prentiss. 26 Mar., 1817.
12. Death of Rev. S. C. Thacher. 29 March, 1818.
13. Ordination, Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood. 21 Oct., 1818.
14. Before Soc. for prop. the Gospel. 5 Nov., 1818.
15. Ordination of Rev. G. B. Ingersoll. May, 1822.¹
16. Sermon to the young. Cambridge, 1826.
17. Sermon bef. Soc. for prom. theo. educa. 27 Aug., 1816.

I find, on examination, that I have heard and read 67 discourses of President Kirkland, though a few of this number were repetitions.

[In a later volume of Dr. Pierce's memoir is the following record:]

The pupils of President Kirkland contributed to the erection of an elegant stone monument to his memory, with the following inscription, said to have been written by Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, D.D., with the supervision of others:—

JOANNI · THORNTON · KIRKLAND
 VIRO · HONORATO · DILECTO
 AVCTORITATE · SVAVITATE
 INGENII · ACVMINE · SERMONIS · VENVSSTATE
 ET · ANIMI · QVADAM · ALTITVDINE
 PRAESTANTI
 ACADEMIAE · HARVARDIANAE
 PER · ANNOS · XVII · FAVSTOS · PRAESIDI
 AEQVO · VIGILANTI · BENIGNO · PIO
 ALVMNI · GRATE · MEMORES
 HOC · MONVMENTVM · PONENDVM · CVRAVERVNT

[On the other side.]

JOANNES · THORNTON · KIRKLAND
 V · D · M · S · T · D
 DECESSIT · APRILIS · DIE · XXVI
 A · D · N · MDCCCXL
 AETATIS · SVAE · LXIX

¹ This is a slip of the pen; and the same error occurs in the list furnished by Dr. Pierce for the appendix to Mr. Young's discourse. The sermon referred to was preached at Burlington, Vt., May 30, 1822, at the ordination of Rev. George G. Ingersoll.

During the meeting conversational remarks, elicited by the more formal papers, were made by the PRESIDENT, Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER, Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAF-TER, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, and other members.

Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., was elected a Resident Member.

A new serial, containing the proceedings at the April and May meetings, was ready for delivery at this meeting.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1894.

THE stated meeting, the first since the summer vacation, was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. : the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved ; and the list of donors to the Library was also read. The Corresponding Secretary said that he had received letters of acceptance from Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., elected a Resident Member, and Capt. Alfred T. Mahan, U. S. N., elected a Corresponding Member.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

In our association here, we have our full share in the minglings of sorrow with grateful and heartfelt elegiac tributes which have been drawn from our whole community during this week, as the gifted and beloved, the admired and venerated chief in our world of literature, culture, and song has passed from among the living. It is true that in the limited numbers and in the single field of study of our Society, we have no special claim to assert a prominence among those who equally with ourselves are members of that wide fellowship of humanity which he delighted, instructed, and served. Too rich and versatile, too large and fruitful in their wealth and exuberance, were the gifts committed to him, and his lavish scatterings from them, to permit an appropriation of him by any professional or social circle. Still we may remind ourselves that this little fellowship of ours engaged his warm attachment and his loving service. We have but to run our eyes through the indexes of our published volumes to note how frequent, and, in their matter, of interest and value, were his contributions to our work during the thirty-seven years of his membership. If it had been left to him to choose the time and the occasion for his last presence in these halls, what could have been more grateful to him and to us than when, eleven months since, he read to us that noble tribute of his own favoring muse to the foremost of our

historical writers, Francis Parkman! Yet had he been wont only to sit silent and idle in our circle here, we all of us realize what pleasure it was to us to respond to his genial, inquisitive, sympathetic look, watching for any chance gleam of humor from our dry themes, yet fully responsive with a grave recognition to matters of weight and seriousness. Like Longfellow and Emerson and others of our elders, at a period of years when, as it is written, men "are afraid of that which is high," he cheered his ascent to our elevated shrine by saying to himself that he was mounting to the "High-story-cal Society."

It is a cheering reminder that health and pleasure, and all that ministers to them, so prevail over invalidism that *Professor* Holmes, who devoted his most laborious years to medical science in our University and to the training of thirty-five classes of physicians, is scarcely recognized as such by those admiring readers of his radiant pages. Yet the discerning among those readers must have noted tokens of a keen professional instinct in a certain pathological element alike in his prose and verse. It is for others, elsewhere and through the various and abounding mediums, to apply the tests and methods of critical estimate to the gifts and quality of his genius, his rank among his peers in mental endowment and productions, and the permanence of his popularity and fame. To us, whose rich privilege it has been here and elsewhere in many social and private circles to know in daily intimacy the man of so sunny a spirit, of so joyous a heart, of so kindly a soul, all gracious and loving memories remain. In him were negatived many current cynical literary proverbs, — such as that of the irritability of genius, and that the Muses will not respond when summoned for poems written to order. He needs no gentle condonings for temper, manners, morals, or personal indulgence. Pure, serene, refined, elevated in the spirit, tone, and tenor of his life, — *serus in cælum rediit*, — he left behind him a ripe harvesting from the fruits and the flowers of existence.

The PRESIDENT having called on the Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, Mr. Everett said that Dr. Holmes had, by his own example, prescribed the method by which he should be commemorated, and read the following poem: —

One poet more, transferred to Homer's train;
One healer more, removed to Galen's side;
One more gold link upon our heroes' chain, —
One friend the less, who never should have died.

Friend, patriot, healer, poet, wit, and sage, —
How hard, how strange, to count him with the past!
We heard his gentle jests on time and age,
Nor dreamed such foes could win the fight at last.

Who for that grave may twine a fitting crown,
Where memory's pansy blends with glory's bay?
Whose pen like his, for ever now laid down,
Tender to feel, and lively to portray?

Yet, while from yonder tower he loved so long
Still chime the echoes of his funeral psalm,
Let not the master lack one modest song,
Till bolder hands shall plant some statelier palm.

No single flower that garland can supply,
Such vast and varied springs his genius held,
Whence through a score of channels, never dry,
Fresh, deep, and pure, their shining currents welled.

Sprung from New England's chiefs and saints of yore,
His heart was rooted to her soil alone,
Nor siren charms from lands the ocean o'er
E'er shook his proud allegiance to his own.

Born where our ancient college throws her shade,
He served, he loved her, student to the last;
While o'er her sons in festive ranks arrayed
His genial Muse unfailing fragrance cast.

In love he practised, and in patience taught,
The sacred art that battles with disease;
Nor stained, by one disloyal act or thought,
The holy symbol of Hippocrates.

His lyre through every mood of music rang,
The banquet's carol, and the battle's hymn;
Now warbling like a child at play, it sang,
Now soared to echoes of the seraphim.

Lustrous and leaping, like the Boreal dawn,
His wit o'er every theme ranged unconfined ;
Flashed like a rapier's point in combat drawn,
But drew no blood, and left no sore behind.

Wide as our country, wide as England's tongue,
Flew his bright name, itself a household word ;
How frankly proud to all those wreaths he clung,
How kindly caught each breath of praise he heard !

Dear were those plaudit notes ; but dearer far
One treasure, prized o'er all that high renown,
Friendship's gemmed circlet, every friend a star,
Outshining victor's helm or empire's crown.

So lived, so sang, so talked he ; youth's gay beam,
Manhood's hot splendor, age's milder glow,
Each in its turn might fairest radiance seem,
As year by year we watched them shine and go.

Threescore and ten with gentle footstep came,
Nor labor pressed, nor sorrow, at fourscore ;
One lustre more ; then rang his summoned name
In softest music through Elysium's door.

His bright task wrought, his meed of glory won,
His country honored, and his kind improved :
Room there is none for tears ; yet tears will run,
For bard, for master, and for friend removed.

The PRESIDENT said that he had received a letter from Judge Hoar, expressing regret at his inability to be present at the meeting : —

CONCORD, Oct. 10, 1894.

DEAR DR. ELLIS, — I regret very much that I cannot be present when the virtues and graces of our dear Dr. Holmes are commemorated by the Massachusetts Historical Society. But it is entirely out of my power.

I am confident no writer since Walter Scott has given so much pleasure to so many English-speaking people as he. How we shall miss him !

Sorrowfully yours,

E. R. HOAR.

Rev. Dr. ELLIS.

Mr. HENRY LEE spoke in substance as follows:—

After the President's discriminating remarks and Dr. Everett's sympathetic verses, my only excuse for saying a few words is that my point of view is not that of a scholar, but of a friend and kinsman.

Our common ancestor, Edward Jackson, of Harvard College, 1726, married Dorothy Quincy, whom Dr. Holmes has embalmed. He had two children; the son was my grandfather, the daughter his grandmother. Always on familiar terms, for seventeen summers we have been neighbors at Beverly Farms, in closer communion, holding stated meetings every Sunday after church, — which, by the way, he invariably attended, whatever the creed or whoever the preacher. He will be missed from his accustomed seat in the old King's Chapel, which he has filled for over fifty years.

At these weekly sessions discussion ranged far and wide. There was no assumption of superiority on his part, such as I have sometimes encountered from literary men; but there was, on each side, an eagerness to talk which had to be regulated, after parliamentary usage, by the mistress of the house.

An old gentleman, speaking of Judge Charles Jackson, the father of Mrs. Holmes, told me that when, as referee, he decided a case, both parties were satisfied, such was their confidence in his equity; and his daughter presided over this court of appeal with like acquiescence.

In this intimacy I traversed the opinions and convictions, the sympathies and gentle antipathies, of my brilliant, discursive cousin, the Autocrat; observed his domestic habits and relations, and learned the rewards and penalties of his popularity.

He was most happy in his marriage. The executive ability and unselfish devotion manifested by his wife when at the head of the Boston Sanitary Commission, during the Civil War, were lavished upon her family; her delicate perceptions and quick sympathies made her a delightful companion and a competent critic of her husband's prose or poetry.

It was pleasant to meet them in their daily walks, gayly chatting with each other or with a neighbor, or stooping to caress a little child. These daily walks have been persevered in to the end, in spite of solitude, partial blindness, and

increasing infirmities ; and so have his kindly relations with neighbors, his playful and tender intercourse with children.

I have had two sets of grandchildren dwelling near him, and I will venture to say that he never passed them without a pleasant word ; and he not only saluted them, but he noticed their traits.

A neighbor told me that when Dr. Holmes dwelt in Charles Street, and passed daily through Cambridge Street to the Medical School, he was wont to stop on his way to speak to the school-children, to give them words to spell, to laugh over their blunders, and to reward them with pennies. He was blessed with a real gayety of heart, — a quality too rare among us descendants of Puritans, — inherited, perhaps, from his Dutch ancestors.

He had much mechanical ingenuity, — made several inventions, besides improving the stereoscope ; but in some business ways he was amusingly helpless, and, as I have occasion to know, very grateful for assistance.

His kindness of heart was exercised, but not exhausted, by the bores who besieged him with visits and letters, — who showered upon him their essays to be read, their aspirations to be considered, and often rewarded his patient endurance and merciful judgments with an outburst of ingratitude. His charity for these and other offences was habitual ; he was quite capable of receiving, but not of inflicting, wounds ; nor did he harbor resentments.

He has been called vain, by himself and others ; but it was vanity of an amiable and childlike kind, — confessed, and so apologized for ; not denied or disguised or justified. It was not made offensive by superciliousness, nor contemptible by unmanliness, nor malignant by envy. Had he visited Rotten Row, and gazed at the well-born, well-dressed, well-mounted equestrians, he would have exulted over their bright array, and not have growled out, as Carlyle did, "There is not one of them can do what I can do." He would not, like Moore, have abused his honest and generous publisher ; nor would he, like him, upon the loss of a child, have lain abed to revel in his grief, leaving his "dear Bessie," as he called his wife, to perform the last sad offices. He would not — as did one author with whom I had formerly lived on terms of equality, but who afterward acquired fame and riches — have called

upon me to mark him extraordinary, not in the roll of common men, by cutting off the coupons from his goodly pile of bonds,—a service not rendered to his four thousand fellow-customers.

Lowell wrote a witty paper on "A Certain Condescension in Foreigners"; he might have followed it by "A Certain Condescension in Literary Men."

When I read the correspondence between Emerson and Carlyle, it struck me how much more and better they would have written had they been bound to some task every morning; if manual, all the better. Emerson recognizes this in many passages: "The use of manual labor is one which never grows obsolete, and which is inapplicable to no person. . . . We must have a basis for our higher accomplishments, our delicate entertainments of poetry and philosophy, in the work of our hands. Not only health, but enterprise is in the work."

Fortunate for Charles Lamb was his enforced drudgery "at the desk's dead wood." It was this routine that braced him for his congenial labors. After his long-coveted liberation, he ran and frisked about like a colt in a pasture, and then subsided; the "unchartered freedom" made him restless, but not productive.

Fortunate for Dr. Holmes his practice and his lectures for thirty-five years. It gave him promptness, accountability, resolution, touch with the world. It was this commerce with the world that widened his observations and his sympathy; it was this which inclined him, it was this discipline which enabled him, to respond so constantly and so heartily to the appeal for occasions,—a well-performed service which endeared him to the great public.

The champagne, the effervescence, will be lacking at many a gathering now that he is gone; he stands out from all other poets by his cheerful and hearty co-operation.

Who now can catch inspiration from the passing event, and express felicitously the feeling agitating every breast, as did our lost friend?

One more trait, and that a most amiable one, characterized him,—a remarkable magnanimity; he gave an ungrudging tribute of praise to his brethren, he had "the most catholic receptivity for the genius of others."

In short, he was very human in weakness and in strength; love and good-will he freely bestowed, and love and good-will he craved in turn, and he received in full measure.

"I do not know what special gifts have been granted or denied me, but this I know, — that I am like so many others of my fellow-creatures that when I smile I feel as if they must, when I cry I think their eyes fill; and it always seems to me that when I am most truly myself, I come nearest to them, and am surest of being listened to by the brothers and sisters of the larger family into which I was born so long ago."

"He sings no more on earth; our vain desire
Aches for the voice we loved so long to hear."

The Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR referred briefly to Dr. Holmes's brilliant powers of conversation, and to his inexhaustible wisdom and wit, and remarked that the thousand gems which Dr. Holmes scattered in his ordinary talk, if they could have been saved, would have made an abundant supply for our literary men for a century to come.

CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D., then spoke of Dr. Holmes's relation to Harvard University, in substance as follows: —

To the University Dr. Holmes was known as Professor in the Medical School for thirty-five years. He was first appointed in 1847 to a chair which, by its title, comprehended the two vast subjects of Anatomy and Physiology; and it was not till 1871 that he was relieved of the subject of Physiology. Officially charged with the care of these two immense fields, he was in the habit of also including in his instruction the elements of Histology and Microscopy, at a time when these two undeveloped but all-important subjects were new to the medical curriculum in this country. In teaching the elements of these two subjects he was distinctly a pioneer.

On his appointment in 1847 he immediately began to lecture five times a week, from November to March, at one o'clock in the afternoon. In 1857 he became an instructor in one of the summer schools of Medicine, in which instruction was maintained from March to November, with the exception of two midsummer months. In this school he usually lectured twice a week, and often gave additional instruction of a more indi-

vidual and intimate character. When the revolution took place in the Harvard Medical School in 1870-1871, Dr. Holmes's work was somewhat changed, but on the whole it was increased. For the rest of his term of service he lectured three, and part of the time four, times a week from October to June. His lectures were clear, interesting, fluent, and substantial; and they were illustrated by dissections and specimens, which he always insisted should be thoroughly prepared and delicately exhibited.

Most of us have been accustomed to think of Dr. Holmes as a brilliant essayist, talker, occasional lecturer, and poet; but the core of his day for thirty-five years was hard, consecutive, well-prepared medical teaching. Most men would have found the work he did as a medical teacher an adequate task in itself for thirty-five years of their prime.

Four years before he was elected Professor he published a striking medical essay, in which he maintained the contagiousness of puerperal fever. Year after year from the professor's chair he taught that that destructive fever was contagious, and was carried from patient to patient by the attending physician. I lately heard a distinguished medical expert, who by education and professional service is not of New England, publicly declare that one of the six great contributions which New England had made to the progress of Medicine was Dr. Holmes's teaching of the contagiousness of puerperal fever. The doctrine was not new; it had been taught even in the last century, and many of the cases on which Dr. Holmes relied were English, but the doctrine had not been accepted, and Dr. Holmes's essay of 1843 was attacked and ridiculed by some of the leading medical teachers in this country, and indeed at the time was rejected in practice by a large majority of the medical profession. Dr. Holmes lived to see the contagiousness of that fever absolutely demonstrated, and his doctrine universally accepted.

We may get some clear conception of the effect in this community of Dr. Holmes's insistence on good dissection in preparation for his lectures, if we consider the professional standing and services of the men who were Dr. Holmes's demonstrators and prosectors. They were Samuel Parkman, Frederick S. Ainsworth, Samuel Kneeland, Richard M. Hodges, David W. Cheever, Charles B. Porter, Henry H. A. Beach, and Maurice

H. Richardson. The anatomical attainments of these men were in some considerable measure due to their service under Dr. Holmes; and their skill, both as teachers and as surgeons, has been and will be of immeasurable value in this community.

At the time the important changes in the Harvard Medical School, already referred to, were made, Dr. Holmes had been a Professor there for twenty-four years, and was over sixty years of age. He had, therefore, reached the age when in most men conservatism becomes pronounced, and at which his habits of thought concerning his own teaching and the policy of the Medical Faculty might well have been fixed beyond the possibility of change. For several months he voted in the Medical Faculty on the conservative side, but with diminishing emphasis and ardor. The reiterated and accumulating arguments of the advocates of a fundamental change of policy took gradual effect on his open mind; and suddenly he changed sides in the Faculty, and became a convinced and unwavering supporter of the new policy, although the adoption of that policy would evidently cause deep and lasting changes in his own daily work, and in the School with which he had been familiar since 1833. In the fortunate results of the changes effected in 1870-1871 with his ultimate support, Dr. Holmes ever after took a lively interest, to which he often gave vivid expression.

Dr. Holmes's lectures, and all his intercourse with the students and the Faculty, were illuminated by the scintillations of his keen but kindly wit. He has himself said that one of the chief pleasures of life is frequent contact with alert, responsive intellects in great variety. To all who came close to him Dr. Holmes habitually gave this great pleasure with unflagging liberality.

As no other member desired to speak, the PRESIDENT suggested that instead of adopting any formal tribute in words to go on the record, the members should express by rising from their seats their grateful love and respect for the career so brilliantly run and so sweetly closed. All rose.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN exhibited some rare engravings given by Mr. Charles F. Adams, and said:—

At a meeting of the Society held last February, I gave, in the name of our first Vice-President, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, a set of rare German prints, four in number, which represent scenes in the town of Boston during the Revolutionary period. Through his continued kindness, I now present for him seven more prints, belonging to the same series, of which five were made by the same engraver, François Xavier Habermann, and the other two by Balth. Frederic Leizelt, all published in Augsburg. Two of them represent scenes in New York, and the remaining five portray scenes in Quebec. Like the former prints, these Views are not dated, but they belong to the same period, and presumably are as fanciful in their origin; and, like that set, they are colored.

The legends under the engravings are in both German and French, and in the following list I give a free and somewhat abridged translation of such titles. Though the prints are unnumbered, I here speak of them by numbers.

No. 1. "Representation of the Great Fire in New York, during the night of September 19, 1776."

No. 2. "View of New York," by Balth. Frederic Leizelt.

No. 3. "View of Quebec (upper town)."

No. 4. "View of Recolets Street, Quebec (upper town)."

No. 5. "View of the Capital Square, Quebec (lower town)."

No. 6. "View of Quebec (lower town), toward the St. Lawrence River."

No. 7. "View of Quebec," by Balth. Frederic Leizelt.

Dr. GREEN also referred to some remarks by Judge Chamberlain, made at the June meeting, which appear in the new Serial now lying on the table. They describe the contribution of money by the church at Chelsea for the benefit of the distressed inhabitants of South Carolina and Georgia, who were driven away from their homes by the British troops during the Southern campaign of the Revolution. The learned Judge said that, while he had made no particular study of the subject, his sole knowledge of the fact was derived from a receipt of the money by one of the Boston agents, on December 14, 1781, which he read; and he expressed the hope that additional information might be gathered in regard to the interesting fact. He stated, furthermore, that no Massachusetts historian, so far as he knew, had mentioned the particulars of the

contribution, which was probably a general one, and not confined to any town or neighborhood. Judge Chamberlain's surmise as to the extent of the beneficent work was correct, as it spread over the whole Commonwealth.

The raising of the money by the various churches at that period for the relief of the Southern people was prompted by a Brief from the Governor; and he in his turn was instructed by the General Court to send such a letter to the several towns and districts within the Commonwealth.

The following Resolutions are found among the Massachusetts Archives (CCXXXIV. 366) at the State House:—

In Senate Oct' 18 1781.

Whereas the United States in Congress assembled have recommended opening a Subscription for a Loan, for the Support of Such of the citizens of the States of South-Carolina and Georgia as have been driven from their Country and Possessions, by the Enemy — And also voluntary and free Donations, to be applied to the further relief of the Said Sufferers,

Therefore

Resolved, That Samuel Adams, Isaac Smith and Thomas Russel, Esquires, be, and hereby are appointed, to open a Subscription for a Loan, to Such of the distressed Inhabitants of South-Carolina and Georgia, as have been driven from their Country and Possessions, by the Enemy, upon the Plan recommended by Congress: and that the monies that may be loaned be remitted by the abovenamed Gentlemen to the Committee appointed by Congress, for receiving Such Loans.

Resolved, That the Governor be, and is hereby requested to Issue a Brief, through the Several Towns and Districts, within this Commonwealth, recommending an attention to the distresses of Such of the Inhabitants of South-Carolina and Georgia as have been driven from their Country and Possessions, by the Enemy, and their charitable Contributions for their relief; and that Such monies as may be collected, be paid into the hands of Samuel Adams, Isaac Smith and Thomas Russel Esquires, to be by them remitted to the Committee appointed by Congress to receive Such Donations

Sent down for Concurrence

N^o 1

S ADAMS *Presid'*

In the House of Representatives Oct' 29, 1781

Read & concurred

NATH GORHAM *Speak'*

Approv'd JOHN HANCOCK

[Indorsed] Resolue appointing a Committee to open a Loan for the distressed Citizens of Charlestown South Carolina and requesting the

Governor to Issue a Brief thro' the Several Towns in this Commonwealth October 18 1781 page 95 & 6 [These figures refer to the pages of another volume, where this paper had previously been placed; and the "N^o 1," as given above, may imply other papers in the same file, but not necessarily bearing on the same subject.]

There is in the possession of this Society John Hancock's Letter-book for the period from November 7, 1780, to March 13, 1782, which was given to the Library on November 13, 1817, by Mrs. Dorothy Scott, whose first husband was Governor Hancock. Fortunately for our purpose a copy of the letter sent out to the Boston ministers enclosing the Brief is found in the book, and runs as follows:—

Boston 15th Nov^r 1781

REV^d SIR, I have the Honor to inclose you a Brief, which I request you will be pleased to read to the Society under your Pastoral Charge, in the Forenoon of the next Lords Day; & I am confident your Recommendation will induce a liberal Contribution in the Afternoon of the same Day, & answer the Benevolent purposes of the Brief.

I am, With Respect, Sir, Your very hble Serv^t

J H

To

The Rev ^d Doct ^r Chauncey	M ^r Elliott	M ^r Croswell
Doct Mather	M ^r Stillman	M ^r Howard
Doct Cooper	M ^r Parker	Elders of the Presbyterian
M ^r Lothrop	M ^r Skillman	Church
M ^r Wight	M ^r Lewis	

Rev^d Gent^l who officiates at the New South — M^r Acklie

The following item from "The Continental Journal, and Weekly Advertiser" (Boston), November 22, 1781, seems to fix the date when the Brief was read in the several churches of Boston, and presumably in those throughout the Commonwealth so far as they could be reached:—

Last Lord's Day [November 18] a Brief was read in the several Churches in this Town, and a generous Collection made for our unfortunate Brethren of South-Carolina and Georgia.

On the last page (183) of the record-book (not numbered as a volume, but begun on June 1, 1761) of the First Parish at Groton, Massachusetts, is found a list of the contributions made on special occasions by that Church between July 19, 1761, and February 19, 1795; and among these entries is the following:—

1781. The Congregation contributed twenty five Dollars in hard money & four Dollars new Emission which are equal to one in hard, to the poor & distressed people in S. Carolina & Georgia, in Compliance with a Brief issued by His Excellency the Governor for that Purpose.

My friend Mr. William R. Cutter, of Woburn, informs me that contributions were raised in that town for the same object, and he sends me the copy of a receipt given by Mr. Isaac Smith, which reads as follows:—

Rec^d of the Town of Woburn, whereof the Rev^d M^r John Marret is pastor. Two pounds eleven shillings & 2^d for the sufferers of S^c Carolina & Georgia —

£2.. 11. 2

P. ISAAC SMITH

[Indorsed] Boston Recate

The original of this paper is among the manuscripts of the Cutter Collection (No. 274) in the Woburn Public Library.

Dr. GREEN announced the death of S. A. R. le Comte de Paris, an Honorary Member, which took place at his residence, Stowe House, in Buckinghamshire, England, on September 8. He was the elder son of the Duc d'Orléans and grandson of Louis Philippe, and was born at the Tuileries in Paris, on August 24, 1838. When the War of the Rebellion broke out in this country, he and his brother, the Duc de Chartres, desirous to see active military service, came here and joined the Army of the Potomac on the staff of General McClellan, where they both worthily upheld the honor of their family. After nearly a year of camp life, they returned to England, and the Comte devoted himself to literary and social pursuits. His "History of the Civil War in America" (Philadelphia edition, four volumes) already ranks as an authoritative work of its kind. He was chosen a member of this Society on December 9, 1875, soon after the appearance of the first volume of his History.

Dr. GREEN also communicated, in behalf of Mr. Barrett Wendell, who is now in Europe, a memoir of the late Edwin L. Bynner, for publication in the Proceedings.

Mr. William Roscoe Thayer, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

A new serial, comprising the proceedings at the June meeting, was ready for distribution at this meeting.



Ermi L. Ryner.



MEMOIR
OF
EDWIN LASSETTER BYNNER, LL.B.

BY BARRETT WENDELL.

EDWIN LASSETTER BYNNER was born in Brooklyn, New York, on August 5, 1842. His father, Edwin Bynner, was English; his mother, Caroline Edgerton, came of a family which had resided in New England since 1645. About 1847 the family moved to Harvard, Massachusetts, Mrs. Bynner's birthplace. Here, in the hill country of Worcester County, they remained for seven years, the elder Bynner meanwhile attaining considerable local reputation as editor of a weekly paper in the neighboring town of Clinton. To Clinton they moved in 1854. Within a year they moved again to Worcester, where they lived until 1868. The education of Edwin Lassetter Bynner then, which began in the country schools of Harvard, was continued at the Worcester Academy. After leaving school he read law in the office of Foster and Nelson, at Worcester, whence, in 1863, he proceeded to the Harvard Law School. After taking the degree of LL.B. here in 1865, he went to St. Louis, and entered the office of Judge Drake. In 1868, when his family moved from Worcester to Boston, he returned to the East. For two years he was at the bar in New York. The sudden death of his father in December, 1870, determined him to take up his residence in Boston, where his sisters, left unprotected by their bereavement, found it best to remain; their mother had died in 1859. He was admitted to the Suffolk Bar, and continued a practising lawyer in Boston until his death, on August 5, 1893.

In February, 1890, he became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was already suffering from the

first symptoms of the illness from which he never recovered. Perhaps on that account he took little part in the proceedings of the Society. Few of its members, however, could have been more heartily interested in its traditions and its purposes; for few men were ever at heart more enthusiastic antiquarians or more unaffected lovers of literature.

To many even of those who knew Bynner personally, indeed, the fact that he was a professional lawyer comes almost as a surprise. Among his friends, and still more to the public who knew him only by name, he seemed, so far as professional character went, distinctly a man of letters. From his father, whose editorial management of the little paper at Clinton was noteworthy, he inherited an instinctive aptitude for literature; and while this did not declare itself by precocious publication, it was so strong and so true that when he once began writing he never stopped to the end.

His first novel, "Nimport," was published anonymously in the Wayside Series, in 1877. A year later it was followed by his second novel, "Tritons," and in 1881 by his third, "Damon's Ghost." These books, though they hardly gave evidence of his power, have a distinct quality of their own. In many respects amateurish, they have throughout a sort of wholesome enthusiasm which novel-readers are sure to like. Their plots, to be sure, are utterly impossible, and their characters by no means studied from the life. You cannot read half-a-dozen pages of them without final conviction of their utter unreality. At the same time you feel that nobody could have written them who had not keenly enjoyed the wholesome masterpieces of English fiction, who had not thoroughly felt the immense recreation which amid the business of troublesome life may be found in hearty rambles away to a fantastic world where things go right, or who was not impelled to his own writing by real love of the temporary freedom from reality which such work involves. As some one has said, you put down "Nimport" or "Tritons" or "Damon's Ghost" in a mood very like that in which you return from a performance of private theatricals. You are perfectly aware that this is neither real life nor seriously fine art; at the same time you have felt, throughout this unaffected effort to give you pleasure, certain intangible qualities of amiable refinement which you should have far to seek elsewhere.

The unreal, amateurish, theatrical quality of these first novels is emphasized by the fact that their scene is laid in the very world where we live. Their fantasy, then, and their imitative conventionality are instantly brought to the test of comparison with actual experience. Whether Bynner's imagination would ever have taken a form which could quite have borne this test is perhaps questionable. A fortunate chance turned his attention to subjects of a very different character, for which his talent was peculiarly fitted.

These early novels had shown good qualities of style. They were easily, pleasantly written, with a certain whole-hearted dash and at the same time a lightness of touch such as are sure to appeal to people who really like to read. This marked literary faculty combined with his constant interest in the old history of New England, with the accuracy of mental habit which came from his legal training, and with the lasting personal regard which acquaintance with him always inspired, to make the committee in charge of the "Memorial History of Boston" confide to him, in 1880 and 1881, the chapters on the "Topography and Landmarks of the Colonial and Provincial Periods."

A more unpromising subject of research for many temperaments could hardly have been proposed. It required of course the most patient and elaborate attention to a sort of detail which is apt to interest only the individual concerned with the work in hand. It demanded, too, in the statement of its results, at once a rigorous condensation of style and an unswerving adherence to plain matters of fact which might well have been fatal to any enthusiasm but that of a Dry-as-dust. To Bynner, however, the work in question was probably more valuable than anything else could have been. The punctilious accuracy which it demanded was just the tonic he needed to strengthen the sense of actual fact in which his early novels had shown him artistically deficient. The strength of his fancy, which began to grow into a trait more fitly named imagination, meanwhile enlivened the dry records amid which he burrowed, with a constant sense that they were after all the relics of what had once been a living human world. Instead, then, of seeking relief from actuality in fantasies of contemporary unreality, he brought his strengthening literary power, and his ultimately remarkable knowledge of the details

of local history, to the task of reviving in imagination what had once been the facts of American life.

"Task," however, is hardly a fit word for the series of historical fictions by which he is best known. Though to himself the work of their composition may sometimes have been deliberately laborious, the result of that work never lacks the quality of apparently whole-hearted spontaneity which so atones for the shortcomings of his early novels. "Penelope's Suitors" — a short story dealing with the conjugal history of Governor Bellingham — was the first of his generally successful literary achievements. It appeared in the "Atlantic Monthly" for December, 1884. Encouraged by the success of this, he proceeded to write the book which is generally thought his best, "Agnes Surriage." This deals with the well-known story of Sir Harry Frankland's relations with the girl of Marblehead, who after a long series of adventures, culminating in her rescue of Sir Harry from the ruins of the Lisbon earthquake, became his wife.

The subject, essentially romantic, and, while virtually historical, constantly verging on improbability, was congenial to Bynner's taste and talent. The environment of the story was that very New England of provincial times with which his studies had made him thoroughly familiar. His style meanwhile, preserving its old vivacity and enthusiasm, had been strengthened by some years of practice. The result of his work is probably the best historical novel concerning New England which has ever been produced. It is not of course, like the great romances of Hawthorne, a lasting contribution to imaginative literature; nor yet can it quite bear comparison with the great historical fiction of England or France. In its own way, however, taken by itself for what it is, "Agnes Surriage" is an excellent book. With all the qualities which had marked his previous good work, it possesses a unity, a coherence, a grasp of his subject, a vigor in the handling of it, which make it a true work of art. Beyond any other contemporary novel, too, it revives the actual world which in New England preceded the Revolution. Very likely it resembles his earlier novels in a certain remoteness from real fact. A Yankee of King George II.'s time might have detected in it many touches of the same amiable unreality which is palpable to us in "Nimport" or the "Tritons." A generation like ours,

however, knows too little of the times with which "Agnes Surriage" deals to be troubled by its divergence from fact; at the same time any generation must heartily enjoy and appreciate its wholesome merits.

"Agnes Surriage" was published in the winter of 1886-1887. In October, 1887, appeared a whimsical story called "An Uncloseted Skeleton." In the "Atlantic Monthly," from May, 1889, till April, 1890, appeared his most ambitious and studied work, the "Begum's Daughter." This probably cost him more pains than anything else; but though a sound piece of historical fiction, it lacks the romantic charm of "Agnes Surriage." In the winter of 1891-1892 appeared a volume of short stories for children, entitled the "Chase of the Meteor." Finally, while troubled with the illness which ultimately proved fatal, he produced his last book, "Zachary Phips." This novel, published in 1892, recounts the adventures of a Yankee boy during the early years of the present century. He takes part in the Burr-Blennerhasset expedition; he fights in the naval battles of the War of 1812, and so on. More happens to him than could probably ever have happened to any real human being; and in the end he marries the maiden of high degree with whom everybody has been brought to wish him happiness. If, however, the combination of adventures be frankly incredible, each adventure by itself is plausible enough; and the book has a touch of that Odyssean rambling quality which makes one think of but a single episode at a time. Thus, the very disjointed nature of it, perhaps due to the languor of growing illness, becomes something like a merit. While not equal to "Agnes Surriage," and by no means so carefully studied as the "Begum's Daughter," it is such a tale of courageous adventure as all boys like and all grown folks are the better for liking.

It is as a novelist, then, — not a great novelist, but a thoroughly sound, wholesome, pure one, — that Bynner is best known. Certainly no other writer of the past twenty-five years has done more to revive in New England the memories of our own olden time, and to encourage thereby the survival among us of such traditions as bear fruit in manly patriotism. That Bynner had such didactic purpose in view is hardly probable. Temperamentally he was rather an artist than a preacher. He was so completely imbued with the spirit of his subject,

however, that he could not fail to awaken dormant interest in it; thereby his work accomplished its patriotic purpose far more efficiently than if it had been consciously or palpably hortatory.

If the public remember Bynner chiefly as a novelist, those who had the fortune personally to know him will always remember him first as a man. To write of his personality adequately, of course one must have known him intimately; yet even those who met him casually could not fail to recognize in him a quality of unusual personal charm. Unobtrusive, perfectly free from apparent self-consciousness, he had that not too common delicacy of good breeding which, while it inspires thorough freedom of thought and speech, neither gives nor receives the thoughtless confidentiality which giver and receiver alike are apt to regret. He was a man with whom one talked inevitably; in the best sense of the word, he was always affable. One talked, however, not of one's own affairs or of his; one talked of impersonal matters, in which the constant alertness of his sympathy was sure to arouse, even though it were not there before, a common interest.

To those who knew him well he was far more than an ordinary friend. In the "New England Magazine" for January, 1894, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale's affectionate memoir of him has a few words to say about his active interest in the affairs of the South Congregational Church. The trait thus shown is no longer as common as of old among the educated laymen of New England. To such laymen in general perhaps the possessors of this old-time trait generally present themselves as a shade priggish. About Bynner, however, there was no tincture of priggishness, or apparently of any quality not sympathetically human. To a man his friends — who very likely were not mutually intimate — felt for him a sentiment of more than usual affection. Nothing about his memory to-day is more notable than the number of persons — unlike among themselves except for the fact that all are soundly human — who feel each as if that memory were peculiarly his own.

Another thing which impresses one who knew Bynner is that he was not really a young man. He was past fifty years old; by the almanac he was in advanced middle life. To his own contemporaries perhaps he seemed as old as they; to

younger men, on the other hand, he had the rare faculty of seeming not a day their elder. Friendly human intercourse between men of the same generation is frequent, and almost as frequent is friendly human intercourse between men far enough apart in years to belong to distinct generations. It is rare, however, that an interval of a dozen or fifteen years — an interval not recognized by nature as normal to the human race — does not interpose some manner of barrier to friendship. With Bynner one was never conscious of it. To his elders, to his contemporaries, and to younger men alike he was always the same sympathetic human being who has no age at all. With all alike he has left such a memory as those who loved him best should wish.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1894.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the transaction of the usual preliminary business, the PRESIDENT said:—

Two years and a half ago, at a meeting of this Society, warm eulogistic tributes were paid by our associates Dr. Everett and Professor Goodwin to that eminent historian, then recently deceased, Dr. Edward A. Freeman, who had been for nearly twenty years on our roll as an Honorary Member. We have now to record the loss from the same roll of that versatile and brilliant writer, Dr. James Anthony Froude, who had preceded Dr. Freeman upon it. They represented two very different schools of historians, even to the extent of sharp antagonism in their respective conceptions and methods in research and narration. But none the less Froude succeeded his junior critic in the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Oxford. His life closed while he was discharging that office, his last service in it being the delivery of those lectures on the "Life and Letters of Erasmus," recently published, which some of us find very fascinating in the reading.

The older of our members will recall the social meeting of the Society which was held at the home of our associate Hon. John Amory Lowell, in November, 1872, three days after that overwhelming calamity to our city by the greatest conflagration ever visited upon it, though the meeting had been called prior to the devastating catastrophe, and it might have been that the members would not have the heart to attend it. It was held, and proved to be very interesting. Its chief attraction was the promised presence of Mr. Froude, then visiting the country. He came to the meeting after the delivery of one of his course of lectures at the Tremont Temple, and addressed us, after a graceful introduction to us by our President, Mr. Winthrop.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR then read the following paper:—

The Earliest Printed Sources of New England History.
1602-1629.

I make a survey of the contemporary printed sources of New England history, from the coming of Gosnold to the landing of Endicott (1602-1629), with a view to ascertain the comparative rarity of these historic records, and to gauge the effect of that rarity upon collectors competing for such books.

If we look then, in the first place, to what is left to us in contemporary print about the earliest visits of the English — for we are not concerned with those of the French and Dutch — to our New England coast, we find, beside many voyagers of whom we have only manuscript or later accounts, but three explorers during the first twelve years of our period the narratives of whose experiences were put in print at the time; and these are Gosnold, Weymouth, and John Smith. We will consider them in order.

There were two impressions in 1602 of John Brereton's "Briefe and True Relation" of the voyage of Gosnold, who spent a season on Cuttyhunk, and gave a name to our seaward cape. Three copies of the first impression are believed to be extant. One of these was sold in 1888 at Lord Harwicke's sale in London, bound with eleven other tracts in one volume, for £555, and came to the Carter-Brown Library.

Some seventeen years ago I had my attention drawn to a beautiful, crisp copy of this little, thin quarto, while on a visit to Lamport Hall, an old mansion of James the First's time in Northamptonshire. A few years before this its old library had thrown new light upon Shakespearean bibliography; and I was pleased to find that the baronet who founded the library in that king's time had not only been in the habit of bringing down from London such fresh little plays and poems of the Shakespearean era as pleased him, but that he occasionally put in his bag the bright though now dusky little quartos which told of adventures on the American shores. In 1886 Sir Charles Isham, the present owner of the estate, after some correspondence with me as to its value, put this little tract into an auction sale in London, intending to "protect" it at £125. Some years before, in 1878, a copy of this tract in the Brinley sale joined to another of equal rarity

had brought, for each one, \$800, — not quite so much perhaps as had been sanguinely hoped for, — and Mr. Charles H. Kalbfleisch was the purchaser. Quaritch, however, paid £265 for the Isham copy, and sold it to Mr. Kalbfleisch, to replace the Brinley copy, which being less fine he in turn sold to Dodd, Mead & Company, from whom it passed to Mr. E. D. Church, of Greenpoint, N. Y.

The second impression contains twenty-four additional pages of "Inducements"; and a copy of this sort is in Harvard College Library, and another, bought at the Barlow sale (No. 332) in 1890 for \$1125, is in the Lenox Library. There are three copies in the British Museum, one of which — the Grenville copy — lacks the supplementary part, and not more than three or four others in existence, so far as known. Not long since a copy brought £210 in London; and we may accordingly place a pecuniary value of not far from a thousand dollars upon the earliest English publication touching the history of our New England coast.

The next publication in the order of date is the "True Relation" of James Rosier, London, 1605, referring to Waymouth's voyage on the Maine coast, and the beginning of English interest in that region. It is quite as rare as the Brereton tract, and has raised even more rivalry among collectors. It was so difficult of access in Sparks's day that he caused a manuscript copy to be made of one in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum, which that library had acquired at a cost of nine guineas as far back as the Inglis sale. In 1883 a copy was sold in the collection, which had been originally formed by Sir Francis Drake; and Quaritch became its purchaser at £301, and sold it later to Mr. Kalbfleisch for £335, from whom it passed to Dodd, Mead & Company, who in turn sold it to Mr. E. D. Church. Mr. Kalbfleisch had also bought the copy which was the companion volume to the Brereton of the Brinley sale, not knowing that the last page was in facsimile, and this copy is now in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence. Mr. Kalbfleisch possessed at one time a third copy, and one was sold in the Barlow sale in 1890 (No. 2158) for \$1825, when the Lenox Library bought it. The only other copy accessible in a public collection is in the library of the New York Historical Society, which came to that institution with the Francis L. Hawks Collection.

When John Smith coursed along our coast in 1614, and made the observations which led to the earliest fairly accurate map of Massachusetts Bay, he was preparing for the publication of his "Description of New England" in 1616. By this time the permanent occupation of our shores under the familiar name that connects us with the mother country was pretty well assured. Smith's printed record, even in the days of Obadiah Rich, when that gentleman began purveying to the wants of American collectors, fifty and sixty years ago, had unusual pecuniary value for such tracts, for his lists show such prices as £1-10-0 and the like. The "Description" has in our day run up in value in London to £50 and £60; and Quaritch two or three years ago, when he made a venture to this country of some of his American rarities, priced a copy at \$300. Good "working" copies with leaves occasionally defective or with the map in facsimile, have usually brought from £10 to £30 of late years. In this country thirty-five years ago the Edward A. Crowninshield copy brought \$162.50; and as such matters go, the appreciation was very moderate when the Ives copy in 1891 brought \$192.50. Copies more or less approaching a recognized standard of excellence have been sold in the Barlow (No. 2294), Cooke (No. 2304), and Brinley (two copies, Nos. 359, 360) sales. There are copies in the Charles Deane and Carter-Brown collections. The accessible copies in public collections in this country, so far as I know, are in the Harvard College Library, that of Congress, the Boston Public Library (two, — one the Barlow, and the other the Prince copy), and the Lenox Library. The Force copy (Library of Congress) and the Prince copy are the only ones which have the list of names as proposed by Prince Charles for our coast landmarks. There are three copies in the British Museum.

While the Pilgrims were preparing for their Atlantic voyage, Smith had prepared and in 1620 published the first edition of his record of commercial ventures on the New England coast, conducted, as he says, "in 26 ships within these sixe yeares." He entitled it "New Englands Trials," meaning by that word "ventures." It is one of the rarest of Smith's books. There are copies in the Bodleian and in the British Museum; and when Mr. Deane visited the former library in 1866, it was one of the first books which he asked to see, for

there was at that time, as he thought, not a copy in the United States. The lapse of nearly thirty years has not, I fear, made the statement less true to-day; and but for the reprint of it which Mr. Deane made in 1873, few American scholars could know its text. When Mr. John Carter Brown reprinted in 1867 the second edition of 1622, that gentleman had never seen the first edition, and Force had followed the second edition in his reprint. Despite an edition of two or three thousand copies, which Smith says that he printed for distribution to create an interest in this distant region, not a copy apparently is now to be found among us. The second edition of 1622 is only less rare; for though such collectors as Mr. Deane, Mr. John Carter Brown, and Mr. George Brinley (No. 363) succeeded in finding copies, such other ardent seekers as William Menzies, Henry C. Murphy, S. L. M. Barlow, and Brayton Ives were never able to gratify their hopes in this respect. The Brinley copy is now in the Lenox Library. In this second edition (1622) Smith altered the record of service on the New England coast so as to include "80 ships in eight yeares," and he had the further opportunity of giving some account of the little settlement at Plymouth, "begun," as he says, "by sixty weake men," printing at the same time one of the earliest narratives of the experiences of the Pilgrims in a letter, dated December, 1621, written by William Hilton, and supplementing the story as told by Mourt. The type of the second edition was probably kept standing for a while, since copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian show changes to be accounted for in that way.

We have in this same year (1622) an important authoritative statement of the earliest phases of our New England history, in the "Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England," an official publication of the Council for New England, which covers the period from 1607 to 1622. This little London tract is extremely rare. There are two copies in Mr. Deane's collection, one in the Carter-Brown and another in the Lenox Library, and two in the British Museum, and I know not where to look for others.

Two other publications of the same year (1622) pertain to the Pilgrim story. One is the sermon preached by Elder Cushman at Plymouth, December 9, 1621, and printed in

London, which contains some account of the state of the country and of the condition of the savages. Dr. Dexter knew of but three copies of this interesting little brochure, — one in the Bodleian, a second in Mr. Deane's collection, and a third was his own, now at Yale College, — honestly possessed by that institution's benefactor, but on some grounds suspected, but not proved, to be a copy stolen from Harvard College Library thirty years ago.

Another even more interesting account, likewise printed in 1622, of the life of the Pilgrim settlement, is a sort of journal not intended for publication by those who had a chief hand in it, Bradford and Winslow, which, being sent to friends in London, was printed there, and is known as "Mourt's Relation." It was priced at a remarkably large price, sixty years ago, by Rich, in whose lists it stands at two guineas. The highest price it has reached was in the Ives sale, three years ago, when it brought \$410. The next highest price which I find recorded is \$360, in 1890, for the Barlow copy, which came to the Boston Public Library. The Massachusetts Historical Society reprinted it in 1822 from a copy in the Philadelphia library. Dr. Young in 1841 used the copy belonging to Harvard College. Dr. Dexter in his edition used Mr. Deane's copy. There is a copy in the Lenox Library. It is one of the treasures of the Carter-Brown Library, but is not so rare but that the principal other collections of Americana, which have been dispersed during the last thirty years, had copies, — namely, the Crowninshield (No. 742), Menzies (No. 1447), Murphy (No. 1744), Brinley (No. 1909), and Cooke (No. 1768). The prices chronicled of late years indicate a difference in the condition of copies, arising naturally from the popular use which it was calculated to undergo, — namely, £36, £48, and £70; and in this country \$170 and \$200.

A little tract by Edward Winslow, "Good Newes from New England," printed in London, two years later, in 1624, and possibly in two issues in that year, continued the record from where Mourt left it to September 10, 1623. Its value in sixty years has risen from £1-8, in Rich's time, to \$350, paid by the Lenox Library at the Barlow sale (No. 2694), though the Murphy copy (No. 2750) brought only \$40, — an instance of the sudden fluctuations of prices. It was neither in the Brinley nor Cooke sales; but the catalogues of the Carter-

Brown and Charles Deane's collection show it. Several copies are in public collections. The Boston Public Library has the J. Q. Adams copy, once the Prince copy, the Prince Library not having it. The Massachusetts Historical Society has a copy in the Dowse Collection. A copy once in Harvard College Library has disappeared. I have seen of late years fairly good "working" copies priced at \$62 and £25. The copy in the British Museum is entered in its catalogue under Winslow's initials.

The Pilgrims as interlopers in a territory which was finally confirmed to them, and conscious of the purpose of the New England Council to establish Episcopal supremacy on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, did not observe the settlement of Robert Gorges and his people at Wessagussett with equanimity, and were relieved when Gorges' company lost its coherency in 1624. The head churchman among them was William Morell, who at the dispersal came to Plymouth to embark for England. He left without disturbing anybody by a show of his supposed ecclesiastical authority. The only literary relic in print of this futile colony is a little tract on "New England, or a Briefe Enarration," etc., which is a description of the country and of its inhabitants, in Latin and English verse. This tract, printed in London in 1625, is so rare that Mr. Deane could learn of only two copies in existence. One of these is in the British Museum; and the other in the Massachusetts Historical Society's library, where it was received from Dr. Belknap in 1791.

In the same year (1625) Wollaston landed his vagrant company near by what was left of the Gorges party. Among this remnant was that Thomas Morton who stands for that sort of reckless merriment not a little of which has come down to us in his "New English Canaan," — a book which has been one of the puzzles of early New England bibliography. This book, if we may believe the titlepage, and I think we can, was printed at Amsterdam in 1637. The occasion of it was the author's experiences with the staid settlers on the Bay some years earlier. Not many years ago, the best authority in Holland on such matters, the bookseller Mr. Frederik Muller had never heard of the book in the Low Countries. That it was entered for copyright in London in November, 1633, shows that at that time its publication in England was

thought of; but there is no evidence that it ever took place, though some portion of the Amsterdam edition seems to have had the imprint of a dealer in St. Paul's Churchyard. The actual assignment of the date 1632 to such a London edition was done by White Kennett, in the copy now preserved with the collection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and this assignment has been accepted by Dr. Henry M. Dexter and others; but that date is not borne out in a critical study of the facts.

The interest in the book during the last half century or more has unearthed a considerable number of copies, and it cannot now be classed among the rarest of Americana, though Sabin in 1876 in cataloguing the Griswold copy (No. 530) knew of but one other copy in the United States, which was perhaps the copy owned by John Quincy Adams, the only one which Savage knew of in 1825, and from which later the antiquary Samuel G. Drake made a manuscript copy. The Adams copy was the one used by the present Charles Francis Adams, in his annotated reprint, which was published by the Prince Society in 1883. The Adams library then at Quincy had a second copy, once the property of the Rev. T. M. Harris, which is no longer in that collection.

Colonel Aspinwall, in the early years of American collecting, — when Rich was holding the "New English Canaan" at £1-8, — picked up two copies which in 1879 were sold respectively for \$26 and \$63. These figures are hardly a test of its market value in these latter days, since I find such prices for it in England as £15-15 and £32; and in this country as \$115, \$135, and \$160, — Quaritch offering it at this last figure in his American shipment a few years ago. It has been sold in the principal sales of Americana in the United States of the last thirty years or more, — Crowninshield (No. 729), Griswold (No. 530), Menzies (No. 1440), Brinley (three copies, Nos. 336, 337, 2691), Murphy (No. 1731), and Barlow (No. 1721). It is found in the Deane and Carter-Brown collections, and in such accessible places as the Harvard College, Massachusetts Historical Society, Congressional (Force copy), Lenox, Yale College (H. M. Dexter copy), and New York Historical Society libraries.

In the interval between the development of the little colony at Plymouth and the coming of the Massachusetts Company,

there were two movements, both at the eastward, which have given us contemporary records. The report of "The Voyage into New England," 1623-24, made by Christopher Levett, and affecting the early history of the Maine coast was published in England in 1628. I know only of copies in the Carter-Brown Collection and in the library of the New York Historical Society, as being in this country. The latter copy was considered unique when the Maine Historical Society used it in 1847 to reprint. Sparks had to resort to an English source to get the manuscript copy, from which the Massachusetts Historical Society made their reprint in the third series of their Collections. The copies in the British Museum and in the Huth Collection (III. 843) are the only ones known to me in England. It is thus one of the scarcest of the early New England tracts.

The printed contemporary record which we have of Sir William Alexander's futile attempt to found a Scotch colony in the eastern confines of New England, is a tract published by him, and called "Encouragement to Colonies." It was printed in London in 1624 (some copies, 1625), and the unsold sheets in 1630 were reissued with a new title, as "The Mapp and Description of New England." The book is very rare, and was priced even in Rich's time at four guineas, and some years ago, in Stevens's "Nuggets," at £21. Quaritch sent over a copy in 1890 to find a purchaser. The three editions are in the British Museum, and it is in the Harvard College Library. It has not appeared in the catalogues of the leading American sales, like the Brinley, Barlow, and Murphy.

These are all the single separate books or tracts which concern the period under review, issued at the time. There were however two general and contemporary collections of voyages and explorations, which need to be considered, — the "Generall Historie" of Captain John Smith, and the well-known work of Samuel Purchas. Neither of these books is in any proper sense rare; but the "Generall Historie" has long been the delight of the discriminating collector, who hunts down varieties with the zest of a botanist in an untried field. The Lenox Library, for instance, has not been content with less than thirteen copies of the book, each copy showing some distinctive feature. When we add to the diversities of the text the several conditions of the plates, and the eleven or twelve

varieties of the single New England map, we can understand the room for the wide difference in copies, which makes so many desirable in a collection of bibliographical diversities like the Lenox. There is some disagreement among experts as to the appropriateness of placing some of the plates — like the prints of the Duchess of Richmond and the portrait of Matoaka — in this or the other edition, though it seems to be the better opinion that those plates at least do not properly belong to the original issue of 1624.

Good "working" copies of this edition, with more or less of facsimile, are usually priced in these later days from one guinea to ten; and even copies a little better have been sold for \$75. Defects of one kind or another will some time not operate to reduce the price of a "tall" copy below some such figure as £55, such a copy being cited by Quaritch at one time at this sum. Therefore the range of cost for good copies, with even no decided blot, varies much; and I note such prices of late years as £18, £25-5 and £36 in England, and \$147, \$180, \$315 (at the Ives sale), and Quaritch demanded \$375 in his American exhibit.

Quaritch at one time held the Hamilton copy which had belonged to King James and bore his arms on the side; and though he priced it at £105, it later brought only £75. The Duke of Norfolk's copy is shown in the Huth Catalogue (No. 1367), and the Earl of Warwick's was in the Barlow (No. 2297) sale, and was claimed to be the "tallest" copy in existence. When the "widest" copy known was offered in the Beckford sale (III. No. 2044), it proved to be the most interesting copy of all, for it was the one presented to the Duchess of Richmond, to whom Smith dedicated the work, and who had aided him in defraying the expenses of publication. It was in the original, dark-blue morocco binding, with panelled sides, having the royal arms on one cover and those of the Duchess on the other. It passed into the Brinley Collection; and when that library was dispersed, it was bought at \$1800 for the Lenox Library. This library had already four other copies of this 1624 edition, — one having "I. S." stamped on its cover, and it may have been Smith's own copy; and another had been Thomas Penn's copy, used in his famous suit with Lord Baltimore. There is a beautiful large-paper copy in the library of Mr. Deane, and others are in the Carter-Brown

Collection and in the Library of Congress. The highest price reached, if the report can be trusted, was when Mr. Kalbfleisch gave about \$3600 for a copy. There were copies also in the Menzies and Griswold sales.

Sabin gave it as his experience that most of the copies of this 1624 edition were made up to some extent by the substitution of leaves and plates from later editions; and it was Stevens's opinion that the right maps for such are rarely found in the later editions.

These subsequent issues were simply "title editions" with nothing new about them but fresh titlepages, and some alterations in the plates, particularly in the maps, made to conform to later knowledge.

These new dates are 1626, 1627, 1631, and 1632. Of the 1626 issues there are copies in the Harvard College, Carter-Brown, and Massachusetts Historical Society libraries. Sparks's copy is at Cornell University. The Lenox Library has only the title leaf of the 1626 edition.

A copy of the 1627 edition was sold in Boston in 1844 for \$32, and appeared later in the Crowninshield catalogue (No. 992). I have found of late years copies more or less made up of facsimiles, priced at sums varying from \$50 to \$185. Copies were not long since advertised in New York at \$112, \$120, and \$180. A copy in the Murphy sale (No. 2310) brought \$210, and one in the Menzies (No. 1848) was sold at \$140. The copies accessible to the public, so far as I know, are the Prince copy in the Boston Public Library; and other copies in the libraries of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Washington and Lee University, that of Congress, and two in the Lenox.

The issue of 1631 is the rarest of all. The only known copy is in the Huth Collection in London. Mr. Pilling in preparing his *Algonquian Bibliography* was doubtful of the date, and got a confirmation of it from Mr. Huth himself, and I myself saw the copy in 1891. The book is like the rest with only a change of title, and may have been a solitary example.

The issue of 1632 is the last. The distinctive features are that the portrait of "Charles Rex" on the title is made to look like an older man, and more names are added to the map of New England. Since Rich's day the price has risen from

five guineas — remarkable even then — to £52-10 in England, and \$230 for the Brinley copy, and \$315 paid at the Ives sale. It was in the O'Callaghan sale; and the Menzies copy (No. 1851) was afterward sold with the Cooke Collection (No. 2299). It is in the Carter-Brown Library, and I have noted it in the following public collections, — Boston Athenæum, Harvard College, Lenox (six copies), and Library of Congress.

A second much more multifarious record of early New England history is contained in the conglomerate work of Samuel Purchas, issued in 1625, in which he let over twelve hundred separate narrators of the world's explorations tell their own story, including such as had been on the New England coast. He had begun to abstract such tales in his "Pilgrimages" in 1613, and his ardor was increased when he got possession of Hakluyt's manuscripts. He then issued his larger work, his "Pilgrimes," in four volumes in 1625, though he had been carrying it through the press probably for some years. Indeed the frontispiece of the Harvard College copy and of one sold in the Sunderland sale (No. 10,376) is dated 1624. It preserved the narrators' own language, and in this way differed from the "Pilgrimage," a new edition of which in 1625 is usually found as the fifth volume of the "Pilgrimes." The author succumbed to his trials in 1628, not lessened by the cost and labor of his editorial work. The book is so essential to the student of our early exploration, giving some material not previously printed, that our principal public libraries necessarily seek to own it. To note a few of these, — there is a copy in the Boston Athenæum; Samuel Sewall's copy is in Harvard College Library; and others are in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library and in the Astor, Lenox (three sets), and New York Historical Society libraries; in the Carter-Brown Collection; and a copy with Prince's notes on the American portion belongs to the Deane Collection. It has usually been in the great sales of Americana, though, if the Index to the Brinley Collection is to be trusted, it was not possessed by that collector. The Sobolewski copy was in the Menzies (No. 1649) and later in the Cooke (No. 2095) sales. The Duke of York's copy appears in the Murphy catalogue (No. 2080), and brought \$285. It was also in the Crowninshield (No. 890), Griswold (No. 660), and Barlow (No. 2050) sales.

The book has for a hundred years and more maintained a remarkably good price. Previous to the middle of this century it brought from £20 to £50. Since then it has gradually risen in value, and perhaps the copy in the Grenville Collection (British Museum) is oftenest taken as the standard of what perfection should be in a book, which varies much in its condition, as ordinarily found, owing doubtless to its attractiveness to the common reader, and to the different quality of the paper in the several volumes. During the last forty years almost any price from £25 to £100 has been quoted in the English market, — a range owing both to competition and condition as well as to the presence of cancelled leaves and other variations in the text. For instance, copies slightly mended, or with maps wanting or in facsimile, vary from £40 to £60; but the same copies perfected from other copies are sometimes priced at £75 or £100. In this country I have noted good copies within a score of years selling at \$175, \$200, \$250, \$375; and in one instance, ten years ago, a New York dealer held what he claimed was the finest copy ever offered for sale in the United States, at \$750. At the same time he held another but perfect copy, which was lacking in crispness or some other excellence which collectors prize, at the widely different sum of \$375.

During these twenty-seven years at the beginning of our New England history, we find ten writers producing fourteen books or tracts, which were issued in ten editions beside the first of each, making a total of twenty-four issues, or nearly one for every year.

These constitute, of course, but a part of the resources which we have for the study of this early period; for there is much of individual record, like Bradford's history for instance, which remained in manuscript, and some of it even to our day. There is also the vast amount of documentary material in the record offices, some of which has lately been divulged even in such unexpected quarters as the Archives of Simancas. But as printed material which fell under the eyes of the actors in these years, the publications which have been surveyed have a peculiar interest.

I desire to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Wilberforce Eames, librarian of the Lenox Library, in furnishing data.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN called the attention of the members to a collection of manuscript Plans, drawn at an early period in the history of the Colony, by Captain Jonathan Danforth, a noted surveyor, which were given to the Library perhaps as early as the summer of 1816 by John Farmer, the well-known antiquary of New Hampshire, and a Corresponding Member of this Society. For the most part they relate to tracts of land lying on the banks of the Merrimack River or in its neighborhood. One of these Plans represents a parcel of land lying north of Salmon Brook and south of the Nashua River, and running back from the Merrimack westward about two miles, and includes the territory now occupied by the thickly settled part of the city of Nashua, New Hampshire. It gives the house-lots of Thomas Clarke and John Sollendine, and the site of a house and barn, and of a saw-mill on Salmon Brook, perhaps three quarters of a mile from its mouth, besides showing the grants made to Mr. Clarke and Mr. Sollendine, and to Joseph Knight and Christopher Temple, in the second division of lands at Old Dunstable, on September 10, 1684. This Plan contains some notes in short-hand written by Mr. Danforth, which our associate William P. Upham, Esq., — an expert in such matters, and the author of "A Brief History of the Art of Stenography" (Salem, 1877), — a year or two ago kindly deciphered for me. In order that these notes may be available hereafter to persons interested in the subject, they are now communicated for publication in the Proceedings. The following is a copy of Mr. Upham's letter: —

NEWTONVILLE, MASS., January 27, 1893.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian*.

DEAR SIR, — I send you herewith my rendering of the short-hand entries on the Dunstable Plan. Words or spaces within brackets indicate uncertainty or illegibility.

The characters are the same as in the system of Theophilus Metcalfe, published in 1645. This system, sometimes slightly modified, was much used for more than a century. It is very nearly the same as that of Hull's short-hand Diary (*Archæologia Americana*, Vol. III. p. 279).

Edward Holyoke, President of Harvard College 1737–1769, used the same system, as appears by a manuscript copy of a book containing it given by him to Nathaniel Appleton, February 12, 1742. Many of the sermons of the eighteenth century (specimens of which may be seen at the Essex Institute in Salem) were written with the same characters.

Samuel Parris, minister at Salem Village, used them in taking down, by order of the court, the examinations of those accused of witchcraft

in 1692. These examinations, written out in full from his short-hand notes, and so attested by him, are still preserved in the Court House at Salem; and it is to his skill in the use of these characters that we are indebted for the most graphic and evidently truthful account of those extraordinary scenes.

Thomas Blowers, minister at Beverly 1701-1729, used the same system.

Metcalf's book was the first published short-hand work containing the ingenious idea of denoting a particular vowel between two consonants by the relative position of the second consonant character.

These old stenographic systems, so called, have been almost universally superseded by the modern method of phonography.

Very truly yours,

WM. P. UPHAM.

Joseph Knight
& Christo: Temple

2^d diuision }
476 } 400 - 440

Laid out to Joseph Knight and Christopher Temple 440 acres of land for their 2d diuision in Dunstable upon Wa[tane]nok Neck it being part of the land which was appointed for the saw mill lot: bounded on the West by Joseph [Hasel]: 420. the line between them running N. 48 degrees W: the S. W. corner is a pine standing [about] 4 pole on the S. W. side a little brook: [from] thence the line runs N. 34 degrees E: 163: pole to m^r Clarks line which bounds it on the East: this line runs N. 55 W: 86 pole to a pine [marked] C: from thence it runs N. 31: W: one mile which comes to Nashua river: pine: C: at the N. end it is bounded by Nashua river 228 pole by a crooked line: and 42 pole by a little brook that runs into Nashua river: at the S. end it is bounded [on] land not yet disposed of: laid out: 10. 7^m 84 by Jonathan Danforth-surveyor:

Laid out to m^r Thomas Clark of Boston the brazier: in Dunstable township 23 acres of land for a houselot [lying] upon Wa[tane]nok plain: bounded by Merimak river N. E: 16 pole: by Francis Cook on the S: the line between them runs S: W: 234: pole bounded by m^r John Solindine on the N: by a highway [S. W.] both side lines [are parallel]: the bound tree at Merimak between Cook and [] is a black oak.

Also laid out to him for his 2d diuision 190 acres of land upon the same plain by m^r Samuel Whiting farm upon Samon brook Southward: 219 pole in a crooked line bounded on the S. E. by a highway: [the most] Southward angle is a pine marked with C. and from thence the line runs N. 55 W: 236. to a pine marked C: on the N. W: it is bounded by John Solindine: 184 pole: on the N and Eastward: it is bounded by land [formerly] laid out to Christopher Temple and []

[the last] lines running according to a plot taken of the same by Jonathan Danforth [Surveyor]

Laid out to m^r John Solindine in Dunstable township upon Wa[tane]nok plain: 23 acres of land for a houselot: bounded by Merimak river on the N. E: 16 poles: by [m^r] Clark Southward: the line between them running S. 85 W. 234 poles bounded N. ward by land granted Zakariah Long: the N. E. corner is a [] oak marked C standing upon the bank of Merimak: both the side lines are [parallel] on the S. W. it is bounded by a highway: 16 pole [the] S. W. [bound] is a stake:

Also laid out to him for his 2d. diuision 190 acres of land upon [] is the land called the saw mill lot: bounded by Nashua river 436 by [a] and by Perrys Cove: 60 pole: on the West bounded by Joseph Knight and Christopher [] one mile: the line between them running N. 31 W: a pine tree marked C for a Southward bound: and another pine marked C standing by the bank side of Nashua river: on the S. E. by m^r Clark 184: all which is [] plot taken of the same by Jonathan Danforth surveyor. 10. 7^m 1684

The word "Watanenok," as applied to a neck of land and a plain in Mr. Upham's rendering of the short-hand, is a name once given to the Nashua River. In Dr. Shurtleff's edition of the Massachusetts Colonial Records (IV. Part II. 569), under the date of October 15, 1673, there is a reference to "Nashaway or Watananock River," which appears in a grant of land made to the Artillery Company of Boston.

A letter from John Farmer to the Rev. Dr. Abiel Holmes, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, dated at Amherst, New Hampshire, August 3, 1816, and printed in the Proceedings (I. 255, 256), contains a list of Plans which the writer considers "worthy of preservation." It is not stated in so many words that he intended to give them; but inferentially he did intend so to do, though perhaps at a later period. At any rate most of these surveys are now in the Library; still a few are missing. The description of them in the letter is so vague that their identification is somewhat difficult. The Plan, now the subject of these remarks, is listed under the general title: "Several Plans of Lands on Nashua and Cochecho Rivers."

There is reason to think, from a letter to Dr. Holmes, written September 22, 1827, on the files of the Corresponding Secretary, that "A Plan of Billerica, 1658," mentioned in Mr. Farmer's list, was given at that date.

The Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR alluded to a project, soon to be carried out, of placing on the frieze beneath the dome of the House of Representatives in the new State House the names of the most eminent sons of Massachusetts. On account of the limited space the number of names must be restricted to about fifty, which does not allow justice to be done to many who deserve to be inscribed there. Mr. Hoar mentioned some names which he said it would be a serious thing to omit; and Mr. A. C. GOODELL added others from the provincial period.

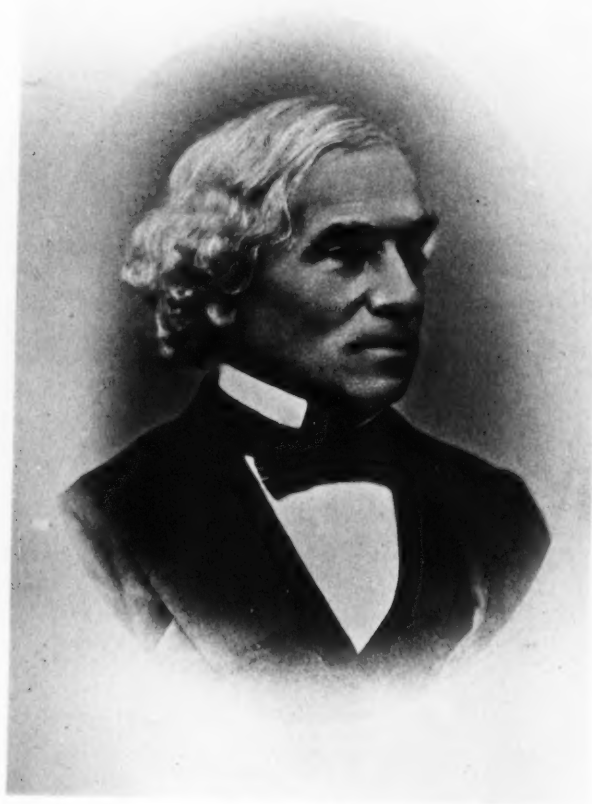
The Hon. ROGER WOLCOTT referred to the statute which prescribed that the list should be approved by the Governor and Council, and said he believed that those men especially should be honored who had marked an epoch or had turned the course of events. Considering all the difficulties, he thought that a fair selection had been made, and one that would commend itself to general approval, though of course there would be criticisms. It was surprising, he said, to see how rich our Commonwealth was in individuals who were entitled to commemoration. This interesting discussion was continued by the Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. EDWARD L. PIERCE, Dr. GREEN, Dr. ELLIS, and Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, each of whom added something pertinent to the subject.

Rev. E. J. YOUNG referred to the Saltonstall letter, a photographic copy of which had been presented some time ago to this Society. He alluded to the questions which had been raised respecting the authenticity of the document, and the various opinions that existed in regard to it. He then said that the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, who was unavoidably absent, had come to the conclusion that there was no possible doubt that Richard was the name of Sir Richard Saltonstall's eldest son, and that any explanation of the difficulties connected with the authorship and date of the letter, which had been printed in the Society's Proceedings for May, 1893, must be sought for in some other theory.

Hon. Jacob D. Cox, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. WILLIAM W. GOODWIN communicated a memoir of the late Henry W. Torrey, LL.D., which he had been appointed to prepare.





St. M. Torrey.

MEMOIR
OF
HENRY WARREN TORREY, LL.D.

BY WILLIAM W. GOODWIN.

HENRY WARREN TORREY died at his home in Cambridge, December 14, 1893, after a short illness. He was born in Roxbury, Mass., November 11, 1814. He was the son of John Torrey and of Marcia Otis Warren, daughter of Henry and Mary Warren. Both of his parents were natives of Plymouth, and through them he was connected with a long line of men and women who were conspicuous in the history of the Pilgrim town. His father graduated at Harvard College in 1808, being a classmate of Walter Channing and Richard Henry Dana. On his mother's side our associate was descended from distinguished representatives of both parties in the Revolutionary struggle. His maternal grandfather, Henry Warren, was the son of James Warren (H. C. 1745), the third in succession of that name, who was Paymaster-General in the Continental army and Major-General of Militia, and succeeded Dr. Joseph Warren as President of the Provincial Congress in 1775. James Warren's wife was Mercy Otis, daughter of James Otis of Barnstable, and sister of the distinguished patriot, James Otis. Copley's portraits of James and Mercy Warren, which for many years adorned the Warren house in Plymouth, are now in the possession of our associate Winslow Warren. Mrs. Mercy Warren wrote a history of the Revolution, and other works in prose and in verse, among which are several tragedies. Her vigorous correspondence with her old friend John Adams has been published by our Society. Mr. Torrey's maternal grandmother, the wife of Henry Warren, whose dignified and gracious manners are well remembered

by many of us, was Mary Winslow, daughter of the ardent loyalist, Pelham Winslow (H. C. 1753), who was a descendant of Governor Edward Winslow, and a son of General John Winslow, who removed the Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755. Pelham Winslow's uncompromising attachment to the British Crown caused him to enlist in the King's service, in which he held the rank of major. He was included in the act of proscription of 1778, with over three hundred other loyalists. His wife, Joanna White Winslow, sister of Cornelius White (also a proscribed refugee), remained in Plymouth until her death in 1829. An incident recorded in the Records of the Old Colony Club¹ gives an interesting picture of the political relations of some of Mr. Torrey's ancestors. On the 25th of November, 1773, according to the record, "James Warren, Esq^r, Mess^{rs} John Torrey, and Thomas Jackson came into our said Club, and said they were a sub-committee (appointed by the Committee of Correspondence and Communication of this town) for the purpose of informing this Club of the determination of the said Committee of Correspondence relative to the celebration of the next 22d of December, and to request that the Club would join with and conform thereto." This was an intimation to the Old Colony Club, which had inaugurated the celebration of the Landing of the Pilgrims in 1769, that its right to control this festival was to be disputed. As a large number of the members were loyalists, at least in this early stage of the quarrel with England, this action was an ominous sign of the coming storm. James Warren and John Torrey, both great-grandfathers of our associate, had been twice entertained in Old Colony Hall within a year as guests of the Club; but events were advancing fast, and the ill-fated tea-ships were about to arrive in Boston harbor. Pelham Winslow was made chairman of a committee of the Club, which returned a bitter but dignified reply to the Committee of Correspondence, denying their right to interfere in the conduct of the celebration, and firmly declining to grant their request. The records of the Club suddenly stop a fortnight after this reply was made, and it is uncertain which of the two contending parties controlled the celebration of December 22 in that year.

Through his mother, Mr. Torrey was seventh in descent from

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. iii. pp. 440-443.

Richard Warren, a Pilgrim of the "Mayflower," who was one of the ten "principall men"¹ of the exploring party which landed on Clark's Island in Plymouth harbor on Friday, the 8th of December, 1620, and made the eventful landing on Plymouth Rock on the following Monday. He was further descended from Governor Edward Winslow of the "Mayflower," not only through his grandmother, Mary Winslow (as already mentioned), but also through James Warren the second (father of General James Warren), who married Penelope Winslow, daughter of Isaac and great-granddaughter of Edward Winslow, and granddaughter of Penelope Pelham.

Mr. Torrey passed a great part of his boyhood in Plymouth. The family lived for a time in the little cottage on the Clifford Farm at the head of Plymouth Beach, which was once a favorite summer residence of James and Mercy Warren. Here Mrs. Warren wrote many of her published works. The house is still standing, sheltered by a hill from the northeast winds, on the road from the Hotel Pilgrim to Eel River village. The neighboring cove, between Plymouth Beach and Manomet, is still called Warren's Cove. Mr. Torrey's father died in 1824. During the next five years he lived with his mother and sister in Boston, where he attended the Adams School one year, and the Latin School four years. He received a Franklin medal in each school, the first at the age of ten. In his four years at the Latin School he finished with credit the work usually done in five years. The master of the school was Benjamin Apthorp Gould, to whom Mr. Torrey was deeply indebted for encouragement in his studies, and for sympathetic aid in his struggles for an education. In a letter written in 1876, Rev. William Newell, D.D., of Cambridge, gives these interesting reminiscences of his three favorite pupils, Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, and Henry W. Torrey:—

"Sumner, who entered, I think, at an advanced standing, I remember as a large, active boy of fifteen, a most diligent student, impetuous in his movements both of body and mind; not always accurate, sometimes precipitate, in his conclusions, but earnest and faithful always in his studies, *totus in illis*. Wendell Phillips was a grave, conscientious, honorable boy, at the head of his class. There was an incipient rebellion of his class, . . . and he was the leader, I think, and had a medal

¹ Bradford's History, p. 83.

struck off with the inscription, 'Resistance to tyrants, obedience to God,' the early key-note of his anti-slavery career. But the quickest, most brilliant, and at the same time the most accurate and thorough, of all the pupils that I had to deal with was Henry W. Torrey, always among his schoolmates *facile princeps*."

The discipline of the Latin School was then severe, but of a different style of severity from that which prevailed there in the next generation. One of the best exercises of that day was learning by heart whole books of Virgil and Homer, and reciting lessons in them without referring to the text. In after life we are all eternally grateful for every piece of good literature, in any language, which was impressed on our minds when they were plastic and receptive; such acquisitions become truly our own, a possession for all time, as no later accessions can be. Mr. Torrey always referred to this part of his education with pride and enthusiasm, and he never failed to urge his pupils to follow his example here.

He entered the Freshman class at Harvard College in 1829, and took his Bachelor's degree in 1833, being ranked as the second scholar in his class. Among his classmates were Francis Bowen, George E. Ellis, Joseph Lovering, Robert T. S. Lowell, the two brothers Jeffries and Morrill Wyman, and many others who have been well known in after life. The Class of 1833 was a remarkable one: it gave six professors and four overseers to Harvard University, and one president and four professors to other institutions of learning. Among the teachers of this class were Henry Ware, Levi Hedge, Edward T. Channing, John S. Popkin, C. C. Felton, Charles Beck, George Ticknor, Charles Follen, John Farrar, Benjamin Peirce, and Andrew P. Peabody.

After leaving college, Mr. Torrey was usher in the Boston Latin School, under the mastership of Frederick P. Leverett, who was then preparing a work which did great honor to American scholarship, Leverett's Latin Lexicon. The change from the old standard lexicon of Ainsworth to Leverett's made an era in the study of Latin in this country. The master soon discovered in his usher a helper of no common ability; and Mr. Torrey entered into the work on the Lexicon with all the zeal of youth and the enthusiasm of a scholar fresh from college, eager to test his powers. Mr. Leverett's preface thus acknowledges the younger scholar's share in the work:—

"Mr. H. W. Torrey, to whose unwearied industry and critical accuracy a large share of the merit of the present work, if any there be, is to be attributed, has devoted much of his time from the very commencement of the undertaking."

The great value of Leverett's Lexicon was unfortunately offset by the ruin of Mr. Torrey's eyesight, the result of long work on poor print by night with dim lights. The crisis which compelled him to abandon his work on the Lexicon came suddenly, after the Latin-English part was finished and published, and just as he had come to the fatal word *Commence* in the English-Latin part, which he had undertaken to prepare on his own responsibility. Consequently the remainder of this part of the Lexicon, which was published after Mr. Leverett's death in Mr. Torrey's name, is essentially a republication of Ainsworth, with such revision as could be made without the use of the editor's eyes. This great calamity came upon Mr. Torrey just as he was about to begin the study of the law; and at this critical period it completely changed his whole career. Whether this revolution was on the whole a loss or a gain to the world, is a question which, viewed from the end of his useful and honorable life, at least admits of doubt. It was one of his common remarks, often made when he was asked to give recommendations, that no one can predict what a man can do in any work until he has tried it; we may therefore hesitate to say what kind of a lawyer he would have made, while we do know that one of the best and most successful teachers was saved to the cause of learning by what seemed to be an unmitigated evil. He did not abandon his chosen profession, however, without a vigorous struggle against his fate. He studied law, as well as his eyes would permit him, in New Bedford, in the office of his uncle, Charles Henry Warren, afterwards Judge Warren; and in 1840 he was admitted to the bar in Bristol County, though he never practised. He then taught school in Providence a year and a half. All this time he was compelled to spare his eyesight to the utmost; and few young men would even have attempted what he accomplished with success, though with far less satisfaction to himself than to others.

He enjoyed a period of much needed rest and recreation from December, 1842, until May, 1843, when he accompanied Mr. William W. Swain of New Bedford and his son Robert

on a voyage to the Azores. The expedition was undertaken for the benefit of the son's failing health, and the accession of Mr. Torrey to the party was a great delight to both father and son. "Governor Swain," as he was familiarly called from his authority over the island of Naushon, thus wrote from New Bedford to Mr. John M. Forbes, a few weeks before the ship sailed:—

"I think you will be glad to know a piece of the Governor's luck, as they call it. Who do you think is going the trip with us? Why, just one of the best fellows in the world, even Henry Torrey!! It was proposed to him last evening; the Judge took with it strongly, and this morning he decided to go with us. He hopes his eyes will be benefited by the voyage and the bathing. If Bob wishes to keep along with his studies, whom could he possibly find, I will not say superior, but equal to Mr. Torrey for this object? Were we to look around for a social clever fellow, where should we meet with his superior,—talents, high principle, good feeling, everything, in short, that we wish for, and moreover not an invalid. Is n't this capital?"

The party sailed from New Bedford December 16, 1842, on the ship "Caroline." A full and careful journal, kept by Mr. Torrey during the whole expedition, is full of interesting accounts of the voyage and the places visited, varied by many amusing tales of personal adventures and by original remarks on manners and customs.

After his return from this voyage, he was again usher in the Boston Latin School for a short time. In 1844 he was made Tutor in History and Instructor in Elocution in Harvard College, and he then began a career of faithful and efficient service in the University which, with one interruption of eight years, has covered nearly half a century. He began his work in the last year of the presidency of Josiah Quincy. No one who was then connected with the instruction or government of the University has survived Mr. Torrey; and at the time of his death no one even of the *emeriti* preceded him in collegiate seniority except Oliver Wendell Holmes. When he began to teach in 1844, the three oldest alumni who were in the service of the University at the time of his death, Professors Child, Lane, and Norton, were at the beginning of their junior year. Mr. Torrey has had no warmer friends and no more enthusiastic admirers than those who gathered the first fruits of his

teaching in the four years which followed. His coming made an era in the teaching of history in the College, and his departure in 1848 left a gap which remained open until he returned as professor in 1857. Those of us who had the good fortune to be his earlier pupils in college owe him an inexpressible debt of gratitude for turning us in the right direction when, as inexperienced Freshmen, we hardly knew which way to turn; for the inspiration which he gave us in our studies, and for the striking example which he set before us of an enthusiastic scholar, full of his subject and eager to make others full of it. At a time when it was too much the tradition of the College for an instructor of the lower classes to content himself with hearing lessons recited as they were learned from text-books, it was a new revelation for us boys just from school to find ourselves face to face with a master who was there to teach us history out of his own stock of knowledge, and not merely to ask us questions to which we had already learned the answers. We all saw at once that he knew more than the man who wrote our text-book, and we respected and admired him accordingly.

In 1848, during President Everett's administration, he resigned his place in the College and returned to Boston. There, with the efficient co-operation of his sister, he opened his school for girls in Hamilton Place, which for eight years was one of the great institutions of the city. Many of the girls who were his pupils there are now ladies of literary or social distinction, and from them all is heard but one voice of love, honor, and admiration for their teacher. A letter from "one of these pupils," printed shortly after his death, thus speaks of him:—

"Those who were privileged to be his pupils feel that they owe to him an intellectual stimulus and a standard of character which has been an active force through all their lives. They have taught their children to revere and honor his name, and even children of these children have learned to appreciate his tender interest in them. . . . He scorned all that was mean or base in thought or action, but rarely did one hear from him criticism of persons. The devoted and sympathetic support given to him in this work by the sister who survives him is not forgotten, though it may not be spoken of now."

I am greatly indebted to another of his pupils, one who remained his intimate friend to the end of his life, for a most

interesting account of his character as it appeared to "his girls," who saw in him the same sterling qualities which were familiar to all his friends. From this I make the following extracts:—

"You would understand without being told the influence that could not fail to be exerted on girls of that receptive age, between fourteen and eighteen, by daily intercourse with a man of his thorough scholarship, his transcendent honor and honesty, his dignity and unfailing justice, all tempered by a wit and a charm that inspired not only respect but intense affection. Manliness was one of his essential characteristics. He held in perfect control a fiery temperament, that in a nature less trained to self-command would have become unmanageable. He was what we like to call a gentleman of the old school,—one whose chivalry never failed. . . . With regard to our studies, nothing has been a greater satisfaction to me all my life than the interest which he awakened in literature. . . . English literature we came to know and love through his reading. Milton and Shakespeare together with the earlier poets, Byron at his best, and later writers too numerous to mention, speak to me now in his voice. In the entire work of the school Mr. Torrey had the wise and faithful co-operation of Miss Torrey, without whom an important element of success would have been lacking."

Another pupil and intimate friend says:—

"He made us *think* about our work; he made us love literature, and we feared his moral judgment with a fear which was like the fear of the Lord. There was never any one like him."

And still another writes:—

"He possessed to a greater degree than any other person I ever knew the talent for awakening thirst for knowledge and interest in study. Girls who had never cared for books before became studious under him. . . . He relied on pure and simple love of knowledge for its own sake, and by some mysterious, magic power of his own he always educed it even in the most dull or the most frivolous pupils. . . . But he did not rest with stimulating the pursuit of mere knowledge. He made his pupils continually mindful that

'Knowledge and wisdom, far from being one,
Have oftentimes no connection,'

and he was singularly felicitous in directing them to the search after true wisdom."

I have felt that the important work of Mr. Torrey in the education of girls could be described only by eyewitnesses.

It is interesting to see that he showed here the same characteristics of a great teacher which he carried with him from his work as tutor at Cambridge, and which he brought back to his work as professor. In 1856 he accepted the McLean Professorship of Ancient and Modern History at Cambridge, which had been vacant since the accession of Jared Sparks to the presidency of the University in 1849. He spent the year after his appointment in Europe, and assumed the active duties of his professorship in September, 1857. He held this office until 1886, without interruption of his active work; and he was then made Professor Emeritus. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University at the Commencement of 1879, with his two classmates, Francis Bowen and Joseph Lovering. In 1888 he was made an Overseer of Harvard College by vote of the Alumni for two years, to fill a vacancy; and in 1890 he was re-elected for the full term of six years. He was made a member of this Society in 1859, and at his death he stood sixth in seniority on our roll of members.

Of the work of Mr. Torrey as Professor of History it is peculiarly difficult to speak, as it cannot be measured by the tests by which the work of a successful professor is usually estimated. He published no great works on History or any other subject, and he gave no public lectures. In fact, he was a less conspicuous person in the public estimation when he was a professor at Cambridge than when he was at the head of his private school in Boston. And yet he was one of the best professors who ever taught in Harvard University, and also one of the best appreciated by all who were competent to pass judgment on his work. His motto throughout life was "*Qui bene latuit bene vixit*"; and no man ever carried out the maxim of the Greek sage, *λάθε βιώσας*, more consistently or more gracefully. He was one of the most active and faithful of professors. The time and thought which he might have given to writing books and public lecturing he devoted unsparingly to his work of teaching; and here his conscientious fidelity was thoroughly appreciated and warmly acknowledged by his pupils. The labor which he would give to the study of the simplest question (provided it was a *real* question) propounded by a student was simply amazing. Almost every one who ever asked him a question in history has been

astonished to find how much larger his question really was than he thought it to be when he asked it, while his ideas of the character of a scientific historical investigation were enlarged by Mr. Torrey's treatment of the subject. I know that he disliked the term "scientific" as it is often applied to the study of history; but his own methods were the best illustration of the meaning of this term in its highest sense. Scientific accuracy was an essential part of all his investigation, and the failure of this was to his mind nothing less than a positive crime, for it was a crime against truth. He carried this spirit of strict truthfulness into all his teaching. He always assumed that every one who came to him to learn came to know the whole truth and nothing but the truth; and all his pupils know the indefatigable industry with which he laid before his classes, by quotations and references, everything that could bear upon the question under discussion, as well as his scrupulous caution in pointing out whatever had been said or might be said on every disputed point. Nothing astonished those who studied with him as Freshmen nearly fifty years ago so much as the idea which he gave them, that history is not a mass of undisputed narratives of events about which only fools can go wrong, but rather an account of occurrences on which we often have only scanty or conflicting testimony, so that it is possible for the wisest men to come to directly opposite opinions as to details, or even as to fundamental principles.

One, and only one, of the lectures delivered by Mr. Torrey from his professor's chair has ever been printed; and none has ever been published. This one was the last of a series of lectures on various topics relating to the study of History, and it was privately printed in 1868, by request of the class which graduated in that year, and for "their use." Only ninety-six copies were printed, and each copy is numbered and marked with the name of the recipient. Its subject is "The Uses of the Study of History." It is hard to make quotations from an address in which every sentence is a gem, and a polished gem; but the following passages may give some idea of Mr. Torrey as a college lecturer:—

"But History has immediate, practical, palpable uses. To begin in an humble way,—usually the safest way: as a *handmaid* she is of great value, whatever she may be as the mistress. Her services as an auxil-

iliary are indispensable and incalculable. I use the word 'auxiliary' in a broad (even if humble) sense. I mean to say that History is necessary to the philosophy and theory of almost everything that is of much account in the world. How a thing came to be is often a most important condition to knowing what it is. Any pretended interest of society, any self-styled science or art, any arrogated national position, is in some danger of breaking down unless it has a positive historical experience of its own. Every great social, moral, intellectual, nay formal, phenomenon is more or less *monumental*, and, in order to be fully understood, must be studied more or less monumentally. In the moral, social, and political sciences this is getting to be more and more acknowledged. You will find, I think, continually greater stress laid on the *historic method*. In your studies you will do well to note this tendency; for in many of them you may find yourselves within its scope without and even against your will.

"Perhaps now you will let me take History up from the rank of a handmaid to that of a partner. For think a little. Awhile ago I asked you to observe how deeply the history of our ideas is rooted in the vocabulary of our ideas. I may go further. The ideas themselves are more or less historical. A Frenchman reads poetry; an Englishman reads poetry. The one quotes his Racine; the other quotes his Shakespeare. But do you suppose they can interchange their relishes? Not yet, certainly. These relishes are the fruit of tendencies that have been working divergently for centuries. Frenchmen, indeed, are learning to enjoy Shakespeare in a French way; but it may be long before an Englishman can read a French translation of Shakespeare without danger of a smile or a yawn. Modes of thinking are usually habits of thinking; and the habits of a great society or people have travelled a very long road. Almost all the incongruities and incompatibilities, the jars and rubs, that we ascribe to diversity of race, however produced, have grown to their full measure historically. Time is the advocate of most of our pet ideas.

"But here comes in a caution. The history of an idea, a force, a system, an institution, is not necessarily, is perhaps never, the whole of it. The historical method must not blind or chill you to the radical instincts of humanity. The art of subtraction may be driven too hard. One may go back on the road, ever quitting something by the way, till he reaches the next door to nothing. It is certainly prudent to stop there. It might be more wise to stop sooner. Trying to reduce law to development, religion to growth, civilization to circumstances, may answer a great many questions; but will it answer the ultimate question?" (pp. 8-10.)

"It is idle to contend that a knowledge of History or a taste for it is requisite to average success in any regular calling. A clergyman may

preach spiritually and forcibly, without being too sure whether Mahomet was born before or after Moses; a lawyer get great fees, and earn them too, without knowing whether the Twelve Tables are or are not a part of the Code Napoléon; a physician live and help to live and let live many years, and earn much gratitude and money, without being quite clear whether Hippocrates or Hunter died first; and a schoolmaster send a score of future *orators* to college with no more historical outfit himself than the four weeks' cram he administers to his boys just late enough to save it from being forgotten till the day after examination. For immediate and ponderable success in life, I do not see much special use in studying History. Everybody knows how full this amazing country is of successful men who are just as broad (and no more) as the path that has led them to success. . . . But their position is not your position. You have invested four solid years in a very different way, and you may have to dive deeper to save what you have already risked. . . . That man, you would say, is the successful man who makes the most of all the powers he has, who loses no occasion to enlarge his mental income and add to his mental stature." (pp. 10-12.)

In college politics Mr. Torrey was a natural conservative. His real affection was for the old Harvard College of his youth and early manhood, with its small classes, its limited course of study, and its more rigid discipline. He took little interest in the various steps by which the present Department of Arts and Sciences has entered into the inheritance of the older College, and he looked with distrust on the almost unlimited extension of the elective system of studies which has been the chief condition of this extension of the University. But he was never so closely attached to the old that he could not recognize what was good in the new, and adapt himself to its needs. He was a great teacher, in the highest sense of the term, and he would have been a great teacher under any system of instruction. Many of his friends felt, and he sometimes felt himself, that it was a painful effort for him to adapt himself and his teaching to a state of things of which he disapproved. But the truth was, that no professor in the University had less to change in the character of his instruction when new conditions called for new methods of teaching. In fact, the best methods that have yet been devised for the highest university instruction are hardly an improvement (except by extension) on those which Mr. Torrey brought to the College half a century ago.

Though Mr. Torrey often made remarks at the meetings of

this Society, the *verbatim* reports of these are unfortunately very few. I can find none which is so characteristic of his own modest nature as his tribute to the memory of Jeffries Wyman in September, 1874. I quote the following from this: —

"It needed no expert vision to discover the leading traits of his mind and heart: the very absence of display only helped to reveal them. Whoever knew him, no matter how little read in the secrets of science, had no doubt that he was too modest to dictate to Nature; that his scrupulous discretion would be as marked as his diligent zeal; that he would not be jealous over his knowledge, but, with artless and affable courtesy, would pour it out even to those whose only claim was their desire to learn; and that he would leave his reputation to take care of itself. His friends might sometimes regret that he cared so little for notoriety, were it not that just this indifference was one of the attractions of the man. To know him was to pay him the honor he did not seek; with many to know him was to love him as much as they honored him. He had his knowledge in hand as well as in mind, so that he was a clear and able teacher. He taught by example as well as by statement. . . . What our friend maintained he calmly maintained, and too disinterestedly to turn it to aught but the service of truth. It would have been hard for him to find an enemy to contend with. The single-minded warmth of his zeal was never urged to the heat of partisan passion."¹

The following is from Mr. Torrey's remarks on the death of Francis E. Parker: —

"It is related that the Emperor Charles V. once said of a noted diplomatist, that, if you would baffle his sagacity, your silence would not be enough; you must not *think* in his presence. Stripped of its extravagance, this saying offers something that brings Mr. Parker significantly to mind."²

The Index to our Proceedings shows that Mr. Torrey was very far from being an inactive member of the Society. His services as editor of the "Sewall Papers," and as a member of the Standing Committee, were most valuable and most fully appreciated.

Of Mr. Torrey's personal qualities those who knew him best are least able to express what is deepest in their hearts. Respect for his modest nature, which always shrank from

¹ Proceedings, vol. xiii. p. 322.

² 2 Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 211.

public notice, makes them hesitate to say of him now what they would never have ventured to say of him while he lived. To a casual acquaintance the beauty of his character was almost as obvious as the striking beauty of his face and the simple dignity of his manner. To those who knew him intimately, the sweetness and simplicity of his nature, his plain frankness of speech joined with a most tender regard for the feelings of others, and his keen wit tempered by the most unaffected modesty, revealed a unique personality, which it was a rare privilege to know. His own words about Jeffries Wyman are singularly true of himself: "To know him was to pay him the honor he did not seek; with many to know him was to love him as much as they honored him."

DECEMBER MEETING, 1894.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair. There was an unusually large attendance of members, as it was understood that the time would be specially devoted to tributes to the memory of the late Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, who had died since the preceding meeting, in his eighty-sixth year.¹

After the reading of the record of the last meeting, the PRESIDENT said that, in accordance with a vote of the Council, the regular order of business would be laid aside, and that there would be no communications of the usual character. At the close of the meeting some votes which it would be necessary to pass at the present time would be offered by the Treasurer. He then said : —

We have with us here to-day the remembrance only of an associate so long identified with these rooms, and so valued and honored by us as one who brought to the Presidency of this Society distinctions won in the highest ranges of public service. There are many places, scenes, and fellowships in which the career and qualities of Mr. Winthrop will be reviewed and commemorated. His life, lengthened through the fullest span of years till its springs were exhausted, gave him space for the exercise of his rich endowments, attainments, and accomplishments in many and varied fields of elevated distinction. His full career was divided, in nearly equal terms of years, into three widely different forms of service and experience. In very early manhood he came into public life under the most favoring influences of opportunity and popularity. With a fine personality, gifted in presence and in speech, highly cultivated in scholarship, literary and classical, with pre-eminence in family and social position, he was courted and honored by rapid advancement, in civil, military, and political

¹ Mr. Winthrop was born in Milk Street, Boston, May 12, 1809, and died at 90 Marlborough Street, Boston, November 16, 1894.

offices, in his native State. He justified the partiality shown to him by his full ability to meet all expectations, by his elevation of character, his talents, aptitudes, and eloquence, on many exacting occasions.

The second strongly marked period of his career was that which found him in honored positions in our national legislature, in the convulsions and distractions of the most perilous struggle in the life of our country, a storm in which two seas met. It was a time and an occasion of trial, with glooms and catastrophes, through which no earnest and prominent responsible actor passed unscathed by party heats, acrimony, and challenging of principle or courage. Mr. Winthrop's temperament and his instructed judgment prompted him to stand for conciliation and peace to the utmost edge of the alternative presented to our country. The alternative being decided, a fervid and steadfast patriotism guided his course, without passion or bitterness, till the issue closed. Privileged are those among us who have lived only after that conflict. For those of us who passed through it the best we can now do is no longer to revive or agitate those strifes, but to reserve them for quiet hours of reading and thought. It was among the privileges of his lengthened life that Mr. Winthrop survived not only all his leading contemporaries, but also the most embittered memories, misjudgments, and alienations arising from them. Such of them as concerned himself were kindly reviewed and conciliated. In the serenity and calm of advancing years, the memory of them came to him only with gentle speech and judgments of charity. Politics exempted him from choosing place or responsibility in after contentions of parties.

The third period of Mr. Winthrop's life was that in which he was best known to most of you here. It has been, in the main, one of retired dignity, — the statesman's, the scholar's, the honored citizen's years of retrospect and repose. Yet it has been by no means an idle term, enriched as it was by labors of the mind and pen. Our last great bereavement as a Society took from us that loved and gifted man to whom all bright occasions made their appeal for a Poem. To Mr. Winthrop like appeals were made for Prose. Besides the multiplied occasions on which, with learning, grace, and felicitous speech, he met the constant course of time in events, with successive actors, it was his privilege to rehearse and glorify

the four most signal incidents in our national history, — the Plymouth pilgrimage, the Centennial of Independence, the triumph at Yorktown, and the dedication of the Washington Monument. More than one hundred and fifty of our own countrymen, of various distinctions, besides many of eminence abroad, have received from his pen biographical or memorial tributes. From the four published volumes of his orations, addresses, and speeches, might be culled a well-nigh continuous history, narration, or relation of the chief incidents, local and national, in our annals, interspersed with the agency and influence of leading characters. In the wide and comprehensive range of benevolent and philanthropic methods which are in action so vigorously in our own privileged community, his years of retirement were most assiduously engaged. His name and his contributions are mentioned in connection with each and all of them, either as the official head in their management or as a generous patron. Our best organized charitable institution and method, Bible and other religious societies, the Children's Hospital and other noble objects, engaged his devotion and oversight. Chief among them was one most dear to him.

It is well known, at least to some of us here, that after that philanthropic banker, George Peabody, had exercised his own judgment in disposing his munificent benevolence in England, he visited his native country with the intent of dividing a yet larger sum for like objects here. He found that he needed not only suggestions, but discerning and wise counsel, intelligent advice. This he sought and received from Mr. Winthrop, his close friend for many years, of whose character and qualities he had the highest estimate. The largest gift our Society had up to that time received, in money, from any individual donor was that of Mr. Peabody; and he wished it understood, not being himself a votary of history, that his gift was wholly a personal testimony to our President. To the last month of his life, with its feebleness and its burdens, Mr. Winthrop gave his absorbed zeal and his patient oversight, in supervision and in detail, to the administration of the great Peabody Education Fund for the South. It was more than a surmise for some of us, that Mr. Winthrop's love and labor in that service were moved by a sympathetic desire to heal the wounds of a desolating strife.

The chief matter for recognition by us here in the long career of our late associate, in the wide range of his accomplishments and interests, is his connection with and his great services to this Society. More than once, in pleasant private converse with him in his later years, he said to me that the place he has filled here, with its duties and opportunities, had furnished many of the highest pleasures and satisfactions of his life. As a member of the Society for more than half of the century of its existence, and its President for thirty years, only our older members are fully informed how much the Society, in its present vigor and activity and resources, is indebted to his wise promptings and oversight. His family name, from that noble, honored, and revered leader and Governor of this wilderness Colony who first bore it, with its gatherings of repute and esteem for generations, might indeed have fitly entered into the corporate title of this Society. The most precious relic in the manifold treasures of our cabinet — answering to the saintly deposit in an old shrine — is the autograph history or journal of Governor John Winthrop, who was more than the Moses of what is now our beloved State; who to goodness and purity and wisdom added full ability, fidelity, and consecrated devotion to his high enterprise. Some three-and-thirty years ago Mr. Winthrop succeeded in rescuing from comparative oblivion in Connecticut an exceptionally large collection of ancestral manuscripts, which among its priceless contents disclosed papers bearing tenderly pathetic evidence of the whole-souled consecration of John Winthrop to that exigent enterprise. They showed that in parting with manorial and other property in dear old England and in investing all his means in this Colony, he burned his bridges behind him, severing every tie to his native land, and yielding every purpose of returning there again, as did some of his original associates, to his sad regret. In the same collection were found, as his Lares and Penates, his treasured ancestral and family papers, reaching back in their dates and subjects to a period before the unveiling of this New World. As one of the three most opulent of the associates, he gave his all to the enterprise so exhaustively that when he died the Colony assumed gratefully the guardianship and support of his fatherless and portionless young boy. Besides papers of his father and

grandfather, and his own, there were later ones of his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, including a mass of correspondence of a miscellaneous character, concerning and revealing interesting personal and historical information of nearly every individual known and active in our first century. Besides original papers of great variety and value scattered through all our published volumes, six of them are wholly filled with materials fitly bearing the name of Winthrop. We recall with what modest prefaces on his own part our late President from time to time communicated to us some illuminations of the past from those time-stained records. Among them is one which as we take it in hand seems, as by an electric spark, to revive its message of tender sorrow and sympathy from the long past. It is a letter written in Governor Winthrop's house (on the site of the Old South Meeting House) on the day of his death, March 26, 1649, signed by magistrates and ministers, and addressed "To our deare and honoured friend John Winthrop. Esq. at Pequod." It was to be carried by an Indian runner, "Nahawton, whom they did esteeme a Trustie and swift messenger." Borne through forest trails, across bogs and streams, it conveyed to the son the tidings of his father's death. Every word of that letter seems to carry with it the tears and tributes of hearts "to the precious account and desert" of the venerated man whom they solemnly mourned. They proposed to delay the "funeralls" for seven days, that the son might be present and have "the ordering" of them. It is grateful to know that the runner and the letter fulfilled their purpose.

I had occasion when our late President resigned that office to make a brief rehearsal here of the zeal and devotion, so faithful to us, which he has given to this Society, to its revived activity, to the increase, development, and use of its resources. My words then are on our records.

Since he fell back into the ranks as an associate, he has given us many tokens of the strength of the ties which bound him to us. Many things of value, for shelf, cabinet, and record, with his own comments and interpretation, enrich our stores. As long as the burden of increasing years allowed, borrowing strength from his wishes, he climbed these stairs, and took his wonted place among us, seldom without gift or

helpful words. Of his courtesy, urbanity, and dignity of mien you were all observers, and will keep the memory of them. Some among us have expressed a mistrust lest the once familiar bearing and style for the conventional term, "a Gentleman," might yet fall in with the "Antiquities" collected here. We all of us know one who bore and graced that title.

The Recording Secretary, Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG, then read a letter from Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige, now in his ninety-third year, who was not able to be present, together with some remarks which he had intended to offer at the meeting. Dr. PAIGE's letter and remarks are as follows:—

CAMBRIDGEPORT, Dec. 12, 1894.

DEAR SIR,—Fearing that I may be unable to attend the Society meeting to-morrow, and acting upon your suggestion, I forward, herewith, a copy of what I intended to say if I had the opportunity.

Truly yours,

LUCIUS R. PAIGE.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D.

Mr. President,—I shall not attempt to delineate the character of Mr. Winthrop as a scholar, an orator, or a statesman, but shall only speak briefly of him as a personal friend. Like yourself, Mr. President, and several of our associates, both Mr. Winthrop and myself traced a lineal descent from Governor Thomas Dudley. Whether this remote kinship had any influence on me, I know not; but I do know that on my first introduction to him, I was conscious of some peculiar attraction, which became stronger and stronger as our acquaintance ripened. No cloud ever cast a chilling shadow on us. I never failed to receive a cordial greeting when we met; and our birthday and other written salutations have not been interrupted for many years. I need not say that such friendly intercourse was more and more prized by me, as the infirmities of age increased, and other sources of happiness diminished. I have had my full share of the sorrows allotted to those who attain old age. One by one, a large proportion of my old friends have left me to deplore their loss. Especially is this true in regard to this Society. Of all those who were members at the time of my election, you, Mr. President, are now the only survivor; and Mr. Saltonstall alone remains with us of those who

were elected during the next fifteen years. Indeed, of all our associates, more than one hundred in number, who became members during the first half of my term of membership, only fifteen remain among the living. With many of the departed I enjoyed an intimate acquaintance, and I deeply lamented their loss ; but I may surely be pardoned for saying that the death of no other of the whole number has affected me so painfully as that of Mr. Winthrop.

Mr. YOUNG also read the following resolutions, which had been adopted by the New York Historical Society, and transmitted to this Society : —

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At a stated meeting of the Society, held on Tuesday evening, Dec. 4th, 1894,

The President of the Society, the Hon. John A. King, announced, with appropriate remarks, the death of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., an Honorary Member of the Society, and submitted the following minute for record, which was unanimously adopted : —

Since our last meeting the Society has learned with deep regret of the death, in Boston, Mass., on the 16th day of November, 1894, of the late Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., an Honorary Member of this Society since the 4th of January, 1859, when he was elected upon the motion of the late John Romeyn Brodhead, LL.D.

Mr. Winthrop was for more than a generation the distinguished President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was honorably connected with many kindred institutions, national, historical, literary, and philanthropical.

It is therefore

Resolved, That the New York Historical Society, in thorough appreciation of the pure and high character of its late Honorary Member ; and in recognition of his great eminence as a Statesman, Scholar, Orator, Philanthropist, and as a Christian Gentleman, desires, in offering this tribute of unusual respect to his memory, to bear testimony to the serious loss sustained by the community and the whole nation in the withdrawal from our midst of a citizen who had been so distinguished, and of such public benefaction, during a long life, which had been graciously extended far beyond the fourscore.

Resolved, That a record of these proceedings be transmitted to the family of the deceased, and also to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Extract from the minutes.

ANDREW WARNER, *Recording Secretary*.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, having been called on, said : —

None of the older members of this Society can have come here to-day without a deep feeling of the services rendered to it by our late distinguished associate. Certainly no one who was privileged to sit with him at this table can look back on his Presidency with any doubt as to the place he must always hold in our annals. Of those who served with him on Committees of Publication I am the sole survivor; but there too he left his strong impress as a working member, to which I gladly bear testimony.

Mr. Winthrop was elected a member of the Historical Society in October, 1839, in place of that accomplished gentleman, the Hon. William Sullivan; and fifteen or sixteen years later, when he stood twenty-fourth on our roll, he became President as the successor of the Hon. James Savage, then perhaps the highest living authority on New England history. Of the officers elected on that day, one only is now living, our venerable and valued associate, Rev. Dr. Paige; but among them were three men whose names should always be held in honor for long, faithful, and efficient service performed here, — Charles Deane, Richard Frothingham, and Chandler Robbins. Sixty-four years had passed since Jeremy Belknap and his seven associates met at Mr. Tudor's house in Court Street to organize this Society, and the highest expectations of our founders had been more than realized. A library of manuscripts and books, now of priceless value, had been gathered; a part of the estate on which this building stands had been bought, and thirty-two volumes of Collections had been printed. But with Mr. Winthrop's election to the Presidency a new era opened. A fresh interest was given to the monthly meetings, and a larger attendance of members was seen. With the Annual Meeting held in April, 1855, when he first became President, began the publication of the Proceedings, which has been continued without interruption down to the present time; and before he left the President's chair two volumes of Early Proceedings were prepared and printed by a committee of which Mr. Deane was chairman. In the mean time seventeen volumes of Collections, two volumes of a Catalogue of the Library, and a volume of Lowell Lectures, by members of the Society, with an introductory address by

the President, were added to our previous publications. Mr. Winthrop had been a working member himself, and he had inspired others to work. The gift of the magnificent Dowse Library, mainly by the intervention of a lamented associate, George Livermore, largely increased our literary treasures. The purchase of this estate was completed, and the present building was erected. This was not all. Of the twelve funds now on the Treasurer's books, eight were received during his Presidency; and it is within my own knowledge, as it is within the knowledge of others, that for the largest and most useful of them we were indebted to our benefactor's grateful regard for Mr. Winthrop, rather than to an interest in historical studies. To this I might perhaps add that all the gifts aggregated under the title of General Fund were also received during the same period. By his last will Mr. Winthrop gave to this Society a generous bequest, without restrictions as to its use, which has already been paid over to the Treasurer. At the proper time the Society will be asked to set this sum apart as a special fund, the income to be expended as the Council may direct. There can be no impropriety in adding that Mr. Winthrop was not possessed of a large property, and that this bequest must therefore be counted among the most striking proofs of his lifelong interest in our work.

Fortunate in his birth, fortunate in his education, fortunate in his training on larger fields of endeavor, and in his wide acquaintance with men and affairs, Mr. Winthrop brought to the Presidency of this Society qualifications which ripened and expanded down to the very close of his service. There never can have been a more dignified or more graceful presiding officer. But he did not confine himself to a discharge of the routine duties of the chair. It used to be said of him, in no unfriendly or critical sense, that he magnified his office. His sketches of our deceased associates read here, as one by one their names were erased from the roll of living members, form a unique and varied portrait-gallery; and not less interesting and valuable were the personal reminiscences with which from time to time he enriched our Proceedings, and the original documents drawn from that vast storehouse of historical materials fortunately acquired by him many years ago. Many of us will recall with pleasure the special meetings

of the Society held at his houses in Boston and at Brookline, and the frequent occasions, in summer and in winter, when the same elegant hospitality was extended to the officers and active members in smaller numbers.

At no time did Mr. Winthrop take a deeper interest in the work of the Society than in the last years of his Presidency, or find a greater satisfaction in the discharge of his official duties; but he was especially solicitous that his term of service, which far exceeded that of any of his predecessors, should not be too much prolonged. In more than one year he conferred with me on the question whether the time had not come for him to withdraw from the chair. There could be but one answer to that question. It was clearly and unhesitatingly given; and it foreshadowed the unanimous judgment spread on our records at the Annual Meeting in 1885, when it was announced that he had declined to be a candidate for re-election. Since that meeting more than one third of the names now on our roll of living members have taken the places of those who could bear personal testimony to the value of Mr. Winthrop's services. The record and the tradition of those services, however, will always remain among the precious inheritances of this Society.

In what has now been said I have purposely dealt only with Mr. Winthrop's relations to this Society. But it must not be forgotten that his Presidency was coincident with his greatest intellectual activity in the same field outside of our little company. With possibly one exception all those great addresses which gave him a foremost place as a master of commemorative oratory were delivered while he was the official representative of this Society. The oration at Plymouth in 1870 came midway in his Presidency, and was followed in the next ten or eleven years by the centennial for the Declaration of Independence, and the address at Yorktown. To these must be added a long list of addresses delivered on less memorable occasions in the same third of a century, which would have secured reputation for any other orator, and which together form a collection of permanent interest and value. It was in the same fruitful period that he published the two volumes of the *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, to which all future students of our earliest colonial history must turn, as they do to Winthrop's own journal, to complete the half-told story

of a great life and of the beginnings of the Massachusetts Colony.

Of what Mr. Winthrop did in political life as a member of our State Legislature or in Congress, of what he did in behalf of organized charity and to alleviate the sufferings of helpless childhood, of what he did to raise the standard of theological education in his own religious body, as President of the Massachusetts Bible Society, as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, and in the various ways in which a public-spirited citizen makes his influence felt, much has been said, or will be said, here and elsewhere; but all reference to what he did in these ways has been left for others, in order that emphasis might be laid on his relation to the purposes for which this Society was founded. If you seek for his monument here, you need only look around these rooms, and read the record of his devoted service in the long line of our Collections and Proceedings, to which he so largely contributed.

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN spoke as follows:—

When death comes to a man full of years and full of honors, who has led a spotless life, and whose bodily frame has become enfeebled by the infirmities of age, his departure is not an event for sorrow, but rather an occasion for devout gratitude that he was spared during so many years. The noble example of such a man is as lasting as the countless ages of time, and is never lost, for the continuity of life keeps up the thread of connection. Of this type of manhood Mr. Winthrop was an eminent instance; and he illustrated in his own character so many sides of a distinguished career that it is somewhat embarrassing to select that particular setting in which he shone the most, as he was so brilliant in them all. The world at large knew him under the manifold aspect of a ripe scholar, a wise statesman, a finished orator, and a Christian philanthropist; but at this time I shall speak of his work solely in connection with the Peabody Education Fund, that noble trust founded to promote the cause of popular education in certain States of the American Union. To the casual or careless observer it might seem that labors in this rough and uninviting field were beneath the attention and dignity of a man who had filled so many high offices, but this view of the case would be superficial.

When George Peabody was putting into definite shape the long-cherished plan to distribute in his native land a large share of his princely fortune in token of his gratitude for the many blessings that had been showered upon him, Mr. Winthrop was the first person with whom he held long and confidential relations on the subject. For months before the letter of gift was written to the Board of Trustees, he had been in close correspondence with Mr. Winthrop in regard to the matter; and for the successful beginning of his great benefaction it was fortunate that Mr. Peabody had the advice of such a counsellor, which on the one side was freely given, and on the other as readily accepted. At an early day an Act of Incorporation was obtained from the Legislature of the State of New York, under which his almoners were created a body by the name and title of "The Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund." By this Act Mr. Winthrop was made permanent Chairman of the Board; and it is needless to say that the duties of an office were never better or more conscientiously performed. His care and forethought were seen equally in the larger affairs of the Trust, and in the details of its minutest business. No subject ever came up for consideration which did not receive his most thoughtful attention, and his counsels always carried great weight. Outside of the domestic circle, his loss will be felt nowhere to a greater degree than among the members of that corporation, who looked to him for practical suggestions.

When Mr. Peabody's gift was made, the Southern States were staggering under many burdens, both financial and political, resulting from the effects of the Civil War; and the cause of popular education was met everywhere by obstacles that were then considered almost insuperable. Public schools were unknown in those States; and, with the sparse population of the neighborhood, it was very difficult to introduce a plan which would lead up to such a system. Entangled with the question was the presence of a large class of unfortunate beings, thoroughly lacking in all kinds of mental training, for which they themselves in no way were responsible; and this element complicated a free solution of the problem.

At that time, without some aid and encouragement from the outside world, it is very uncertain what course of action would have been taken in order to ward off the evils. The fact was recognized, however, that popular education was the

proper remedy for the troubles; and Mr. Peabody's benefaction, coming in the nick of time, turned the scale in the right direction. The number of schools and colleges at the South helped from the income of the Education Fund in former years was very large; but at the present time the distribution is confined to institutions of a high grade, or is used to supply courses of instruction and lectures among teachers in the several States. The testimony of the various Superintendents of Education in those States has always been strong and unanimous in regard to the practical help thus given.

In the autumn of 1886 a Training School for Teachers, under the charge of Professor David B. Johnson, was established at Columbia, South Carolina, which was named after Mr. Winthrop, in recognition of his eminent services in behalf of the cause of popular education at the South. In December, 1887, the school was incorporated by an Act of the General Assembly, and from that time till the present it has continued to grow in the number of its students and in general prosperity. To-day it stands one of the largest and most successful institutions in any part of the country for the training of young women as teachers. A touching tribute to the memory of Mr. Winthrop, on the part of the officers and students, is shown in their custom of keeping the anniversary of his birth as a holiday, and of celebrating the event in a manner befitting the occasion. This school, now known as the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College of South Carolina, has far outgrown its original limits; and at the present time a large and commodious structure is in process of building at Rock Hill, of which the corner-stone was laid with appropriate ceremonies on the last birthday of Mr. Winthrop.

In his Annual Report, made at the end of 1893, President Johnson recalls the fact that this institution, now in the way of becoming so conspicuous and destined to such high ends, was originally organized without State recognition through financial help from the Peabody Education Fund.

It may be worthy of note, also, that Mr. Winthrop's last formal production of a literary character was an address prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Trustees of the Education Fund in New York, on October 4, when he expected to be present and to deliver it himself, but owing to the infirmities of age was unable to attend. The paper, written only a few

weeks before his death, was read at the meeting, and showed on the part of the writer no signs of mental weakness; and it was marked by all that felicity of expression and vigor of style which so peculiarly belonged to him on such occasions.

In many prominent walks of life Mr. Winthrop's efforts have long been conspicuous, but in the humbler fields of usefulness his labors have been equally important, and in after-years they will place his name high up on the roll of those men who have served mankind in their day and generation, and have reached distinction through their philanthropic work. The foresight of a statesman is clearly shown throughout Mr. Peabody's great scheme, which did more than legislation could have done to close up the rifts caused by many a deadly struggle between brothers of the same household, friends of the same neighborhood, and citizens of a common country. For these delicate touches the London banker was indebted to the sagacity of the gentleman who by his presence so often graced the meetings in this room. Statecraft will save when doubt will destroy.

Mr. HENRY LEE said:—

Mr. President,—Eighty-five years ago, the old town of Boston was not a sojourn but a dwelling-place, year in and year out, from birth to death, from generation to generation.

Its citizens not only lived in, but for their town; on it were concentrated their affections; they observed all anniversaries, they participated in all solemnities and festivities, they discharged divers duties now delegated to paid substitutes.

In my school and college days Mr. Winthrop was coming forward, and among the figures of the past none is more distinct than his, because of the part he played in all pageants, and because of his handsome face and figure which made his part attractive.

I admired him marching at the head of the Harvard Washington Corps; later as captain of the Boston Light Infantry, famed for its spirit and for its series of handsome young officers; later still in perfection as senior aide-de-camp successively to three governors.

These positions he owed to his name and to his external graces; these were but the trappings, he had that within which passeth show.

While captain of the Harvard Washington Corps, he was chum of Charles Emerson, the most remarkable of the remarkable brothers, and he had the third oration at his graduation.

While aide-de-camp, he was elected a member, and before his time Speaker, of the House of Representatives; then Member of Congress, where he rapidly came to the front.

While on the staff of Governor Everett, he was wont to attend the dinners of the Cadets, and to gratify us not only by his comely presence, but also by his graceful oratory, vying with that of his eloquent chief. A stately figure, a dignified manner, a mellifluous voice, gave effect to his words.

After Mr. Everett, we have had no orator who has irradiated so many occasions, local and national, with historic research and sage reflections presented in clear and euphonious speech.

I allude to three of these orations, not because of their relative superiority, but because they serve to illustrate,—his Bunker Hill oration, his power to reinvest with interest a subject already exhaustively treated; his oration at Yorktown, his skill in weaving as on a Brussels carpet loom the intricate web so as to assign to the many actors in that siege—French, British, and American—their places, and to set forth their characteristics, and yet not to impede the flow of the narrative; the address on the Centennial of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, his fulness and readiness. Called upon in an exigency, with but twenty-four hours' notice, he gave an interesting review of the century's record, and discriminating eulogies on its most eminent members. It could not have been more complete, more finished, if he had taken a month instead of a day for preparation.

But what repeated proofs of these qualities has he not given at the monthly meetings of this Society during the thirty years of his presidency!

A letter received, a document unearthed, a lost member to lament, an anniversary to commemorate,—some opportunity offered or created, was improved by him.

His learning, his extensive intercourse and correspondence with interesting men at home and abroad, stored in a tenacious memory ready for use, enabled him to invest the subject, whatever it might be, with interest, and each time to renew our admiration.

Many of us can claim descent from the magistrates and

clergy of the first generation, but unless we bear their names, our claim is disputed; we are virtually disinherited, we are not identified with them. John Winthrop had many living descendants who had thus lost their inheritance. Those who were heirs of the name as of the blood, had passed away from this vicinity.

Mr. Winthrop had six brothers, whom some can remember as handsome, stalwart men, but he outlived them all.

So it came about that he was left the sole representative in Boston of the family in his generation; and his identity with his great ancestor was, as it were, thrust upon him.

When he was born, the contour of the peninsula (for happily it was still a peninsula) had been preserved; it was the Boston depicted by Emerson, —

"The rocky nook with hill-tops three
Looked eastward from the farms,
And twice each day the flowing sea
Took Boston in its arms," —

a fascinating semi-rural sea-girt town, retaining many features of its old colonial days. The houses stood mostly apart in their gardens, some of them associated with historic names.

Born in one of these old homes, the first objects which met his eyes as he was held to the window were the Old South Meeting House and its parsonage standing on the Governor's Green, the home of his ancestor, the wise and beneficent founder of the town and State.

The contemplation of this ancestral ground, the sight of old houses which this ancestor had entered, family traditions, the reading of Winthrop's Journal, must have tended to associate the past with the present, and to impress upon him his birthright.

If, as aide-de-camp, he rode beside the governor as he reviewed the troops on Boston Common, he must have recalled the day when the two regiments in the bay were mustered on that same Common — led, the one by his ancestor, Governor Winthrop, the other by the deputy, Governor Dudley, who was equally his ancestor — to perform their warlike exercises.

He could not, as an officer of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, receive or resign his spontoon without remembering that it was his ancestor who had bestowed the charter and who had presided over these annual ceremonies.

He could hardly attend a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society without hearing our first governor quoted or referred to.

What a beautiful manifestation of filial piety was his editing and writing the "Life and Times of John Winthrop," at once a romance and a history, giving a fascinating picture of the life of the lawyer of the Temple and the lord of the Manor of Groton, surrounded by attached friends and kindred; and of his forsaking all this to "runne an hazard with them of an hard and meane condition," by agreeing to "pass the seas, to inhabit and continue in New England"; of the tender parting and happy reunion of the husband and wife, and of the multifarious cares and trials and achievements of the gentle, wise, magnanimous man and magistrate, during his nineteen years here.

Mr. Winthrop was "given to hospitality"; he received his friends, his friendly acquaintances, and his fellow-citizens on appropriate occasions with that nice gradation of manner of which he was master; he entertained strangers of rank and distinction in the full sense of that word, and he leaves no successor with the inclination and the ability to take his place.

The proud little sea-girt town has sprawled out into a disjected city; its picturesque profile and outline are gone; the waves no more beat against the Neck, — there is no Neck; the old James Bowdoin house was long ago wiped away, its acre of garden covered with buildings; the English Puritans are displaced by men of strange speech and customs, and, bowed down by infirmities, the last of the Boston Winthrops of his generation has followed the long line of his ancestors from the first governor, and faded from our sight.

MR. HAMILTON A. HILL said: —

I shall confine my remarks to one of Mr. Winthrop's historical addresses.

It was my good fortune to be a member of the executive and legislative party which accompanied Governor Long to Yorktown in October, 1881, to take part in the centennial celebration of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to the allied armies of America and France. On this occasion, Mr. Winthrop was the orator, and it was his last appearance, I

believe, before a large audience; his oration on the completion of the Washington Monument, in 1885, was delivered by proxy.

The Yorktown celebration was for every reason a memorable one. Among those present were the governors and high officials of the original thirteen States, and of many of the States subsequently admitted to the Union; General Sherman, Admiral Porter, and other officers of the army and navy who had distinguished themselves in the War of the Rebellion; representatives, as guests of the nation, of the French and German officers who participated in the siege of Yorktown and who witnessed the surrender; and President Arthur, who only a month before had succeeded to the chief magistracy on the death of President Garfield. The new president had not had time to construct his cabinet, and was accompanied by Mr. Blaine, Mr. Lincoln, and other members of the late administration who were holding over at his request.

The recent national bereavement, as Mr. Winthrop said, had "thrown a pall of deepest tragedy upon the falling curtain of our first century"; it cast its shadow over the Yorktown celebration, and gave an undertone of sadness to the oration. "I cannot forget," said the orator, "that as I left President Garfield after a friendly visit at the Executive Mansion last May, his parting words to me were, 'Yes, I shall be with you at Yorktown.' We all miss him and mourn him here to-day."

Among other features of the celebration, which continued through three days, were the presence in the river of a large number of vessels of war, conspicuous among which were Farragut's ship, the "Franklin," and Winslow's, the "Kearsarge"; a review of ten thousand troops, regulars and militia, by General Hancock; and the laying of the foundation-stone of a monument decreed by Congress in 1781, but never begun until now. The 19th of October was the great day, when, after addresses by President Arthur, M. Outrey, French Ambassador at Washington, the Marquis de Rochambeau, and Baron von Steuben, Mr. Winthrop pronounced the oration which he had been invited to deliver by the Committee of Congress. These exercises took place in a temporary building erected for the occasion, decorated with the flags of the

United States, France, and Germany, but otherwise bare and rude. The ceremonial, however, was not dependent upon any accessories for its dignity and impressiveness; for, as Mr. Winthrop said, "the theme and the theatre were above the highest art."

At my request, Governor Long has given his remembrance of the day in a few words, as follows: "I vividly recall Mr. Winthrop, as he appeared at Yorktown as orator there at the centennial celebration in 1881. It was the full corn in the ear, the noble presence of a man, past threescore and ten indeed, yet so vigorous and graceful in his manly ripeness, so courteous, dignified, and gentle in his manners, and of such impressive intellectual stamp, that he was easily the central commanding figure of the scene. He seemed to be a striking type of the orator of forty years ago, — the contemporary of Everett, — a Massachusetts scholar and gentleman."

Mr. Archibald Forbes, the well-known English correspondent, thus described the scene: "Perhaps the decorum of the throng was equalled by its evident intelligence. To the very end of Mr. Winthrop's prolonged oration, all around the fringes of the audience were to be observed people with their hands at their ears, jealous lest a word should escape them. No point made by the speaker was missed, or failed to obtain its fullest meed of appreciation. During Mr. Winthrop's fervid and eloquent peroration, the intenseness of attention on the orator's words was so close that you might have heard a pin drop. The people had come to listen, and they listened with all their force."

Mr. Forbes was impressed by the great tact displayed by Mr. Winthrop in his references to Great Britain, and by "his hearty and unaffected expressions of loving good-will for 'Old Mother England,'" as he called her. "To-day," he wrote, "afforded fresh proof that a warm heart is the truest guide to good taste."

Mr. Winthrop was in excellent voice, and delivered the oration in his best style. This was the more gratifying and the more remarkable, because, owing to the poverty of the arrangements, the absence of proper care for the guests, and the general confusion, he, in common with many others, had been obliged to suffer discomforts, if not positive hardships, which

in his case particularly must have taxed severely his powers of endurance, and which might easily have embarrassed him in the discharge of the responsible and exacting duty to which he was called. It was said of him and the other speakers, "Their words will live when the trifling annoyances of the hour are forgotten"; but it is only justice to him to recall at this time the serious disadvantages in the midst of which a great oratorical success was achieved.

The Yorktown oration is generally recognized, I believe, as one of Mr. Winthrop's noblest discourses. The story of the events which led up to the siege and the surrender, is graphically told; and a competent critic has said that no more noteworthy gallery has ever been painted than the series of portraits which he has here sketched of the men of the various nationalities who on either side were prominent in the conflict. It is safe to say that there was no one living except himself who possessed in combination the personal knowledge and the acquired information necessary for such truthful and brilliant portraiture. And, all unconsciously, in this work of delineation, the speaker has given to us an illustration of something very characteristic of himself. His heart was so thoroughly under the influence of that charity that "hopeth all things," that *nil nisi bonum* was his rule of speech concerning both the living and the dead. He was always ready to say a kindly, pleasant, and graceful thing, when this did not involve the obliteration of moral distinctions. At Yorktown, while there was no breath of extenuation for the treason of Benedict Arnold, the wilful and obstinate king, of whom an English historian has not hesitated to say that "the darkest hour of English history lies wholly at his door," was thus gently dealt with: "Who doubts that good old George III. spoke from his conscience, as well as from his heart, when he said so touchingly to John Adams, on receiving him as the first American minister at the Court of St. James, 'I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do by the duty which I owed my people'?"

The tribute to the character and services of Lafayette was doubly impressive, as spoken by one who, as he told his audience, had "personally felt the warm pressure of his own hand and received a benediction from his own lips," under

the parental roof nearly sixty years before; who had seen the private letter written to President Monroe by the French patriot, from Yorktown, October 20, 1824, describing his visit to the place on the forty-third anniversary of the surrender; and who had learned from the lips of James Madison, during a visit to him not many years before his death, to think and speak of Lafayette, not merely as an ardent lover of liberty, "but as a man of eminent practical ability, and as great, in all true senses of that term, as he was chivalrous and generous and good."

The words of counsel, of warning, and of hope with which the oration closed, could have been prompted only by lofty patriotism and an unswerving Christian faith. The cause of education, in which Mr. Winthrop had been heartily enlisted for many years, and which was especially dear to him to his latest days, was most earnestly presented in its relations to the prosperity and perpetuity of the republic. "Universal education," he said, and let us remember that he said this on the soil of Virginia, "without distinction of race, must be encouraged, aided, and enforced. The elective franchise can never be taken away from any of those to whom it has once been granted, but we can and must make education co-extensive with the elective franchise; and it must be done without delay, as a measure of self-defence, and with the general co-operation of the authorities and of the people of the whole country." And again: "Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education." It seems proper to record side by side with these impressive words a sentence written in preparation for the annual meeting of the Trustees of the Peabody Fund in October last. After referring to public events which had been discouraging and depressing during the official year then closing, Mr. Winthrop added: "Meantime we may well rejoice that the great cause of popular education, so far as it is in our hands, and which is the basis of all our best hopes for the future, has met with no check." "Popular education, — the basis of all our best hopes for the future"; this was the latest utterance of a long-cherished conviction, which found its most memorable and perhaps its noblest expression at Yorktown thirteen years before.

Rt. Rev. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.D., spoke in substance as follows: —

Unfamiliarity with the custom of this Society upon such occasions is my apology for speaking informally and without notes.

The fact that Mr. Winthrop was more than a generation older than myself limits my associations with him to the later years of his life. His remarkable career in the House and Senate of the United States is pure history to me. At the same time this very fact suggests one interesting feature of his character; for, though of an earlier generation, his sympathies were strong with the life and people of the present day, — though in thought and manner of the old school, he counted among his many friends those whose chief interests are in the immediate problems of life.

To the boys of a generation ago, Mr. Winthrop stood as a stately representative of what was most dignified in American life. I can remember him driving through Brookline, or a guest in my father's house, as subduing us with deep reverence for his character. The fact that he was to be a guest made of the entertainment an occasion. His entrance into the room gave dignity to the whole company.

To see Mr. Winthrop reverently worshipping in Trinity Church, Boston, was to the boys of that generation an object lesson in the essential unity of statesmanship and Christian manhood. In his religious associations he was a Churchman, or, as he would prefer to say, a humble and unworthy follower of his Lord, Jesus Christ, finding his most helpful religious associations in the Episcopal Church. For his hold on the Church was not so much through logical conviction as through deep sympathy with its principles and traditions. By bonds which are often stronger than logic, the conditions of inheritance, associations, taste, and temperament, the essential elements of the Church were inwrought into the texture of his character. He never allowed his Churchmanship to limit his sympathies with Christians of other names, and he counted among his dearest friends the leading members of many other Christian bodies. His devotion to the parishes of Trinity Church, Boston, and St. Paul's Church, Brookline, was strong and faithful. Phillips Brooks was his frequent guest and con-

stant friend. Mr. Winthrop was for sixty years a member of the vestry of Trinity Church, Boston. At several sessions of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church he was a delegate from the Diocese of Massachusetts, and took an honorable part in the discussions and legislations of the Church. His simple faith and evangelical spirit, together with his dignity of bearing, culture, and chivalric temper, combined in one personality the best elements of the puritan and the cavalier.

Mr. Winthrop's religious faith was also revealed in a life of charity. His great work in connection with the Peabody Education Fund has already been alluded to. He was for twenty-five years the President of the Boston Provident Association, and for a number of years President of the Massachusetts Bible Society and of the Children's Hospital. He held positions of responsibility in many other associations. As an Overseer of the Poor in Boston for several years, he devoted much thought and time to the problems of pauperism and poverty, even in their minutest details.

When Mr. Benjamin T. Reed founded the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge a little over twenty-five years ago, Mr. Winthrop was one of the few gentlemen whom he called to his counsel and aid. During his last years he was the only surviving member of the original Board of Trustees, and for over ten years he was the President. The School marked its twenty-fifth anniversary by the erection of Winthrop Hall, given by patrons of the School in recognition of Mr. Winthrop's services to the institution. Built of stone, of English academic architecture, dignified and set back from the street, the Hall is a fitting memorial of one who had so deep an interest in all that Cambridge with its University and other institutions represents.

Allow me to close these informal remarks with a few words which suggest one or two other features of his character. In exceptional characters we are often asked to pardon certain weaknesses and breaches of true courtesy, but Mr. Winthrop pardoned none such in himself. Though the sweep of his interests was large, he allowed no details to be neglected. As the presiding officer of many associations he was not a mere figure-head, but he gave freely of his time and thought to the smaller as well as to the larger responsibilities of his position. Courtesy to the least detail was an essential element in

his character. Even in his later years, upon the entrance into the room of a young man, Mr. Winthrop would struggle to his feet in order that he might meet him with dignity and full courtesy. Bishop Brooks used to say that one test of Christian charity was to be found in a legible handwriting. Under this test Mr. Winthrop stood high, and of the hundreds of letters that he wrote one will rarely find an erasure, but always the free hand and the easy style of a true gentleman.

MR. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS then said : —

Although the present is a regular meeting of the Society, held at the stated time, and notified in no unusual way, it is, I presume, well understood that we are here to despatch no business of routine, — to listen to no papers on general topics. We have come with but one thought, our obligation as a Society to Mr. Winthrop; and to bear witness to the personal and even affectionate regard we feel for the man.

Yet the occasion is not what I would have had it. I am, of course, aware, as I presume all here are aware, that, in pursuing this somewhat commonplace course, we are acting in deference to Mr. Winthrop's understood wishes, as expressed through members of his immediate family. He, who had for so long been such an overshadowing personality in these rooms, had come to look upon himself as more or less a memory, — a shade from the past in them, — indeed, to many of those who gather here only as a fading tradition, — and accordingly he thought best to intimate a desire that his death should be noticed in no unusual way; for, in his own estimate, he had already long passed from the scene.

For one, it does not to me so seem, — far otherwise. In this matter, therefore, — while careful to pay all due deference to Mr. Winthrop's slightest wish, — the Society, I thought, owed something to itself. It is under a debt of obligation to him which made Mr. Winthrop — no matter how long he might live or how completely the advance of age might separate him from us — ever and always our first and most prominent member, — in spirit and by general acceptance, as well as in fact, the head of our roll. Any exceptional respect we could pay his memory became therefore our privilege, from which deference could not debar us. We owed on this occasion something to ourselves and to our own feelings. My

wish, therefore, was that now, as in the cases of Mr. Deane and Mr. Parkman, the tribute of the Society should be emphasized, and should go upon its records with all possible form and solemnity. It was decided otherwise; and I regretfully concurred in the decision. Individually, I claim my privilege now.

Of Mr. Winthrop, I propose to speak as one of Us, — as for more than fifty years a member of this Society and for thirty years its President; but first I want to say a few words of another aspect of his character, and to me a most attractive aspect. As we go on in life, — as little by little we rid ourselves of the ambitions, the hungry craving and the eager self-assertions of youth, and, accepting the position the world assigns to us, one by one instinctively in our turn label our cotemporaries, as we put them away in the pigeon-holes of memory, — as we do this, I say, we come more and more to realize that with men the essential thing, after all, is not what they do, but what they are. In the course of a long life the inner nature is surely revealed, whether in success or in adversity; and better is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city. Much reference has been made since Mr. Winthrop's death to his connection with public life, — so brilliant in its beginning, and so soon, so long since, brought to an abrupt and early close. It was to public life that Mr. Winthrop first devoted himself; it was to that he felt a call; and, to the call, he answered. His course was at the outset, and long, a succession of triumphs; — Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives at 29; member of Congress at 31; Speaker of the National House of Representatives at 38; United States Senator at 41; there seemed no prize of public life to which he might not with reason as well as confidence aspire. All this was so long ago that the generation which knew of it has quite passed away; but, a legend now, it was none the less a reality then. Those even of fifty years do not realize, and when told will hardly credit, the possibilities of both office and influence which then seemed open to Mr. Winthrop, — waiting for him to grasp them. To appreciate these possibilities one must go back out of the present, — back through the forty-year deluge of events, — to the half-forgotten memories or the unfamiliar records of what has become already an historic — almost a remote — past. There was, for instance,

little in common between Robert Charles Winthrop and John Greenleaf Whittier; yet in July, 1854, Whittier, a man of 47, wrote to Emerson thus of Winthrop,¹ a man of 45, "I may be mistaken, but I fully believe that Robert C. Winthrop holds in his hands the destiny of the North,"—and he then goes on to point out how, by pursuing a certain political course, Mr. Winthrop might fix the attitude of New England on the great issue of the day. And even now, looking back beyond the far different event, it seems to me the Quaker poet, who was not lacking in political shrewdness, had reason for his faith. He clearly saw in the impending upheaval the possibility for Mr. Winthrop to take that course in New England politics which at the very time Mr. Seward actually did take in the politics of New York. As is evident now also, the opportunity did exist.

This is no time to consider why Mr. Winthrop did not see his way to grasp the great occasion. I will merely say that I do not think his were the temper and the cast of mind to grapple with the conditions of the time in which his lot was then cast. He was by nature adapted for more orderly surroundings, more formal and regular events; and, just as two centuries earlier and on another but not dissimilar stage, Hyde and Falkland gave way to Pym and Vane, so in 1854 the trained and more moderate public characters of the earlier period were forced into the background by the fiercer energy of those by Nature selected to do the rough, stern work then in hand to be done.

This Mr. Winthrop could at the time hardly see; nor did others, I remember, see it more clearly than he. Checked in the full swim of success and thrown out of public life in 1851, when only forty-two years of age, Mr. Winthrop had a right to suppose that in his chosen career he had sustained a mere temporary reverse. And I remember well a remark of my father's to me,—for, boy though I then was, I took an intense interest in the politics of the day,—I well remember, I say, a remark of my father's, who, at the time, was strenuous on the opposite side to Mr. Winthrop, to the effect that, so far as Mr. Webster was concerned, at his advanced age Mr. Sumner's election to the Senate was a final and fatal political blow; but as for Mr. Winthrop, he added, "he has only, like every one else in poli-

¹ Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier*, p. 374.

tics, had a stroke of ill-luck,—the wheel will turn again." But, for Mr. Winthrop, the political wheel never did turn again; it stopped midway in his life, and it stopped when its movement was fast, and seemed sure.

Then it was that the man's nature, coming to the surface, slowly asserted itself for what it was worth. His chosen career was thenceforth closed to him; and hope deferred maketh sick the heart. To others belonged the prizes which had seemed within his sure grasp; and, at the age when to most life only just begins to move on assured lines, the path closed for him. He was destined thenceforth, a mere looker-on, to watch the chosen arena in which it was no longer his to strive. The acid of disappointment is to man's nature a test not less severe than the intoxication of success; and, under such circumstances, the poorer nature is apt to evince bitterness, to indulge in covert criticism, if not open attack,—to repine over lost opportunities, and give way to discouragement and sloth. With Mr. Winthrop there was none of this. Accepting the situation, dignified in defeat, he set to work in the narrower field to which the chances of political life had consigned him, and in that field made himself supremely useful; nor this alone, as the years passed on he became ever more dignified, more gracious and more kindly in bearing and in speech, more chary of criticism and more aidful in action. Like good wine, he ever, even to the late end, improved with age. What more or better could be said?—It is not what we do, but what we are; and better is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.

But it is of Mr. Winthrop as member and President of this Society, and not of Mr. Winthrop as a political character, that I have said I more especially proposed to speak. As its President through thirty years,—a third part nearly of its entire existence at the time he resigned the position,—the Massachusetts Historical Society owes to Mr. Winthrop a debt of obligation hard to overstate and impossible for it to pay. He gave it form, consistence, character, dignity, momentum. For such a Society as this, he was, too, an ideal head; for not only did he possess every essential attribute, but he possessed each attribute in a high degree. The descendant of him correctly known as "the Father of New England," a patrician, a distinguished orator, an author as well as a care-

ful historical investigator, a courteous and dignified presiding officer having the interests of the Society always at heart, Mr. Winthrop had not only means and a universally recognized social position, but in a marked degree also he had what is known as the social faculty. So he loved to dispense a generous hospitality; and as one passed through his doors, there came the feeling that he who entertained us was to the manner born, and that the Society participated in, was in itself a part of, all that he had or was. As our President he thus constantly magnified the position; and in so doing he magnified our Society. Unless I greatly err, also, Mr. Winthrop, so far as this organization was concerned, had an ideal which he more than any man I have ever met was qualified to realize, had fate been propitious to him, — a lofty ideal; but he was for himself and the work he thought to do not fortunate, — he was a day too late in public life, a day too early in the evolution of learned societies. He should have been the President of the American Academy; and the time for the American Academy has not yet come.

And when I speak of the American Academy, I have in mind something which has not yet assumed form, — something which our material and political conditions have in fact hitherto not favored, and may render for a long time, perhaps forever, impracticable. I am of those who think that neither democracy, as it is called, nor democratic methods, have to do with literature, science, or art. These, in their highest form, are the ultimate results of a great concentration of life, wealth, and thought, — of evolution, and the survival of the intellectual fittest. Just as there is no royal road, so there is no popular path to true learning, or correct observation, or refined taste. Instead of developing on our political lines, therefore, and seeking expansion in the largest possible membership, as has been too often the case with the so-called learned societies of this country, the Academy should, it seems to me, run directly counter to those lines, and seek to concentrate in itself only the last and best results of educational effort. It is membership in the Academy that should be sought; and not members for it. It was such a society as this, I think, that Mr. Winthrop had ever in mind; a Society the seal of which should be recognized as a mint mark; a Society an election to which should be to an American what an election to the Academy is

to a Frenchman, — the blue ribbon of letters. And surely, no American of his day was so well qualified as Mr. Winthrop to guide the policy and preside at the sittings of such a Society. Industrious, methodical and learned, — grave, eloquent, dignified and courteous — coming of a distinguished ancestry to which he himself gave new distinction, a leader in social life, — he naturally assumed leadership there, and that leadership was tacitly conceded to him. Thus endowed, he did much for us; unfortunately, we could not in return give him a theatre sufficient for the full display. The stage at best was narrow, and his audience small.

I have said that Mr. Winthrop was essentially a patrician; and in his case that word implies a great deal, — far more than at once appears. More than any man I ever met, with the exception possibly of the late President Quincy, Mr. Winthrop filled the conception of what an hereditary peer in the best English sense should be; but, far more than Mr. Quincy, with his robust, fiery energy, Mr. Winthrop gave one the idea of being in this country somewhat out of place, — he was a little *déclassé*. He had to make his own position; in England he would have found it made for him, and he would have filled it to perfection. He would have been in his native element in the House of Lords, and, there, a potent factor for good. It would have been the same in social life; on the platform of the learned or scientific association; at the council board. He would have worn his robes and upheld his coronet with grace and native ease, as one born to them. He would have been an ideal Speaker of the Commons; and, as a Lord Lieutenant, he would have carried himself as should the representative of a Crown. Conscious of the responsibilities as well as of the dignity of rank, he would never have forgotten its prestige or abused its privilege. Thus he would have vindicated and justified an aristocracy; while in a democracy, even though born and brought up to it, he was never in all respects fully at home. To him the atmosphere was thin and chill. Though he probably never realized it, and might even have warmly, though always courteously, have denied the imputation, he would have thriven better in another clime, — amid an atmosphere of tradition, recognition, and caste. Craving form and state and ritual, he would, as I have said, have conferred lustre on an Earldom.

Thus the going of Mr. Winthrop marks a veritable epoch in the history of our Society. Through more than twenty years, ever since the death of Mr. Savage in March, 1873, his name has headed the roll of our membership, his presence has filled this room. There is in the possession of the Society a photograph of its members grouped together in front of Mr. Winthrop's home at Brookline on an occasion when, as was his wont, he entertained them there on a pleasant day in June some thirty years ago. In that group the figure of Mr. Winthrop is the central figure, — that about which the others seem naturally to arrange themselves; and one instantly accepts the fact, feeling that it was right and proper it should be so, — altogether appropriate and in accordance with the fitness of things. That photograph was in its arrangement typical of the Society, before and then and since. The first name is stricken from our list; the central figure gone from our gatherings.

It lacks now less than six months of a full score of years since I first entered these rooms as a member. Mr. Winthrop then occupied the chair which you, Sir, now fill; for yet ten years longer he continued to occupy that chair. For the rest, the names since one by one dropped from our roll speak for themselves; and they speak too for our Society. Next to Mr. Winthrop came my father; and not far below was Hillard. Further on were Richard Frothingham, Charles Deane and Francis Parkman, a notable trio. The name of John Lothrop Motley presently arrested the eye; and then, in close juxtaposition, those of Oliver Wendell Holmes and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, — *par nobile fratrum*. Jacob Bigelow also was there, with Richard Henry Dana, Russell Lowell and Edmund Quincy; while Rockwood Hoar and Ralph Waldo Emerson, the two survivors of the great Concord triumvirate, — the first still of us, but, alas! never again to fill here his accustomed chair; the last an ever-mightier shade, — these two fitly close the great procession. I have said that Mr. Winthrop's stage here was narrow and his audience small; but those I have named constitute a goodly company. Then they were all living men, — our associates here; associates than which no Society whether in the New World or in the Old could boast a choicer array. Orators, statesmen, and diplomats; historians, poets and conversationalists; wits, jurists, philan-

thropists, philosophers, — they were, and they remain, a galaxy the brilliancy of which time will only enhance. They are now all names and memories ; but, great and radiant as many of them are, they will ever in the memory of us, their survivors in this room, group themselves naturally and as of course, even as in the photograph I have referred to, about that one dignified figure and gracious courtly presence, — the figure and the presence of Robert Charles Winthrop.

The President then asked the members, without adopting a formal vote, to express their regard and gratitude to their late associate by rising, and all rose.

The Treasurer, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, said that there were three matters of business on which it was necessary or desirable for the Society to take action at this meeting, and for which he should offer three separate votes. As he had stated, Mr. WINTHROP'S bequest of five thousand dollars had already been paid into the treasury ; and he accordingly presented the following vote, which was unanimously adopted : —

Voted, That a Fund be created to be called the Robert C. Winthrop Fund, the income whereof shall be expended for such purposes as the Council may from time to time direct.

He then said that he had also received from the administrator of the estate of the late Rev. Robert C. Waterston the sum of ten thousand dollars, being one of the bequests of Mr. Waterston to this Society ; and on his motion it was

Voted, That a Fund be created to be called the Waterston Publishing Fund, " the income thereof to be used as a publishing fund for the publication and distribution in such manner as the Standing Committee shall deem best, to libraries or individuals, of such papers and books as are best calculated to disseminate useful, historical, biographical, or literary information, and to be of service in any way to society and mankind, . . . the fact that any book is printed by such fund to be stated on the titlepage or elsewhere in each book."

Mr. Smith further said that under the provisions of Mr. Sears's Declaration of Trust any appropriation of the income

of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund must be made between July and January, or the income must be added to the principal, which it was not desirable to do at the present time ; and on his motion it was

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the current year be appropriated toward the publication of the Society's Collections.

The President announced that Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., had been appointed to write a memoir of Dr. Holmes, and Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., a memoir of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, for publication in the Proceedings.

Our distinguished associate, Senator HOAR, was prevented from being present at this meeting, owing to the session of Congress ; but the esteem in which he held Mr. Winthrop is evidenced by the following letter from him to the latter's son, at whose request it is here inserted.

UNITED STATES SENATE, December 4, 1894.

MY DEAR MR. WINTHROP, — In spite of your father's four-score and five years, and of the fact that few men living can remember the time when he was not held to be one of the great men of the country, it almost seems as if his death were premature.

His intellect seemed during these last years as vigorous and fresh as when he made his first appearance in public on a great occasion at the Harvard Centennial in 1836. He was our finest example of the grand old name of gentleman, and his departure is not merely the end of a great individual career, but the severing of the last living tie with a great generation.

While my first political activity was in very earnest opposition to the party of which he was one of the most conspicuous leaders, and while I believe he has never voted for the candidates whom I supported, yet I have been in accord with him in political opinion in many important particulars, and I am gratified and surprised to see how constantly I find authority and support for the things I believe in some of his public

utterances. No one who has to speak on any important occasion on any subject connected with American politics or with history or literature should fail to consult your father's four volumes of Addresses and Speeches. They are storehouses, not only of original thought, but of apt quotation and illustration; and in his estimates of the character of his contemporaries or of men of former generations, I hardly recall an opinion which does not seem to me wise and sound, as well as expressed with unequalled grace and eloquence.

He always treated me with the greatest consideration and courtesy, and I was especially drawn to him from the fact of his great esteem for my father, — an esteem which was fully reciprocated, — and because of his great affection for Charles Emerson, who was the idol of my childhood. There is no man left who possesses such a store of rich and abundant learning, or such rare oratorical powers, or such dignity and grace of personal bearing, as were your father's.

“The knights are dust.”

I am, with high personal regard, faithfully yours,

GEORGE F. HOAR.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Jr., Esq.

JANUARY MEETING, 1895.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, having died since the last meeting,¹ the first Vice-President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, presided. The President's chair, which was not occupied, was appropriately draped. There was a large attendance of members, to pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of the late President.

After the reading of the record of the December meeting, and the list of donors to the Library during the last month, Mr. Adams said he had received from the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society a copy of the resolutions passed by that Society on the death of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, together with a memorial address delivered by its President, Gen. James Grant Wilson.

Mr. ADAMS then said : —

For eight years now two names have stood at the head of our roll, — first by seniority, and first by official position. As we all well know, both, bearing those names, had, at the time of death, been of us through more than fifty years, and through forty of those fifty years either one or the other occupied the presiding officer's chair. Of the present members of the Society, one only, our single nonagenarian, Dr. Paige, ever saw as its President any other than Mr. Winthrop or Dr. Ellis. A month ago we paid such tribute as we might to the memory of the former; and to-day we are called upon to perform a similar service to the latter. He then, for what proved to be the last time, filled his accustomed seat.

The names of Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis had also so long been first on our roll, standing there, in companionship with that of Dr. Paige, isolated as it were by a gulf of years from those that followed, that their disappearance at once and together causes a feeling almost of forsakenness; it is as if the

¹ Rev. George Edward Ellis, D.D., LL.D., was born in Boston, August 8, 1814, and died in that city, December 20, 1894.

familiar head of the house had been suddenly taken. The seats both at the head and foot of the table are vacant. A barrier which has prescriptively stood between us and seniority, until we have almost grown to think it always had stood there and consequently always must stand there, has suddenly disappeared, causing us to realize that we are in the front rank now, — that it is for us to take the fire next. Unmistakably, also, so far as the Society is concerned, the going of Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis — simultaneous and almost dramatic as it was — marks an epoch in its history; for, of necessity, it then passed from the hands of the men of the first half of the century into the hands of the men of its second half. And, in the case of this nineteenth century of ours, that signifies much.

Of the life of Dr. Ellis — his career, if so it may be called — I do not here propose to speak, except in so far as it was interwoven with the Society of which he died at once President and Senior Member. Elected a Resident Member at the meeting of October 28, 1841, presided over by James Savage, then President, Dr. Ellis had already, though but seven-and-twenty years of age, — as was proper and becoming in the minister of a Charlestown church called after John Harvard, — evinced a decided interest in historical research, especially in that connected with the early records of New England. He had, it is true, at that time published nothing; but, three years later, in 1844, his *Life of John Mason* appeared as a contribution to Sparks's American biographies, and, next taking up Anne Hutchinson, he furnished a year later another study to the same series. From the beginning to the end, through the whole fifty-three years of his association with the Society, he was in every sense an active member, constant in attendance at meetings, evincing deep interest in the affairs and business of the organization, familiar with its collections, jealous of its prestige, working on its committees and contributing to its publications. He served on the Standing Committee ten years, at various times between 1852 and 1877, and was Vice-President from 1877 to 1885; he was a member of the Publishing Committee for six volumes in the Fourth and Fifth Series of the Collections; and he wrote for the Proceedings five memoirs of deceased members, including those of Jacob Bigelow and Jared Sparks. It was he, also,

who suggested the course of Lowell Institute Lectures delivered by members of the Society in 1869, and on him devolved the principal burden of carrying out the plan. But his deepest mark on the history and publications of the Society remains to be mentioned,—and it was memorable. It was he, in connection with the late Dr. James Walker, who secured for it the Sewall papers; and, later, though our associate Mr. W. H. Whitmore was the editor, Dr. Ellis served on the committee for passing through the press that Diary which stands by far the most important of the Society's publications. No greater or more valuable contribution to New England history has our Society made; it owes it largely to him.

Apart from this, the ten years of Dr. Ellis's presidency have not been marked by any striking changes in methods or administration, nor has there been any peculiar momentum given to the Society in the field of historical activity. It has, on the contrary, moved along under his guidance quietly, respectably, and not inefficiently, on the lines marked down for it under the longer and more active administration of his predecessor,—lines which moreover wholly commended themselves to the judgment of Dr. Ellis, so that from them he saw no occasion to deviate. Furthermore, when chosen to the chair, Dr. Ellis had already passed the limit of threescore and ten, and, as is apt to be the case with men who reach that period of life and find themselves comfortably placed, he was not indisposed to take things as they were and to leave them as he found them; he saw no advantage, as he found no pleasure, in undue activity; while he appreciated to the fullest extent whatever of dignity, not less pleasant because combined with a certain ease, attached to the position which came to him greatly magnified from what it theretofore had been through its long occupation by a man of Mr. Winthrop's striking attributes and supreme personal fitness.

It is a more difficult, because more delicate task on this occasion, with his freshly vacated chair beside me, to refer to Dr. Ellis's mental processes and intellectual make-up, so to speak, including those elements of development and stability which in his case worked out their results in ways not altogether usual. In this respect to me, as also I know to others, Dr. Ellis was ever an object of interesting observation,—some-

thing of a puzzle withal. Though a man of fixed habits both of mind and body, — wedded to his ways and tenacious of his conclusions, — he at times did and said unexpected things, indicating trains of thought or reasons for action which had hardly been suspected in him. He was secretive even in his loquacity.

To account for this satisfactorily, it has seemed to me necessary to go back and look at the environment in which he was born and underwent his development. In the first place a typical New Englander, — tasting unmistakably of the natal soil, — he came of a ministerial family and was destined himself for the ministry. Nor, on the whole, — though, as the result showed, he had no peculiar vocation for it, — do I think he mistook his calling. Undoubtedly, as subsequently appeared, his predilections ran more strongly to certain somewhat limited fields of literature and literary expression than to theology or pastoral duties, but none the less in the earlier and more active period of life the latter were in no way repugnant to him; on the contrary, while connected with his church he exercised great ministerial influence, which would not have been possible had there been in him any natural inaptitude for the work. Yet, when he once resigned the ministerial office and moved his residence to Boston, he not only never again officiated in the pulpit from which he had preached through nearly thirty years, but in his will he, a former Professor in the Divinity School, incorporated the singular restriction that Harvard University, the residuary legatee of his estate, should use none of its proceeds for the Theological Department.

I have said that the deaths of Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis mark an epoch in the history of the Society, causing it to pass out of the hands of the men of the first half of the century into those of the men of the latter half of it; and, further, that in the case of the nineteenth century this signified much. Unless I greatly err it also signified much in the life and development of Dr. Ellis; and what it signified was emphasized in his avoidance during his later life of the scene of his professional activity, and in that noticeable provision of his will to which I have just referred.

Marked out in advance for a Congregational clergyman, the life of Dr. Ellis almost spanned the working period of the century; for, coming into the world fourteen years after the cen-

tury began, he passed from it five years before it was to close. Thus he was born during the Mosaic dispensation, and died in the Darwinian; while he was yet in full manhood, — before he had reached his forty-fifth year, — he saw the English naturalist and observer quietly rise up, and, looking back across more than thirty centuries, confront the Hebrew prophet and law-giver, while he maintained for his thesis that man was an evolution from the ape, and not the immediate creation of Jehovah.

To the extent to which he was affected by the line of thought and research of which this was the most dramatic manifestation, he has himself borne witness in a recent paper¹ in which he says, —

“All the marvellous development, strides, and triumphs, insuring what we call the steady advances of progress won by positive science in the years of this century, are altogether of secondary moment when viewed in comparison with the ventures of free and bold speculation, and the spirit of inquisitive, critical dealing with subjects that had been jealously reserved as sacred against the intrusions of free thought.”

Dr. Ellis's lot was thus cast in troublous times. Born only five years before Channing delivered his memorable discourse at the ordination of Jared Sparks (May 5, 1819), he identified himself with that outgrowth of Calvinistic Congregationalism which, widely known as New England Unitarianism, was in its most flourishing state during the period of his own pastoral service. During that period also it began to disintegrate, as all really healthy and active-minded associations of men do and must; and while one portion — the extreme left, as it were — moved forward with Theodore Parker into what was termed a more advanced, and what was certainly a much less conventional, theology and ceremonial, another portion — what might be termed the extreme right — drew back and found what their natures required in the ritual of the more original church. These, however, were merely the two wings of New England Unitarianism; the great body of it and its ministers quietly adhered to its position, accepting only such modifications of tenet as advancing knowledge brought home to intelligent conviction, together with such changes of dress and ceremonial as commended themselves to the individual.

¹ Retrospect of an Octogenarian: *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. lxxiv. p. 452 (October, 1894).

Professionally, Dr. Ellis then found himself in a position which became more and more irksome to him. His literary and antiquarian tastes asserted themselves, and his intellectual activity, his love of reading, his appreciation of new fresh thought in those fields which appealed to him, grew by what it fed on: but he was not an aggressive, combative man; he felt in him no fondness for strife or call to martyrdom; he loved society, consideration, his books, his library, his fireside. At the same time, many of his younger associates in the ministry repelled him. He seemed to notice in them a certain lack of the form, the education, the scholarly courtesy, and the consequent social recognition which were associated in his mind with the contemporaries of Channing, — the golden age of Unitarianism.¹ He could not go forward with Theodore Parker; on the contrary he recoiled from so doing. Much less could he go back with Mr. Huntington; that was wholly foreign to the drift of his thought. He could not remain where he had always been, with his brother Rufus, for whom he had so deep a feeling, for the whole time he was reading, observing, assimilating along his peculiar lines. So, quietly retiring from his pulpit, he, at the age of fifty-five, crossed the bridge to Boston; nor did he ever more recross it.

This has excited comment, and comment not always kindly. But though the form of expressing a feeling either in this incident or in his will may not be altogether happy, yet in the feeling itself I must confess to very considerable sympathy. There is something very human in it. No one conscious of a greater aptitude, if not stronger call, to other pursuits, who has not some day felt free to lay down a profession the following which, having lost its novelty, had become a perfunctory, bread-winning toil, — no one, I say, who has not once in his life done this, has experienced one of the greatest pleasures existence affords. It is emancipation; and to the emancipated the thought of the previous condition of compulsory labor is distasteful. So, delighting in present freedom, drawing long

¹ "He [Dr. James Walker] was of that honored fellowship of Christian scholars and preachers, learned, moderate, didactic, and edifying, in which his associates and compeers were such as Drs. Sparks, Burnap, Gilman, Nichols, Lamson, Noyes, Young, and Frothingham, and one [J. G. Palfrey] honored for various wisdom and virtues as divine and historian, still among the retired scholars at Cambridge." Letter to his Former Parishioners, January 1, 1875: Edes, *History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown*, p. 192.

breaths of relief at the absence of a restraint the burden of which was only realized after its removal, one instinctively shuns what may have been earlier the scene of triumph even. The successful retired lawyer does not as a rule haunt the courts, nor the physician the hospital. They are weary; they crave something else. It was so, I fancy, with Dr. Ellis; but as his existence ran in new channels, and his way of looking at men and the problems of life and eternity changed, his feeling of distaste for much in his active life, which at the time was not otherwise than satisfactory to him, grew more pronounced, and the brightness of his present made the past seem sombre in contrast.

His retirement from active church work at fifty-five was therefore, in the case of Dr. Ellis, a thoroughly wise, well-considered move. The danger is, of course, that a man of middle life taking such a step—giving up his accustomed belongings, his profession, the associates of years, the familiar surroundings, duties and enjoyments—will find the new home very different in reality from what he had pictured in imagination; he will be occupationless, *désœuvré*. With Dr. Ellis it was in no respect so; it was altogether otherwise. He simply threw off a calling which to him had lost its charm and novelty, and bade fair soon to lose its interest, even if it did not resolve itself into a drudgery, and found himself free to devote time and thought amid new and more congenial surroundings—a larger community and a freer social atmosphere—to the pursuits to which his inclination turned. Not only did he seek, but he found, “relief from routine professional labors in congenial studies.”¹ For him, life suddenly expanded at fifty-five; a new world opened. And so, as he himself recently expressed it, “I have found the last quarter of my present term [of years] the Indian Summer of my life.” Though intervals of it, he added, were “clouded and saddened,”—and here he referred doubtless to the loss of his wife and of his only son,—yet he found himself free from professional calls; he appreciated keenly the more frequent intercourse with a few intimate friends of whom he was ever the welcome guest; this Society afforded him an active interest and a lasting occupation, combined at a later day with a certain dignity of position which he thoroughly

¹ Edes, Harvard Church, p. 193.

enjoyed; while, with an ever active pen, he had ample leisure in which to indulge that "intense love and craving for reading" which he declared "the richest resource and solace of age."

Yet in the literary and historical work he so constantly did, the influence of his early training was up to the very end apparent. In process and method he remained a man of the first half of the century; catching the influence of the second half, he was in thought and expression foreign to it. His style was to the end homiletic; he discoursed,—even more than this, he discoursed discursively. In effusiveness and the profuse use of adjectives and nouns not greatly differing in signification, his writings suggested the pulpit rather than the press-room; while the elements of traditional devotion and reverence came out in singular mixture with a freedom of thought and expression partly natural and partly exotic. Though he had an historical turn of mind in the sense that the past, its events, its customs, and its characters, had great attraction for him, Dr. Ellis was in no respect himself an historian; that is, what is now known as the philosophy of history did not appeal to him. He was rather of the antiquarian type, delighting, with keen insight and a good deal of humor, in the by-ways and nooks and corners of the past, with their forgotten usages and yet human interests, their gossip and their individuality. At an earlier time he might himself have written Sewall's diary; now he was exactly the man to edit it in its entirety.

And so the years slipped away. With perfect physical health and undimmed eyes, he passed through his seventh and eighth decennaries; in due time the degree of Doctor of Laws succeeded to that of Doctor of Divinity; he became President of this Society; and at last the inevitable end drew near. He had passed his eightieth year. That is a perilous time; dangerous for all, but especially for one wifeless, childless, and dependent on servants' care. One by one his old friends had dropped away. Finally Mr. Winthrop died. Dr. Ellis came here and paid his tribute to him. Nothing more remained. But the good fortune of that Indian Summer held to the end; and at last, one day in early December, after going his usual rounds among his places of familiar daily resort, he returned at dusk, with no premonitory signs of the great impending

event, and in an instant sank down in his own library among his dearly loved books, the companions of his life; and the end, unheralded, had come.

I remember, one evening some years ago, talking with William Boott, a very polished gentleman of somewhat old-fashioned type, and withal a man who will not be forgotten by the few still remaining who once knew him well. He was an old man then, himself quietly awaiting the end. As we sat and talked before the fire in the December twilight of his solitary room, — for he had no family, — we got speaking of the ways in which men go, and especially of sudden death. As the flickering flame lit up his face, Mr. Boott quietly smiled as he told me this anecdote of Col. Thomas Handasyd Perkins, one of the last of Boston's great public-spirited merchants in the days when Boston boasted of having merchants. Colonel Perkins died more than forty years ago, so the incident must have occurred while Mr. Boott was still a comparatively young man. It was at Saratoga, or some other resort where they chanced to be together, and Mr. Boott one day received the news of the sudden death, much like that of Dr. Ellis, of some contemporary and life-long friend of Colonel Perkins. He at once told him of it. The old man for an instant seemed to look out with a far-away depth in his eye; then, glancing up, he said, turning to his companion, "William, do you know, it makes my mouth water!"

There are no words of deeper significance in our English tongue than those in which Hamlet, referring to the end, says to Horatio: "If it be now, 't is not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come: the readiness is all." Dr. Ellis was ready. Snatched suddenly from great peril, after life's fitful fever he sleeps well; nothing can touch him further.

REV. OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM, having been called on, spoke in substance as follows: —

I can hardly venture to speak of Dr. Ellis because so much of merely personal feeling must enter into what I say. He was my friend, faithful, generous, patient, and indulgent. When I was born, in 1822, his mother, who lived close by, sent this little boy, then between eight and nine years old, to my mother with a basket of fruit. For many years when I was

away I did not see him ; but when I came to Boston in 1881, the old friendship was renewed ; and when I became his near neighbor about eight years ago, an intimacy sprang up between us which was very valuable to me. Scarcely a week passed when I did not sit an hour with him in his library, and very often he came to see me. At one time, when I was looking up an obscure point in relation to early New England history, I had twenty volumes of his on my table at once, and in the course of years he must have loaned me more than one hundred volumes ; and he asked me if I did n't want any more, — an unusual thing for a literary man to do.

In regard to his connection with this Society, the older members of it know more than I do. He was fully acquainted with its history, very proud of its membership, and quite conscious of the dignity it implied. His inferiority to Mr. Winthrop, his predecessor in the presidential chair, was freely admitted. That Mr. Winthrop excelled him in grace, felicity, eloquence, abundance of resource, he never hesitated to confess ; but nobody surpassed him in the love he bore to the Society. He always spoke to me of its meetings, the papers read, the subjects discussed, the members present, and said to me more than once that he never voted against anybody whom the Council approved. He may not have voted at all ; but he never voted against anybody proposed.

The only other Society that he ever spoke of to me in terms of high eulogy was the American Antiquarian Society. Over forty years, he has said, he attended meetings of this company, dined with them, and spoke most joyously of the meetings, the weather, the men, the essays. He was really more of an antiquarian than an historian. He was not an historian of the grand style by any means, but rather a chronicler, dealing in dates and figures and statistics. How such a man ever happened to become a clergyman was always a study to me. A clergyman is by nature an idealist, and Dr. Ellis was none. He had little love of art ; never spoke of pictures, or sculptors, or poetry, or works of fiction. Music had no charms for him. Only once did I hear him quote poetry ; then he recited a passage from Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream," and quoted it wrong. His earliest works in history were written while he was a minister in Charlestown, in 1844-45-47, and his historical interests dated

long before that; but it must be remembered that Unitarianism at that time was dogmatic, controversial, expository, and he left the ministry when the new departure began. Why he never renewed his connection with his old friends, why he never even went to Charlestown after having left it, remains a mystery. Perhaps the position of his church, the death of his old friends, the dispersion of his ancient congregation, the removal of a great many of his old parishioners, the death of his young wife, the loss of elegance in that part of the town, may have influenced him. We cannot tell. My own impression is, from words spoken incidentally, that gradually he lost his interest in the faith that he once professed; his reliance on the theological method had ceased, and its results were distasteful to him; the old creed had become a sentiment that hung round his mind like a kind of haze. In this connection there was always to me something touching in the motto of his book-plate, *ἄρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους*, "Now I know in part," as if there was another world of which he knew nothing.

He lived in the past. He was not a sanguine man, — not hopeful, expectant, exuberant, forward looking. I never heard him speak of any reform, — temperance, pauperism, crime, prison discipline, the future of woman, — of any improvement in society. It was not exhilarating to hear him talk of the future in state or church. He would sit in his chair and call around him the spirits of the wise, gracious, good people whom he had known, and in their companionship feel happy.

His love of books was really remarkable; they were living beings to him. There is a little story — the truth of which I will not vouch for, but it ought to be true — that one evening, not feeling well, and presuming, as notional people are apt to, that he was going to take to his bed and never get up, he went round and said good-by to his favorite authors, and then went upstairs. In the morning he rose as well as ever, and said "Good morning" to his old friends.

His industry was very extraordinary. He was always at work. He has told me more than once that in midwinter he was at his desk at half-past six o'clock. A part of his correspondence he did before breakfast; afterward he wrote and read till twelve o'clock; then he went down town, came back, read again until dinner-time at half-past two, after which he took a little nap, read an hour or so, went out to walk, and

returned at about half-past five. Then he passed his evening at home, reading and writing. Every day it was the same; he was a man of routine, a minute-man. He never in his last years went out in the evening, had but few intimate friends, and lived alone.

His death was exactly what he desired. The day before he died, he was talking with me as usual, in my parlor. The next day, at half-past one, he was in the "Christian Register" office on Franklin Street. He came back and dined as usual, took his constitutional walk, came home a little after five, pulled off his boots, put on his slippers, read his "Transcript," and prepared for a quiet evening. When the servant, at a little after six, came to tell him that his tea was ready, she found him on the floor, unconscious, and he never woke again.

His last words outside of his house were spoken to a little school-girl.

The Recording Secretary then read the following remarks by the senior member, Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, who was reluctantly absent, owing to the infirmities of age:—

Mr. Vice-President,—The year 1894 was one of the most eventful years in the history of this Society. At our meeting in May, it was announced that "the Historical Society has the remarkable distinction of having on its roll of living members the names of three gentlemen whose connection with the Society began at least half a century ago." Such an event had never before occurred, and it was of short continuance; the year had not ended before two of the three veterans deceased,—one in the common course of nature, after much suffering, and the other suddenly and unexpectedly, as if by a bolt of lightning from a clear sky. In consequence of their departure, the Society now has not a single living President or Past President; and such a lack has not previously existed since its organization more than a hundred years ago.

Of all the eminent men who have heretofore presided over this Society, the last survivors who have so recently departed are worthy of our special regard. At our last meeting, commemoration was had of Mr. Winthrop's character, and of his services during the thirty years of his Presidency and the ten succeeding years. No one who then listened to the tender

and eulogistic tribute to his memory by Dr. Ellis had a premonition that the next meeting would be devoted to a similar recognition of his own character and services.

My share in this memorial exercise will be very brief, partly in consequence of my own inability, and partly that I may not encroach on the opportunity of others. My relations were less intimate with Dr. Ellis than with Mr. Winthrop; but they were so intimate and so pleasant that he held a high place on the roll of my friends, and his death is lamented as a personal loss. I not only esteemed him as a friend, but highly regarded him as an historical student, writer, and authority. When he succeeded Mr. Winthrop in the Presidency, he assumed a difficult task, and I confess that I had some fear that his own reputation might suffer loss. But my fears were soon dissipated; he succeeded beyond my expectation, and fully demonstrated his fitness for the position which he occupied. And I venture to say that no member of this Society regrets his election, or believes that, on the whole, any other would have rendered more acceptable service. For the courteous and dignified manner in which for nearly ten years he has presided at our meetings, for his historical contributions from time to time, and for the final proof of his earnest regard for the welfare of this Society, manifested by his magnificent pecuniary legacy, he is abundantly entitled to our respectful, affectionate, and grateful remembrance.

The Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY said: —

Mr. President, — To the great admiration in which I held the learning of Dr. Ellis was united also an almost unique deference, due only to those who spoke of the past and of the actors of the past, not from hearsay, but from knowledge. Not that the eighty years of his life permitted him to go farther back than that time in actual observation; but with so keen a memory, with such a power of expression, and with such opportunities of meeting the best minds of his time, his taste, which instinctively reverted to the past and its actors, led him to investigate and study colonial epochs particularly, and the actors of those periods. Few men, perhaps no other, had so many authenticated anecdotes of the men of early New England history, and certainly a small number possessed a better acquaintance with the history itself. As a critic of

colonial character and history, Dr. Ellis occupied a most prominent place.

But I come to-day, sir, not to bring to your notice striking and distinguishing qualities that other associates more constantly thrown with Dr. Ellis could better define, but to express the deep sense of loss felt by the American Antiquarian Society, of which our lamented President had been an honored member for forty-seven years, and was at the time of his death its oldest member by date of admission, and its Secretary for Domestic Correspondence. The interest of Dr. Ellis in the objects of that Society, his constant presence at stated meetings, his participation in discussions, and his frequent contributions to their proceedings, make their sense of gratitude for his life and services, and sorrow for the death of their learned and faithful associate most sincere and profound. The Council of the American Antiquarian Society have already taken action expressive of their sentiments.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE said : —

It was impossible to attend, even for an hour, at a meeting of this Society, without observing the close interest which our President gave even to the nicest detail of the history of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts. While in his literary career he had made himself known through the world of English letters, he was always proud of Boston, and glad that he was born here. His father's residence was in Summer Street, and the family were members of the New South Church, which then still stood on what was very early called "Church Green." Of this church our learned associate, Dr. Alexander Young, was the minister from 1825 to 1854, and I have always supposed that in Dr. Ellis's life we had many of the traditions which came down from a boy's conversation with one who was so learned as Dr. Young was in the details of our history. Mr. Ellis determined, I do not know how early, to prepare for the Christian ministry. After graduating at Harvard College in the year 1833, he passed through the Divinity School at Cambridge, which he left in the year 1836. I am old enough to remember that even as a young man entering on our profession, his advent was welcomed joyfully by older men. In a long absence of Dr. Gannett from the Federal Street Church, Mr. Ellis, then not yet ordained,

supplied his pulpit; and immediately after Dr. James Walker removed from Charlestown to Cambridge, to take the duties of the Alford Professorship there, Mr. Ellis was chosen by that congregation to be Dr. Walker's successor. He was ordained there on the 11th day of March, 1840. In ministry to the Harvard Church he remained for nearly thirty years, winning for himself the regard of the congregation in all the various grades of society which are happily combined together in one of our New England churches. It is pathetic and interesting to see how tenderly and cordially he is remembered by aged people, as one who gave, perhaps, a direction to early study, as one who encouraged people who needed encouragement, and, indeed, as fulfilling in a hundred ways the various duties which can be assumed by a minister. Alas, they do not often fall upon men so many-sided as he was, or who have his ingenuity and courage in entering upon various paths.

Dr. Ellis himself was fond of telling a story which shows his resolute character in young life. Before he was ordained, he made a long visit in Europe. While he was in Rome, he was presented to the Pope of that period, Gregory XVI. I suppose that in the ordinary course of such presentation, the visitors pass rapidly on, and have not opportunity for much conversation with the head of the Catholic Church. On this occasion, however, Pope Gregory addressed him personally, saying that he was glad to meet any one from America; that he had the most pleasant associations with the United States in all its history excepting in one point. The young American was by no means abashed at this suggestion. "I said to the Pope that I supposed he referred to the destruction of the Catholic convent at Charlestown. I said that I could perhaps inform him of some of the circumstances of that event which had not been conveyed to him before." With this introduction the young stranger proceeded to explain to the Pope such palliation or excuse as might be given for what is unfortunately, however palliated or excused, a very sad incident in our history. The anecdote, none the less, shows the audacity of youth, and his determination, which he always showed in life, that Boston and Charlestown should not bear heavier blame than they deserved.

Another anecdote of the same time may be read in the privacy of this company. The Rev. Charles Lowell, our former

associate, was at that time spending the spring in Rome. "I went to see Dr. Lowell, because I had my letters from Boston, and his had not come. When he asked me the news, I told him that my brother Rufus had the first part at Commencement, and was to deliver the English oration. I told him that his son James had been chosen poet by the class, but that he would not be able to deliver the poem, because he had been suspended and sent to Concord, where he must remain until Commencement Day. The old gentleman said, with a sigh, 'Oh dear, James promised me he would quit poetry and go to work!'" When we remember, after fifty years, how much the world has gained because Mr. James Lowell did not, in going to work, quit writing poetry, we are glad that all boyish resolutions are not fulfilled to the letter.

From the time when Mr. Ellis first appeared in our Unitarian pulpit, the clearness of his statements and his energy of expression made him regarded as one of the most distinguished preachers in our communion. One of our own associates has called him, not unfairly, "pre-eminent in the Unitarian denomination." He addressed himself to topics of great importance with that unflinching courage to which I have alluded. His services were in demand for various public occasions, and the bibliography which shows his work in such service is in itself a valuable illustration of the industry and energy of the man. In 1857 a policy was inaugurated at Cambridge, which has been maintained from that time to this, by which gentlemen at work in the daily duties of the ministry attend on the Divinity School as non-resident lecturers. It seemed quite of course that when the Divinity School took this new departure Dr. Ellis should be appointed as Professor of Systematic Theology. He delivered his inaugural address, on assuming this trust, on the 14th of July, 1857. "Already engrossed in time and heart," he says, "with exacting duties in another place, I find myself assuming one of the most serious, if not the most serious and responsible of all tasks of instruction in this ancient and beloved University. Not till I had sat down to the preparation of this inaugural address did I fully realize to what a weighty obligation I had committed myself." He was unfailing in the diligence of his attendance to the duties so seriously assumed, and lectured at Cambridge as professor on this appointment for the next six years.

In 1858 he delivered the Convention Sermon, as it is called, the appointment to which is made by the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts of both the Orthodox and Liberal communions. His subject was "The Reaction of a Revival upon Religion." In the winter of 1860 he delivered a course of lectures before his own people on Christian Doctrine, which excited such general interest that they were printed from time to time as the course went on, and form an interesting and valuable series. Our Librarian will be able to present to us a more complete bibliography than I can attempt of the sermons and lectures and orations which he delivered in the course of the thirty years of his ministry at Charlestown. I find on the printed catalogue of the Boston Public Library no less than thirty-four of these sermons as they were printed at the time.

Nor did he neglect, in such work, which was always seriously and thoroughly carried through, that other range of studies which shows itself in the publication of books which go into permanent literature. When, in 1849, it was announced that Dr. George Putnam, the eminent preacher of Roxbury, and his younger associate in the ministry, Rev. George E. Ellis, of Charlestown, had assumed the editorial charge of the "Christian Examiner," the announcement was received with great pleasure among literary men and theologians of every color in this community. Those of us who remember both these distinguished men will understand how happily they divided between them the duties of a trust so important. In the fortunes of the "Examiner" I was myself a sub-editor in after years; I have therefore inherited the regular journal which Dr. Ellis kept, showing the detail of the work given to each number in his administration. He was an editor from No. 154, the number of July, 1849, until No. 192, the number for November, 1855,—a period of more than six years. In that time, by far the larger part of what were called the "Literary Notices" and of the "Intelligence" in each number was supplied by his pen. I observe, for instance, of the November number of 1850, his memorandum is, "All the Notices by George E. Ellis." In March, 1851, "Notice of Whipple's Essays, by C. C. Smith; the other Notices and Intelligence are by George E. Ellis." The range of subjects thus treated is very wide, and the diligence and

skill with which he goes over such a field are extraordinary. Of the principal articles in the same time he contributes one or two in every volume, and there is not a volume which does not show the energy which he gave to the duty he had in charge. I am certainly justified in saying that there was no other scholarly man in this region at that time who could have undertaken, with such credit to himself, a duty ranging so wide and so far.

It was in conducting this editorial work that he had begun in regular series in the "Examiner" seven papers, which were afterwards collected under the title, "A Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy." In 1857 he brought these together in a book, which has been accepted ever since as a standard book on the subject. It has been welcomed by students of every phase of opinion, and has been credited with a degree of fairness, as well as of diligent scholarship, which lift it wholly from the grade of controversial literature.

Even while Mr. Ellis was engaged in such work as this he made time to study and prepare for Dr. Sparks's second series the *Lives of John Mason, of Anne Hutchinson, and of William Penn.* I do not speak of the detail of this work, because it falls to another gentleman to refer to his work as a student of history. I refer to them to show the constancy and diligence of his life during all the period of his ministry.

In 1869 he resigned his active ministry at Charlestown, I think, from a determination he had formed quite early in life, that thirty years round off a man's professional work, and that it is wise to leave the varying duties of the ministry to younger men. This determination was received with great regret by the members of his own parish. It has, however, given him the time to devote to such duties as those which have been so valuable to this Society, and, indeed, in fifty other ways to connect himself with the public life of the city. On removing to Boston he at once connected himself, though as a layman, with the First Church. Of this church his distinguished brother, Dr. Rufus Ellis, was then the minister,—a man whose services to this city, and indeed to mankind, cannot be overstated. The loss of such a man from public service was profoundly felt at the time of his death, and will be regretted as long as any of his contemporaries survive. Dr. George Ellis's connection with the First Church has

given to us the valuable Introduction to its history, which was published a few years ago.

He did not decline duties which were connected with his earlier professional career, and although he left Charlestown for the new home which he established in Boston twenty-five years ago, I am speaking to many persons who have heard him preach when from time to time his services were called upon. This is hardly the place for an attempt to analyze the methods or the spirit which always made his preaching attractive. Perhaps it is enough to say that he despised careless or shabby work everywhere, and that he would have been as severe a critic of his own work as any one could be. To this conscientious determination to do well whatever was to be done, we owe his striking success in the profession of his early days, and we owe the value of the contributions so various which he has made to our literature and history.

It is the misfortune of this Society that an unwritten statute prevented us from placing upon our roll the name of the younger brother with that of the elder. In this case the result of the tradition was singularly unfortunate. The presence of Dr. Rufus Ellis in our meetings and councils would otherwise have been almost of course. The lineal descendant in the life of Boston of John Cotton and John Norton and Charles Chauncy, not to speak of others, he would have represented here that church whose history is so closely allied from the beginning with the history of Massachusetts.

The Hon. GEORGE S. HALE spoke in substance as follows :

The first wish which presents itself on this occasion to one who would fain do justice to its subject, is for his own aid and presence, — for the fresh and copious store of memories ; the recollections not dimmed by time or dulled by use ; the human interest in the men and the events which he had known, touched with a kindly and humorous recognition of human peculiarities in those with whom he lived ; the wide and unequalled, full and accurate knowledge of that ecclesiastical, domestic, and social life and history of New England which he had shared and studied. For all this, we must wish in vain. "None but himself can be his parallel."

A light of history, of learning and knowledge, of the Past and Present, went out of the world when George Ellis died. How much and how many men and things he knew, and knew as no one else could know them!

Not many years ago, when the list of the slumbering dead at Mt. Auburn had reached to some 40,000, he said that half of that number he knew personally, or through their kindred, families, or associations, including perhaps that eminent lady who is recorded there, in disregard of her permanent position, as "the first *tenant* of Mt. Auburn."

His friend, Henry H. Edes, whose valued services may be properly acknowledged in this connection, has preserved, in an excellent monograph of some eleven octavo pages, published in 1879, a list revised by Dr. Ellis himself of his publications and more important contributions to periodical literature to that time. As our associate, Dr. Charles Deane, said, "The men who write memoirs or lives of Dr. Walker and Dr. Ellis must go for their facts to Mr. Edes's History of Harvard Church."

Since that date, for fifteen vigorous years, Dr. Ellis's pen — as no one knows better than you — has not been idle or unfruitful; and I may add that the men who write the history of Boston, Massachusetts, or New England, of their religious and intellectual development, must go for guidance and aid to Dr. Ellis.

Born in 1814, Dr. Ellis graduated in 1833 at Harvard College with Francis Bowen, Abiel Abbott Livermore, Joseph Lovering, Henry Warren Torrey, and Jeffries Wyman, and at the Divinity School in 1836 with Theodore Parker, John Sullivan Dwight, and his college classmate Livermore. The Harvard Book of Dignities records his titles of Bachelor and Master, Doctor of Divinity and of Laws, — so far as I know, still one of the four men who hold both these honors, — Professor of Theology, Fellow of the American Academy, and our President.

His tender and affectionate relation with Greatheart Parker, the champion of the free church militant, is pleasantly shown in a notice published by Dr. Ellis in 1892, where he says of Parker, "There never lived a man of a kindlier soul, nor of a more loving heart than he." Parker, in his journal of January 2, 1840, says: "—— called me 'impious,'

whereat I was so grieved, that I left him, not in anger, but in sorrow, and went weeping through the street; but at length bethought me of Ellis, and went to see him, and so dried my tears." I cannot say that this was his classmate; but the feeling the one expresses would naturally have been returned by the other, and it was less than four years after their graduation.

The warm appreciative tributes already paid to our associate have shown his hold on the public estimation, acquired by long years of public knowledge and service as well as of private friendship.

In Dr. Ellis's will, chiefly from his own pen, dated October 15, 1887, he says: "After my interment in my lot at the Cemetery at Mt. Auburn, I enjoin that my name and year of birth and death be cut, without titles, on the rear of the monument." But there is one title the memory of which I am sure he would wish we should preserve in our thoughts if not on stone,—that of President of this Society, which he loved, and with which he desired that his home for nearly a quarter of a century should be associated; whose members he addressed as "My esteemed associates and friends," declaring that his "single purpose" in his gifts to them is "to contribute to the welfare, prosperity, and useful resources of an honored fellowship, in association with which for now nearly half a century I have found much good."

Your remarks, Mr. President, in regard to the allusion in his will to the Theological School, and the inferences you seem to draw from his words, in connection with your language as to his relation to his parish in Charlestown and to his religious views, invite and justify a more extended reference on my part to these subjects than might otherwise have seemed advisable. It is true that in disposing of the residue of his estate for the benefit of Harvard College, he prohibits its use for the Divinity School or for the Theological department of the University, but it is not true that he did not appreciate the dignity of those studies. In 1852 he initiated a movement for a legal separation of the School from the College. A Committee of the Overseers, of which he was chairman, reported —

"That they have conferred with the Corporation, and are happy to be able to say in the outset, that, while the members of the Committee

perfectly accord among themselves in their views of the subject committed to them, they also found those views to be in harmony with the opinions and wishes of the honored gentlemen who, as President and Fellows of the College, are the more immediate guardians of its interests."

They also say: —

"Amid the conscientious differences and the sensitive jealousies which attend upon our sectarian divisions, the connection between the Theological School and College has been, as your Committee believe, actually prejudicial to both, — has impeded the success of the former, and brought into question the impartiality of the administration of the latter. . . .

"Your Committee are thus brought to the conclusion, that a separation of the Theological School from the College would be highly beneficial, and would tend to promote the prosperity of both."

And the President and Fellows state —

"That from the experience of thirty-five years since the foundation of the Theological School for the education of candidates for the ministry, as a separate department in the University, and from the opinions generally now prevalent, so far as they are informed, among the friends of both Institutions, they are convinced that such a union is alike detrimental to the peculiar interests of the College, and unfavorable to the promotion of the objects for which the School was established; and that the welfare of both requires a separation, if one be practicable consistently with their respective legal rights and duties."

Dr. Ellis says, in an article upon a "Non-Sectarian Theological School," in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for December, 1893: "As to theological instruction, there is no direction or branch of education which in materials and interest equals the studies which are affiliated with theology and religion."

It is true, I presume, that after he left his parish he did not visit his former parishioners; but it is also true that in a letter from him to them read at the Memorial Service to his predecessor, Dr. James Walker, he wrote: —

"When, at the close of my peaceful and pleasant ministry of more than twenty-nine years among you, I changed my residence and sought relief from routine professional labors in congenial studies, I thought I should occasionally renew my always agreeable intercourse with you, if not in the pulpit, yet by coursing your familiar streets to see you in your homes.

"The sharp bereavements which in little more than one year took from me in rapid succession all those the dearest to me in life, who had made with me a household and a family, leaving me no one with whom I could recall the experiences of the inner home, induced me to seek a seclusion in which it would have been more than painful to me to have revisited scenes so associated with former companionships and joys. I have not considered or regretted this yielding to what, if it be a weakness, must be indulged to me, as it involves no neglect of duty to you, but is only a private feeling of my own. It is from scenes, not from persons, that I keep away."

It may be true that he expressed to others a feeling which his own language, in a sermon published in the "Christian Register" for March 17, 1892, has preserved for us:—

"Whoever in these days offers to men and women, on any religious theme or truth, a stunted, puerile, or contracted creed, or a forced or morbid adaptation of piety to the mere traditionalisms of faith and reverence, sadly limits the free and bracing atmosphere of devotion which fills the whole infinite reaches of space around us and above us."

I cannot say myself what he said which your inference or information characterized as Agnostic. There are Agnostics and Agnostics. If he was such a half Agnostic as good old Richard Baxter when he wrote,

"My knowledge of that life is small,
The eye of faith is dim,"

and triumphantly added,

"But 't is enough that Christ knows all,
And I shall be with him,"

he may be pardoned. We are all Agnostics, "for we see through a glass darkly," and "now I know in part."

I have more than once begged Dr. Ellis to preserve the store of reminiscences which his long life had left in his memory. He was ready and exuberant in conversation, and an hour with him was instructive as well as entertaining; but perhaps he felt that it was not fitting to compress into typographical coldness and rigidity the lively characteristics and anecdotes which he as well as his listeners so much enjoyed. It seems fortunate, and in the days when he began to preach it might have been called providential, that but within a short

time before his death he should have given us the "Retrospect of an Octogenarian."

It was pleasant to have him avow that "I have found the last quarter of my present term the Indian Summer of my life," and that "not melancholy to me, as so many report it to be to them, are the retrospections of a lengthened life. Vastly predominant over its sadnesses and disappointments have been its multiplied and varied satisfactions. I have been privileged, personally, professionally, and socially, with the favored fellowship of the wise and the excellent, the distinguished and the honored, of this century. In twilight reveries, alone by my winter's hearth, I musingly recall them as they pass illumined in shadowy outlines. . . . Nor does any one appear in that shadowy procession whom I am not glad to see"; while his closing words seemed an unconscious prophecy: "I . . . am waiting to see — what comes next."

At the conclusion of Mr. Hale's remarks, Rev. OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM was appointed to write a memoir of Dr. ELLIS for publication in the Proceedings.

The presiding officer then said: —

We seem at this time to be passing through a Golgotha, — a veritable valley of the dark shadow. In November the name of Dr. Holmes disappeared from our list of living members, and when, a month ago, I had occasion to join in the tribute paid by the Society to Mr. Winthrop, I made allusion to two members of the Society still of us, — Dr. Ellis, who then occupied the chair, and Judge Hoar, the last of the great Concord triumvirate, still living, but not again to occupy here his accustomed seat.

Dr. Ellis has since then gone over to the silent majority; and yesterday I received from Judge Hoar, through his son, a letter and parcel for immediate transmittal to the Society. The letter, written by another at his dictation and signed by him in characters only too plainly indicative of the close impending event, will now be read by the Secretary. It explains itself.

The letter was read as follows: —

CONCORD, Jan. 5, 1895.

To the Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

DEAR SIR, — I desire through you to present to the Massachusetts Historical Society a gold locket containing a lock of hair taken from the

head of the murdered President, Abraham Lincoln, on the evening of his assassination by Booth. It was given me about the year 1871 by Capt. Geo. D. Wise, a graduate of West Point, who was mustered out of the U. S. Volunteer Service as Brevet Brigadier General Oct. 1, 1867, and whose daughter had recently married my eldest son. General Wise told me that he was in Washington on the evening of the assassination, and that one of the medical men attending on the President took the lock of hair from Lincoln's head and gave it to him. He said he was an intimate friend, and told me the name of this physician, which I do not feel quite sure that I remember, but my impression is that it was Dr. Robert K. Stone. General Wise said he had the lock of hair divided, and set in two separate lockets. The one which he gave to me has been in my possession ever since. I do not think he told me what he did with the other. His brother Capt. Henry Wise, U. S. N., was the son-in-law of Governor Everett of Massachusetts. Perhaps our associate Dr. Wm. Everett, the brother-in-law of Captain Wise, may have some information on the subject. It does not seem to me that so interesting a relic, commemorative of such an historical event, should be intrusted permanently to the possession of private parties, but should rather be held by some public historical institution, or other public body, where it may gratify the interested curiosity of that great number of people "who are touched by identicals."

If the Society will accept the relic for its cabinet, I am admonished that my purpose cannot be too speedily executed by me.

Very respectfully yours,

EBENEZER R. HOAR.

Mr. ADAMS then added : —

Whatever action the Society is to take in response to this letter must be taken at once, if it is to reach in this world him from whom the relic accompanying it came. It is with him now not a question of days, but of hours. The dying flame just flickers. A form of vote has accordingly been prepared, which the Secretary will now read : —

Voted, That the Society accept with gratitude the precious historical relic placed in its keeping by its honored associate, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, and that the Keeper of the Cabinet be instructed to place it, together with the letter accompanying the gift, conspicuously among the similar treasures in his charge.

Voted, That the presiding officer and Secretary be instructed forthwith to transmit to our associate a copy of the foregoing

vote, together with the thanks of the Society for intrusting to its charge an object of such great and ever increasing veneration and interest.

Voted, That the members of the Society desire further to express the deep sympathy they, as a body and individually, have felt for their associate in his prolonged illness; their appreciation of the patience and cheerful courage with which he has encountered and overcome the trials which attended it; together with their deep and abiding sense of the irreparable loss they sustain by his absence from his accustomed place at their meetings. *Ave et Vale.*

On motion of Mr. EDWARD L. PIERCE, the resolutions were unanimously adopted, the members all rising from their seats.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said that he wished to call the attention of the members to a photographic group of Mr. Winthrop, Dr. Lunt, and Dr. Ellis, which was taken more than fifty years ago, when they were sent as delegates to the semi-centennial celebration of the New York Historical Society, on November 20, 1854. The photograph belonged to Mr. Winthrop; and since the last meeting it has been given by his son to the Society, and now hangs in a prominent place in these rooms.

Dr. Green communicated a paper on Michael Wigglesworth and the Day of Doom, and presented, in behalf of Mr. William P. Upham, a memoir of the late Henry Wheatland, M.D., which Mr. Upham had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings. Dr. Green's paper is as follows:—

Michael Wigglesworth, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1651, was the earliest alumnus of that institution to achieve in his own day distinction as a poet. There were earlier graduates who indulged at times in versification, but their attempts were confined to elegies, and short poems on minor occasions, and were not considered of literary importance. A few years after leaving college Wigglesworth wrote a poem of some pretension, first published in 1662, which had for that period a wide circulation among the Puritans of New England. It is entitled: "The Day of Doom; or a Poetical Description of the Great and Last Judgment. With a Short Discourse about Eternity"; and, on the poet's own statement

as authority, the first edition of 1,800 copies was sold within a year of its publication. It is a grim production, belching forth hideous and repulsive doctrines; and Professor Moses Coit Tyler, in his "History of American Literature" (II. 27), calls it a "blazing and sulphurous poem." Mr. Sibley, in his *Harvard Graduates* (I. 272), says: "This work represented the theology of the day, and for a century, with the exception perhaps of the Bible, was more popular throughout New England than any other that can be named. It passed through several editions in book-form, besides being printed on broad-sides and hawked about the country. As late as the early part of the present century many persons could repeat the whole or large portions of it." While Wigglesworth was earnest and honest in his convictions, the notes of his song were harsh and discordant, but at that early period they satisfied the spiritual needs of devout worshippers.

The poem has passed through many editions both in this country and England, and was reprinted in New York as late as the year 1867, showing that even in our time, there is a certain demand for the book, though perhaps rather as a literary curiosity than for its religious consolation.

Without doubt the first edition was printed in Cambridge, and probably the fourth also; but the second and third may have been published in London, as editions appeared there anonymously in 1666 and 1673. In the following notes, for the sake of convenience only, I shall refer to these several editions, and shall assume that they were the only ones printed before 1701; but this assumption on my part may be wrong. The statement has been made that no copy of any of the first three editions is now extant; but this is probably true only as it relates to American imprints. There are copies of the third edition (London, 1673) in the Prince Collection of the Boston Public Library, the Carter-Brown Library, Providence, and the Lenox Library, New York; and Mr. Sumner Hollingsworth, of Boston, also has a copy among his fine collection of rare books connected with early New England history. In the Addenda to his "Ante-Revolutionary Publications," found in the *Archæologia Americana* (Vol. VI.) of the American Antiquarian Society, Mr. Haven gives Cambridge, 1683, as the place and date of the fourth edition, but I fail to find his authority for the statement.

Perhaps it was an advertisement at the end of a book or pamphlet, or an allusion to the poem in some contemporary manuscript. Undoubtedly he had good reason for the assertion. The Boston edition of 1701 is called on the titlepage the Fifth, which might mean the Fifth generally, or the Fifth American. There is some reason to suppose that there were four Cambridge editions before 1701, though unfortunately no complete copies of any of them are now to be found; and perhaps the two London issues of 1666 and 1673 were unauthorized, and not counted by the New-England printer in the series of numbered editions. If this supposition be correct, the question would shape itself thus:—

First edition, Cambridge, 1662	
Second “ “ 1666, reprinted, London, 1666	
Third “ “ 167—, “ “ 1673	
Fourth “ “ 1683	
Fifth “ “ 1701	

As neither of these London editions has marginal notes, both may have been reprinted from the first Cambridge edition, which is supposed to have been also without notes.

During a recent visit to New York, Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the Lenox Library in that city, called my attention to the fact that a title of the second edition of the Day of Doom is given in the printed catalogue of books in the British Museum, where it appears anonymously under the letter “D,” and not under the name of the author. There is also a copy of the third edition in the same library entered in a similar way; and there are titles of two later editions given under “Wigglesworth.” As the second edition of this interesting work is unknown, even in a fragmentary way, to bibliographers in this country, I here give a collation, for which I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Richard Garnett, Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum:—

The | Day of Doom; | or | a Description | of the Great and Last |
Judgment. | With | a Short Discourse | about | Eternity. || London |
Printed by J. G. for P. C. 1666.

Collation: Titlepage; i-ii. A Prayer unto Christ . . . ; 1-72,
The Day of Doom; 73-79, A Short Discourse about Eternity;
80-91, A Postscript . . . ; 92-95, A Song of Emptiness . . .

Copy in the British Museum, c. 57. a. 21.

There is in the library of the Historical Society an imperfect copy of the Day of Doom, which unfortunately lacks the title-page and the three following leaves. It is bound up with some pamphlets in a volume which was given by Robert F. Wallcut, on November 23, 1837. This copy of the poem is certainly a specimen of very early printing, and came probably from the press of Samuel Green at Cambridge, as similar border pieces were used by that printer in "The Book of the General Lavves and Libertyes" (1660), Eliot's New Testament, translated into the Indian Language (1661), and his Bible (1663), John Cotton's "Discourse about Civil Government in a New Plantation" (1663), and John Norton's "Three Choice and Profitable Sermons" (1664). Different arrangements of the same ornamentation are to be found in other books of Green's printing during a period of many subsequent years. Probably this imperfect copy belongs to one of the missing Cambridge editions. The Scriptural references in the margin, for the most part, are fewer than they are in the fifth and later editions which contain the same references though slightly amplified. A collation of the copy is as follows:—

Titlepage, *verso* blank; (6 pp.), "To the Christian Reader," signed "Michael Wigglesworth"; (2 pp.), "On the following Work and It's Author," signed "J. Mitchel"; (2 pp.), "A Prayer Vnto Christ the Jvdge of the World"; 1-75, "The Day of Doom," page 65 numbered "51," and catch-word at bottom of page 75 "On"; (76), blank; 77-84, "A Short Discourse on Eternity"; 85-94, "A Postscript unto the Reader," page 92 printed "62"; 95-98, "A Song of Emptiness to fill up the Empty Pages following. Vanity of Vanities," page 98 numbered "78."

A fragment of four lines from the address "To the Christian Reader" happens to have on the back the printed name of Michael Wigglesworth, which seems to show that this edition, though perhaps published anonymously, had the author's name appended to the address immediately following the titlepage.

In Mr. Hollingsworth's collection is a copy of the fifth edition of the poem, from which nearly three years ago I made a collation of the volume. It is as follows:—

The Day of | Doom: | or, | a Poetical Description of | the Great
and Last | Judgment. | With | a Short Discourse about | Eternity. | By

Michael Wigglesworth Teacher of the | Church at Malden in N. E.
| The Fifth Edition, enlarged with | Scripture and Marginal Notes. |
[Three lines from Acts xvii. 31, and five lines from Matthew xxiv.
30.] || Boston: Printed by B. Green and J. Allen | for Benjamin
Eliot, at his Shop under the | West End of the Town House. 1701.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; (6 pp.), "To the Christian Reader," signed
"Michael Wigglesworth"; (2 pp.), "On the following Work and Its
Author," signed "J. Mitchel"; (2 pp.), "A Prayer unto Christ the
Judge of the World"; 1-57, "The Day of Doom"; 57-62, "A Short
Discourse on Eternity"; 63-75, "A Postscript unto the Reader";
76-80, "A Song of Emptiness, to fill up the Empty Pages following.
Vanity of Vanities."

In the library of the New-England Historic Genealogical
Society is a fragment of the Day of Doom, which Mr. John
Ward Dean, the Librarian, and other experts think once
belonged to a copy of the first edition. Judging from the
font of type and from certain ornamented initial letters and
border pieces, the book was printed probably by Samuel
Green at Cambridge. It has neither notes nor Scriptural
references in the margin, and in this respect resembles the
London editions of 1666 and 1673, which in these remarks
have been called the second and third. The following is a
collation, made under many difficulties, as the copy is very
imperfect, lacking pages both at the beginning and the end.
Perhaps one half of the book is gone, and the description,
taken in part from the stubs of leaves, may be subject to
error.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; (2 pp.), "A Prayer unto Christ the Judge
of the World"; (6 or 7 pp.), "To the Christian Reader," by Michael
Wigglesworth; (2 pp.), "On the following Work and its Author," by
J. Mitchel; (1 p.), blank; 1-65, "The Day of Doom"; (66), "A Short
Discourse about Eternity," — a page given to the title; 67-73, "On
Eternity"; 74-83, "A Postscript unto the Reader"; 83-86, "A
Song of Emptiness . . ."

In the opinion of Mr. Dean, who has given much attention
to Wigglesworth, and has written a memoir of him, the first
edition of the poem did not have the marginal notes. He
infers this from a statement by the author which is found in
one of his manuscript note-books, now in the possession of
the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, as follows:
"About 4 years after they were reprinted wth my consent, &

I gave them the proofs & Margin. notes to affix." Perhaps these marginal notes were prepared for another Cambridge edition, of which no copy or fragment is known now to be extant, unless perchance the imperfect copy of the Historical Society should prove to be such.

Since the year 1701, there have been numerous editions of the work published, but the scope of the present paper does not include them for description.

Chief-Justice Sewall, in his Diary, under date of August 14, 1688, makes an entry in which he mentions giving to a kinsman a copy of the Day of Doom, perhaps at that time a recent publication. If this was so, it may have been one of the missing fourth edition, though I lay no stress on the probability.

The following advertisement, found at the end of an Election Sermon (Cambridge, 1670), preached at New Plimouth, June 1, 1669, by Thomas Walley, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Barnstable, gives the year of publication of another of Wigglesworth's famous productions, about which there has been some diversity of statement:—

There is now going to the Press sundry excellent and divine Poems, entituled, *Meat out of the Eater*; or, *Meditations concerning the Necessity, End, and Vsefulness of Afflictions unto Gods Children*; All tending to prepare them for, and comfort them under the Cross. By Michael Wigglesworth.

This advertisement does not appear in the first edition of the pamphlet, printed in the year 1669, but is found in the second, published in 1670. There are copies of both these editions in the possession of the Historical Society, but hitherto in the catalogue of the Library by an oversight they have not been recognized as distinct or separate issues. The first is not given in Mr. Haven's list of "Ante-Revolutionary Publications." These two pamphlets were struck off from the same press at Cambridge; and with few exceptions the second was printed line for line from the first, and with the same catch-words at the bottom of the pages. One exception is found near the top of page 5, where the abbreviated form "Doct." is inserted at the beginning of the lines in italics, thereby changing their justification; and another instance occurs in paragraph numbered "3," on the same page,

where there is a similar change in the justification of several lines, caused by the use of italics and by wider spacing between the words. In a few other places the types vary either in their fonts or in the use of capitals and italics: *e. g.*, "o" in "to" in the headline, on page 3; the "J" in the italicized names "Jerusalem," "Josiah," and "Jer.," on the same page; and the capitals in "Pride" and "Self-love" on page 9, line 7.

The Historical Society has a note-book, kept by Wigglesworth during the years 1652-1657, which is similar to four other manuscript books by him, now in the possession of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, and evidently once belonging to the same set. This note-book consists largely of personal memoranda, and contains many entries in short-hand. Our associate, Mr. William P. Upham, an expert in such matters, to whom I have often been indebted for the rendering of similar entries, has again come to my help in this instance, and writes me as follows in regard to the passages:—

They are written with the characters of the System of Thomas Shelton, 1641. (See Upham's Brief History of Stenography, Salem, 1877.) No historical matter of importance is found in them. They appear to consist wholly of the pastor's own penitential reflections, and "relations" (statements of religious experience) made by other persons.

Mr. Sibley had the use of these five volumes when he prepared an account of the Puritan minister which appears in his Harvard Graduates (I. 259-286), and he describes them in some detail at the end of his sketch.

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Dean and Mr. Eames for valuable aid in the preparation of this paper.

A new serial comprising the record of the meetings for October, November, and December, was ready for distribution at this meeting.

MEMOIR

OF

HENRY WHEATLAND, M.D.

BY WILLIAM P. UPHAM.

AMONG the historical and scientific societies which have done so much to bring honor and credit to our country, one of the most useful and widely known to those interested in such pursuits is the Essex Institute at Salem, Massachusetts. This institution, formed in 1848 by a union of two societies previously existing, has for its object the collection of material and the diffusion of knowledge relating to history, science, and the arts.

With but very slender resources in the way of permanent funds, and depending almost wholly upon the immediate sympathy and interest of the community in which it exists and upon the gratuitous services of its officers, it has built up a library of over sixty thousand volumes and one hundred and seventy-five thousand unbound volumes and pamphlets. It has published twenty-nine volumes of "Historical Collections" and twenty-eight volumes containing, beside the records of its meetings, many scientific memoirs of recognized value. It has held innumerable "field meetings" and horticultural and art exhibitions, and in conjunction with an allied society, the Peabody Academy of Science, has gathered in its cabinets a vast amount of material admirably arranged for the study of science, history, and ethnology, and forming a collection which is open to the public and is examined and studied by many thousands of visitors, annually, from all parts of the country and indeed of the civilized world. Its influence has spread among the people of Essex County, to whose interest it is specially devoted, a taste for enlightened pursuits which gives character to the whole region.





Henry Wheatton

The principal organizer and promoter of this institution, who gave to its objects the whole of his life without stint and without any personal remuneration, and who was for many years its honored presiding officer, was our late associate, Dr. Henry Wheatland.

The full and elaborate memorial addresses which were delivered by members of the Essex Institute at a special meeting soon after his death, and which have been published by that Society, render almost superfluous any extended memoir here. It is well, however, to place upon the records of this Society a sufficient recognition of the life of one of its members who in another field did so much to spread abroad an intelligent interest in historical matters, and whose career as the patient upbuilder of a most valuable sister institution is so remarkable.

I hope to be able to add to a brief summary of the tributes already paid to the character of the man some particulars of his life and of his family, together with certain reminiscences with which I have been favored by friends who knew him intimately. If space allowed, extracts from his correspondence and papers would illustrate his early and constant interest in matters in any way relating to his favorite pursuits, and would show the confidence placed by all investigators, in whatever branch of science, history, or genealogy, in his readiness to impart freely from the great fund of information which he had accumulated. While he leaves no special treatise or published work to connect his memory with any particular study, the number of those who remember with gratitude his incidental aid in their chosen pursuits, or his wholesome influence stimulating their enthusiasm for intelligent observation or criticism, may be counted by thousands, and includes many persons then or since of world-wide reputation.

Henry Wheatland, whose best memoir is thus to be found not only in the institution whose present high standing and success is, practically, the result of his life work, but also in the veneration entertained for his memory by all those who have ever co-operated with him, was born at Salem, Mass., Jan. 11, 1812, being the youngest of the six children of Richard and Martha (Goodhue) Wheatland. For the following account of the family of Richard Wheatland I am indebted almost wholly to a statement given me by Miss Caroline E. Bemis, of Salem, his granddaughter, supplemented

by some autograph memoranda which I find among Dr. Wheatland's papers.

Richard Wheatland was born at Wareham, Dorset County, England, Oct. 20, 1762. His parents were Peter Wheatland, who died in 1784, aged 75 years, and Bridget (Foxcroft) Wheatland, who died in 1817, aged 84 years. They were married about the year 1752, and had seven sons, John, George, Stephen, Peter, Richard, Robert, and a second John, and three daughters, Bridget, Margaret, and Anne.

Richard, in early life, went to London to learn the trade of a leather-dresser, which he soon abandoned for the sea. Having served three years in the British Navy, being stationed principally in the West Indies, he was discharged at the close of the war. In 1783 he came to Salem, and sailed from that port as sailor, officer, and commander of a merchant-vessel in the India trade. In 1801 he retired from the seas, and resided in Salem as a merchant until his decease, March 18, 1830. He married, first, Margaret Silver, who died June 13, 1789, leaving no child. He married, secondly, in 1796, Martha Goodhue, daughter of Stephen and Martha (Prescott) Goodhue, of Salem.¹ They had six children, namely:—

1. Stephen, born at Salem, Aug. 5, 1796, graduated H. C. 1816, died at sea Feb. 19, 1818, from a fall on board ship "Perseverance" on his second voyage, being unmarried. Dr. Wheatland states that by tradition he was very fond of music, "was a favorite and very popular with his companions. It seems as if the music of the family centred in him."

2. Richard Goodhue, born at Salem, Feb. 10, 1799, H. C. 1818. He was interested throughout his life in commercial pursuits either as owner or commander of vessels. "In 1837, having lost his ship (the 'Boston') on the Bahamas, he returned home with impaired health and was confined to his chamber for five years." He died at Salem, Feb. 6, 1842. He married, Feb. 23, 1823, Mary Bemis Richardson, daughter of John and Anna (Bemis) Richardson, of Newton, Mass. She was born Feb. 17, 1795, and died at Newton, Dec. 31, 1834, leaving two children, Stephen Goodhue and Richard Henry.

3. Benjamin, born at Salem, May 27, 1801, H. C. 1819, studied law in the office of the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem "practised law for some years in Salem, then removed to New

¹ For additional particulars see the Goodhue Genealogy and Prescott Memorial

Market, N. H., where he resided as agent of the manufacturing company in that town for about twenty years. Having been chosen treasurer of the same company, he returned to Salem, and continued in this position until a few months preceding his decease, which occurred Dec. 28, 1854." He married, April 9, 1827, Mary Eddy Bemis, daughter of Luke and Hannah (Eddy) Bemis, of Watertown, Mass., born July 4, 1801, died at Salem, June 23, 1864. They left one daughter, Martha Goodhue Wheatland, born March 12, 1828, died June 6, 1885.

After Benjamin Wheatland's return to Salem, he interested himself in municipal affairs. He held various official positions, among others that of President of the Common Council.

4. George, born at Salem, Nov. 10, 1804, H. C. 1824. He also studied law in the office of the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall. In early life he was active in politics, and was always characterized by an earnest, independent, and liberal expression of opinion and by good judgment. "To his intimate friends he was known as eminent in his charity, cordial in his friendships, and helpful to all around him. . . . As a lawyer Mr. Wheatland ranked high in the Essex Bar, and perhaps no one was more frequently consulted than he was by young lawyers who needed sound advice and safe counsels."¹ He held several positions in the City Council, and was a member of both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature. He married, Feb. 6, 1833, Hannah Bemis Richardson, daughter of John and his second wife, Hannah (Bemis) Richardson, of Newton, Mass., born Dec. 23, 1811, died at Salem, March 15, 1840. George Wheatland died at Salem, Feb. 20, 1893, leaving one child, George Wheatland, of Boston.

5. Martha, born May 29, 1807, married, Sept. 18, 1827, Robert Eddy Bemis, son of Luke and Hannah (Eddy) Bemis, of Watertown, born June 4, 1798, died at Chicopee, Mass., March 15, 1873. Martha died at Chicopee, Dec. 26, 1872, leaving one son, Robert Wheatland Bemis, and four daughters, Caroline E. Bemis, of Salem, Mrs. Mary W. Whitney, wife of Henry M. Whitney, of North Andover, Mrs. Sarah D. Fiske, of Malden, and Mrs. Martha G. Smith, of North Andover.

6. Henry (the subject of this memoir), born Jan. 11, 1812, H. C. 1832, married, Feb. 3, 1858; Mary Catherine Mack,

¹ Salem Observer, March 4, 1893.

daughter of Elisha and Catherine Sewall (Orne) Mack, of Salem, who was born Sept. 25, 1816, and died in Salem, Feb. 13, 1862. They had no children. Henry died Feb. 27, 1893.

It will be noticed that all the five brothers graduated from Harvard College.

The high character of Dr. Wheatland's family, both on his father's and on his mother's side, had no doubt much to do in forming those excellent qualities so early and so constantly apparent in his life. Through his mother he was descended from Rev. Francis Higginson, the first minister in Salem, and was related to Prescott, the historian, and to the distinguished descendants of the Hon. Roger Sherman, William M. Evarts, and the brothers Judge E. R. Hoar and Senator George F. Hoar.

The ancestry of Richard, the father of Henry, has not been traced beyond his father, Peter Wheatland, of Wareham, England. Dr. Wheatland, in a letter to John W. Dean, April 15, 1885, speaking of his family and that of Stephen Wheatland, of Winchester, England, says: "Possibly there may exist some connection between the families, but at present it is only conjectural."

Little is known as to the particulars of the life of Richard Wheatland prior to his coming to Salem in 1784, other than that he had honorably served in the British Navy. During his residence in Salem of nearly half a century, he acquired the esteem of the community, and attached himself to his friends by many excellent traits of character. In a notice of his death, which happened by an accidental fall while on an errand of charity, the "Salem Gazette," of March 19, 1830, says of him: "For many years he was an active and enterprising merchant, and was universally esteemed as a public-spirited citizen and a most kind and benevolent man."

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to reprint in full an account which I find in the "Salem Gazette" of March 5, 1799, of a naval battle between the ship "Perseverance," commanded by Capt. Richard Wheatland, and a French vessel of war. While presenting a vivid picture of the fierce encounters to which American shipping was then exposed, it shows the resolute character of Captain Wheatland. His success in the affair was perhaps largely due to his experience in the British Navy. The matter-of-course though "polite" way in which

his ship was overhauled on the high seas by a British frigate, and his papers examined, is an interesting bit of history.

A SEA FIGHT

Gallantly and victoriously maintained by the ship *Perseverance*, Capt. Richard Wheatland, of this port, against one of the vessels of war of the "*Terrible Republic*." The French rascals, contrary to the laws of war & of honour, fought under false colours, whilst the Eagle, true to his charge, spread his wings on the American flag. —

The following is Captain Wheatland's Letter to his Owners.

Ship *Perseverance*, Old Straits of
Bahama, Jan. 1, 1799.

GENTLEMEN, — Conceiving we may possibly meet an opportunity of forwarding this immediately on our arrival at the Havana, or perhaps before, induces me to give an account of our voyage thus far.

Until 26th. Dec. met nothing very material, except heavy disagreeable weather, off the coast; and having the wind so far to the Westward as to preclude the possibility of making our passage round the Bank, were compelled contrary to our wishes to go through the Old Streights of Bahama. On the afternoon of the 27th. were boarded by the British frigate *Romilla*, Capt. Rolles, our papers examined, and we treated with great politeness. They purchased (at our own prices) a number of articles from the cargo and of the people. Three days before they had captured a French privateer sloop, of 10 guns and 60 men, and retaken an American brig, her prize. After two hours detention, we were permitted to proceed, which we did, without meeting any interruption, till Monday, 31st. December — for particulars of that day we give an extract from a journal kept on board.

Dec. 31st. Key Romain in sight, bearing South, distance 4 or 5 leagues — A schooner has been in chase of us since 8 o'clock, and has every appearance of a privateer. At 1 o'clock, P. M., finding the schooner come up with us very fast, took in steering sails, fore and aft, and royals; at half past 1 about ship and stood for her; she immediately tacked and made sail from us; we fired a gun to leeward, and hoisted the American ensign at our mizen peak; she hoisted a Spanish jack at main topmast head, and continued to run from us. Finding she outsailed us greatly, and wishing to get through the narrows in the Old Streights, at 2 o'clock P. M. we again about ship and kept on our course. The sch'r immediately wore, fired a gun to leeward, and kept after, under a great press of sail. At half past 2 she again fired a gun to leeward; but perceiving ourselves in the narrows above mentioned we kept on, to get through them if possible before she came up with us, which we effected.

At 3 o'clock, finding ourselves fairly clear of Sugar Key and Key Laboas, we took in steering sails, wore ship, hauled up our courses, piped all hands to quarters, and prepared for action.

The sch'r immediately took in sail, struck the Spanish jack, hoisted an English union flag, and passed under our lee at considerable distance. We wore ship, she did the same, and passed each other within half musket. A fellow hailed us in broken English, and ordered the boat hoisted out, and the Captain to come on board with his papers, which he refused: he again ordered our boat out, and enforced his orders with a menace, that in case of refusal he would *sink* us!!! using at the same time the vilest and most infamous language it is possible to conceive of. By this time he had fallen considerably astern of us: he wore and came up on our starboard quarter, giving us a broadside as he passed our stern, but fired so exceedingly wild that he did us very little injury, while our stern chasers gave him a noble dose of round shot and langrage. We hauled the ship to wind, and as he passed us poured a whole broadside into him with great success. Sailing faster than we, he ranged considerably ahead, tacked and again passed, giving us a broadside and a furious discharge of musketry, which they kept up incessantly till the latter part of the engagement: his musket balls reached us in every direction; but his large shot either fell short or went considerably over us: while our guns, loaded with round shot and square bars of iron six inches long, were plied so briskly and directed with so good judgment, that before he got out of our reach we had cut his mainsail and foretopsail all to rags, and cleared his decks so effectually that when he bore away from us there were scarcely 10 men to be seen. He then struck his English and hoisted the flag of the "*Terrible Republic*," and made off with all the sail she could carry much disappointed no doubt at not being able to give us a *fraternal embrace*. The wind being light, and knowing he would outsail us, added to a solicitude to complete our voyage, prevented our pursuing him: Indeed we had sufficient to gratify our revenge for his temerity; for there was scarcely a single fire from our guns but what spread entirely over his hull — The action, which lasted an hour and twenty minutes, we conceived ended well; for exclusive of preserving the property entrusted to our care, we feel a confidence we have rid the world of some infamous pests of society. — We were within musket shot the whole time of the engagement and were so fortunate as to receive but very trifling injury; not a person on board met the slightest harm. Our sails were a little torn, and one of the quarter deck guns dismounted. The privateer was a schooner of 80 or 90 tons, copper bottom, and fought five or six guns on a side.

We are now within 48 hours sail of Havana, where we expect to arrive in safety: indeed we have no fear of any privateers preventing us, unless *greatly* superior in force.

The 4 quarter deck guns will require new carriages; one of them was entirely dismounted.

We remain with *estéem*, Gentlemen, your humble Servant,

RICHARD WHEATLAND.

Capt. Wheatland, in a letter from the Havana, adds —

"The *Gentleman* we brushed in the Old Straits, 3 days after captured a brig from Charleston, and detained the Captain 16 days on board, and then gave him the boat and set the crew adrift. The Captain has since arrived here and informs us that the privateer was a schooner of 8 six pounders and 50 men; that a number of her people were dangerously wounded; that she had four round shot through her bottom, a bar iron through her counter, and four feet water in her hold, when she got away; that her sails were cut entirely to pieces, and the boat on her deck was shattered by our discharge of our bar iron. The villain fought under English colours. In fact they capture under English and American flags altogether. It is impossible to discriminate; and every armed vessel that approaches us (under whatever colours), if we can manage her, shall be fired into. The master of the privateer observed to the Captain, while he was detained on board, that his men were armed 30 of them with pistols and a short dagger each, and were prepared and determined to board the ship, but our booms and boarding nettings deterred him. The rascals run up along side American ships, under English colours, and jump on board, and capture the vessel before they are sensible of it. He had no idea we should dare fire into a vessel with English union hoisted."

The gallantry of young Mr. Ingersoll, on board the *Perseverance*, we are well assured, contributed greatly to second the determined bravery of Captain Wheatland in defending the ship. Indeed, the whole ship's company deserve well of their Owners and of their Country.

The story of Dr. Wheatland's earliest years may be briefly told. Of a rather delicate constitution, but possessing great tenacity of purpose and power of endurance, and surrounded by many refining influences, he seems from the first to have developed those studious habits which always characterized him.

Mr. Robert Stone, of Salem, writes me, March 18, 1893, in answer to an inquiry as to Dr. Wheatland's school days, that he remembers him as a schoolfellow in 1822 or 1823 at Mr. Walsh's school, and that they ever after remained good friends. Mr. Stone says: "I do not see that there was any

change in him from the time of our schoolboy days. He was always pleasant and genial, and always had my regard and respect."

Having received a good preparation, especially in the classical studies and in mathematics, at the grammar schools in Salem, then conducted by able instructors, Henry Wheatland entered Harvard College in 1828, at the age of sixteen, together with a remarkably large number of boys from the same town. In Felt's list of Salem graduates from Harvard the following thirteen are named for 1832, the largest number on the list for any one year: Haley Forrester Barstow, Charles Timothy Brooks, George William Cleveland, William Fabens, William Prescott Gibbs, Charles Grafton Page, Jonathan Archer Ropes, John Boardman Silsbee, William Silsbee, John Henry Silsbee, Augustus Story, William Henry West, Henry Wheatland.

In a letter which I have received from the venerable Charles W. Palfray, editor of the "Salem Register" for fifty-five years, he says:—

It seems to me I must have known Dr. Wheatland from the start; but, probably, I first became acquainted with him the year before he entered College, when he was a pupil in our old Latin Grammar School and I in our old English High School, both in the same building on Broad Street. We were in College together one year, he in his last and I in my first year, and we roomed in the same building (Stoughton).

I regret that I can recall almost nothing of the school-days of Dr. Wheatland. But it may be worth noting that among his classmates, both at the Latin School and in College, was Charles G. Page, who afterwards became such an eminent scientist. I enclose a slip cut from the Register of Sept. 29, '92, containing some of my reminiscences of Dr. Page; and if you can find in it the least hint that you can make available, you are perfectly welcome to do so.

I remember the Mr. Walsh spoken of by Mr. Stone. He was John Walsh, bachelor, lawyer, and instructor of youth, a graduate of Harvard, class of 1814, and was born in Salisbury, Mass., July 21, 1794, and died in St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 3, 1845. He was a Deacon in our First Church in 1829. His father, Michael Walsh, came to this country from Ireland in 1783, and died in Amesbury in 1840. The father, Michael, was quite celebrated as a mathematician, and was the author of the famous Walsh's Arithmetic which was used in nearly all our schools in the first third of this century.

Yrs. very truly,

CHAS. W. PALFRAY.

Some extracts from the "Reminiscences of Dr. Page" may be appropriately introduced here as indicating the intelligent character of Dr. Wheatland's earliest companions, and as an example of the many happy influences which developed in him such a supreme love of scientific research, and such ready affiliation with all those in any way devoted to exact inquiry:—

"And just here, as we recall the past, in a fragmentary way, it recurs to us that about this time,¹ often, during a thunder-storm, a small, stubbed-built, dark-complexioned, rollicking, Latin School boy, fifteen years of age, might be seen on the top of the schoolhouse, equipped with needles and other implements, experimenting with the lightning! That boy afterward became the eminent expert and authority in electricity and electro-magnetism, the late Dr. Charles Grafton Page. He entered Harvard College the next year, graduating in due course, and subsequently received the degree of M.D. at the Medical School."

After mentioning the important positions which Dr. Page filled, among others that of Examiner at the Patent Office, his inventions towards the use of electricity as a motive power, etc., and his valuable publications, Mr. Palfray goes on to say:—

"Nor must we forget to add that, even before he left Salem, we think it was, he foresaw and predicted the practicability of the telephone. And as a graceful and appropriate tribute to his memory, Prof. A. Graham Bell, its inventor, gave the first public exhibition and practical test of the Telephone in Dr. Page's native city, when, on the evening of Feb. 12, 1877, he delivered a lecture on the subject in our Lyceum Hall, before the Essex Institute, and a report of it was transmitted to Boston, and published in the 'Globe' the next morning."

As to Dr. Wheatland's life in college, it is said that "he did not take kindly to the College curriculum, but preferred to follow the bent of his own inclination toward science, natural history, and kindred studies; and, upon informing the President of the University of his utter distaste for the regular course, he was allowed to pursue his own way."²

Among Dr. Wheatland's papers I find, in his own handwriting, the "Preamble" and "Constitution" of "The Harvard Linnean of 1832," with an account of the first meeting,

¹ In 1827, when the English High School was established at Salem.

² Salem Register, March 2, 1893.

at which were present Abbott, Adams 1st, Adams 2d, Glover, Howe, Mason, Nelson, Richardson, Silsbee 2d, Soule, Story, and Wheatland; Bethune, Page, and Russell were also named as "expected." Adams 1st was chosen President, Nelson Vice-President, and Wheatland Corresponding Secretary. The object of the Society is stated to be "mutual assistance in the collection and formation of cabinets of minerals and insects, herbaria of flowers, &c., by the transmission from one member to another of rare specimens in Mineralogy, Entomology, Botany, &c."

I do not find any further account of this Society,¹ but it shows that even then Dr. Wheatland had the same tendency towards organized work and co-operation in these pursuits which afterwards produced such permanent and valuable results.

After graduating from college, in 1832, he seems to have hesitated somewhat as to what course to pursue; partly on account of his own health, which was never robust, and partly on account of special opportunities and temptations towards foreign travel which presented themselves at that time. He, however, became a student of medicine under the distinguished surgeon, Dr. Abel L. Pierson, of Salem, spending his winters in Boston attending medical lectures; and, in 1837, received his degree of M.D. from the Medical School. It is probable that his only object in taking this course was to perfect himself in that branch of knowledge that he might the better carry out the purpose, which was almost a passion with him, of gathering up and arranging in a useful collection material for every kind of scientific research. He does not appear to have actually practised his profession at any time. He had already become an active worker in the Essex Historical Society and in the Essex County Natural History Society, the two societies from which the Essex Institute was afterwards formed, and his whole life from that time was devoted to the objects which those institutions represented.

Residing always in Salem, from which, indeed, after his graduation from college, he was never away except in the line of his chosen pursuits, as gathering specimens on foreign voyages, or attending meetings of scientific or historical asso-

¹ It was only five years later, in 1837, that the Harvard Natural History Society was formed, which has since become a flourishing institution.

ciations, he was for more than half a century known to a constantly increasing number of persons interested in science or history, as a reliable friend, guide, instructor, or co-worker.

He appears from his earliest youth to have always exhibited that happy love of nature and enthusiasm for research, that utterly unselfish devotion of all his energies to the accumulation, arrangement, and preservation of material, which eminently fitted him to take advantage of the culture already existing in and about Salem to carry out what became the great object of his life; namely, the establishment upon a sure foundation of an institution which should be unrestricted in scope, and which should constitute a permanent centre of influence for the enlightenment and instruction of the community.

So entirely was his whole being absorbed in this generous impulse and purpose, it seemed to give to his presence a remarkably serene and venerable aspect. All who came in contact with him paid him the tribute of respect, even though some might be inclined to ridicule such devotion to the gathering together of objects to them apparently of no practical value.

It was one of the triumphs of his later years that while formerly many, if not most, looked with indifference or slight regard upon the work to which he and a few fellow-enthusiasts were devoted, now there was a universal interest taken, and the institution, which patient and untiring labor had brought from a weak beginning to a sound and permanent life, was looked upon with pride, as one of the chief ornaments of the city, and an honor to the whole county. The Essex Institute, with the Peabody Academy of Science, was in constant activity, holding friendly correspondence with many persons and institutions in all parts of the country, and carrying on regular and profitable exchanges with foreign societies.

It was while thus enjoying the happy results of an accomplished purpose that he was suddenly stricken with paralysis, almost completely cutting him off from all power of communication with the outer world; and so he lingered some years till his death. But even then retaining his faculties of mind, though able only with the greatest difficulty to express his thought, he still kept alive his interest in the Institute. Every day he was visited by the officers of the Society, which, in

deep attachment, refused to recognize any other head, and as well as he could he gave his directions and his advice.

His countenance never lost that aspect of strangely attractive gentleness and wise repose which had ever characterized it. He seemed always venerable, yet always in a manner youthful. Such was his modesty and self-exclusion, it was only after long and earnest solicitation that he could be induced to have his portrait taken. It was fortunate for the Essex Institute that, through the efforts of his nephew, Mr. George Wheatland, he finally yielded, since it now possesses a most admirable likeness by Vinton,¹ to be without which would deprive it of one of its most essential elements of charm to visitors as well as to members.

Those who had always known Dr. Wheatland often remarked that they could not remember his appearance as ever much differing from that of his latest years, aside from the whitening of the hair and the somewhat decreased elasticity of movement inseparable from old age. At more than three-score and ten he seemed hardly older in expression of countenance and in general demeanor than in those first days when he was ever intent upon his beloved pursuits, ever ready to lead or join in the "rambles" in search of rare specimens of natural history, or visits to the hidden nooks where the first wild-flowers were known to show themselves, in dredging expeditions, or again in the patient work of properly preparing and cataloguing the accumulated store of material.

At the memorial meeting, already referred to, our associate, Abner C. Goodell, Jr., in his address as Vice-President of the Essex Institute, describing him as the founder of that Society, says: —

"The invariable reserve and quiet with which he pursued his labors for the good of mankind through two generations attended him to the close of his peaceful life of more than eighty-one years. . . . Nothing that he gathered in his mind, or had in store in the library and cabinets of the Society, was ever withheld from the needy inquirer. In the organization of the Institute it was his choice that no barriers of age or sex should limit the enjoyment of its privileges."

¹ Frederic P. Vinton, of Boston. The heliotype which accompanies this memoir is from Vinton's portrait.

At the same meeting Prof. Edward S. Morse, the present Director of the Peabody Academy of Science, gave a highly interesting account of the personal appearance and manner of Dr. Wheatland, stating that —

“his profile bore a marked resemblance to that of Dante, as pictured by Scheffer. This resemblance has been repeatedly remarked upon by many who saw him for the first time. . . . While having a wide and varied knowledge in many branches of learning, the reserve and modesty with which he imparted knowledge were proverbial. . . .

“A serenity of manner, a sweet, almost coy way of imparting information, and a peculiar pursing of the lips when speaking of some quiet triumph of the Institute, or when the Institute, with its then limited resources, had anticipated other societies more richly endowed, are vividly remembered by those who knew him.

“He had seen the Institute grow from a few members, occupying a small hired room, possessing a few specimens and books and an empty treasury, to an organization of nearly four hundred members, occupying a large building of its own, with invested funds of over one hundred thousand dollars, and a library of sixty thousand volumes. In his view such a growth could not be arrested. . . . He looked ahead hopefully to the ultimate development of a large historical museum in which would be properly displayed the provincial and colonial records of the county, as well as records of the commercial history of this historic city.”

Professor Morse well expresses the sentiment of all the people of Salem and its vicinity when he says: —

“Dr. Wheatland's identification with the Essex Institute is so complete that it is impossible to think of him and of the Institution separately. He was not only its father, but for many years he *was* the Institute, so far as being secretary, treasurer, editor of its journals, cabinet-keeper, and night-watchman could make him. . . . It is not too much to say that the Essex Institute, and indirectly its sister institution, the Peabody Academy of Science, may be looked upon as the results of Dr. Wheatland's life-long devotion to the cause of science and history in this community.”

Mr. George D. Phippen, the first librarian of the Essex Institute, an able botanist and a “contemporary with Dr. Wheatland throughout his scientific life,” gave an account of the early days of the Doctor's career, which one is tempted to quote in full. I must content myself with the following brief passages: —

"My first recollection of Henry Wheatland was in the summer of 1831, or possibly a year earlier, and I well remember the youthful cast of that same classic face that has ever since so strongly impressed all who have made his acquaintance. His figure was then striking, of erect yet slender build, with light brown hair falling in loose locks nearly to the collar of his coat. He had a rather weak voice, quiet manners; was guileless and attractive in all his ways. . . .

"Amongst the earliest effective work of the Natural History Society, after the commencement of its museum and library, were the fruit and flower exhibitions, which tended strongly towards the improvement of our gardens by the discrimination and cultivation of choice hardy fruits and flowers, in great variety. This demonstration of popular zeal has since reached both its climax and decline, and now exists only in the fancied reputation of the 'old-fashioned gardens of Salem.'

"The unique feature of 'field meetings,' in which the public as well as members of the Society participated, was not introduced until 1848. . . . For many years, however, prior to this date, small parties of the more devoted members of the Natural History Society were accustomed to make excursions in the neighboring woods and fields for botanical and other purposes of investigation. . . . These pleasant occasions will long remain in the memory of those who participated in them. We were young then, and Dr. Wheatland could outwalk us all, when we sought out, perhaps to some of us for the first time, localities where grew the Trilliums, Pyrolas, Arctothousas, and the frosted Droseras, or, from the borders of brooks and ponds, the floating Utricularias, Brase-nias, or Dortman's Lobelia which tempted us and dared our acquisition of them by a partial bath. . . . Minerals interested some of us, while others collected fresh-water shells and rare ferns, as we invaded the haunts of the turtle and the newt.

"We were fresh and impressible then, and a new 'find' filled us with a thrill of enthusiasm and a healthful glow of spirits that gold, gems, or honors in later days would have failed to excite.

"Dr. Wheatland was primarily a botanist, and knew well the localities of our native plants, and an array of their flowers, accurately named, always embellished a corner of our frequent local exhibitions; but this pursuit he gradually relinquished to younger members. As a student of medicine he was fond of comparative anatomy, and here he obtained the title of Doctor, which has always with, perhaps, profounder meanings distinguished his name. On the proper shelves of the Institute are many specimens, particularly of the smaller animals, prepared by his own hands.

"He was interested in the study of conchology, and was fond of dredging the harbor for specimens. . . . He was at one time a devoted entomologist, and we have seen him throw the net for his brilliantly colored prey, which he immediately killed by a poisonous puncture

before pinning them into his collection box. He also knew well how to throw the net for the capture of young men, whom he infused with his own glowing spirit; and their names, not a few, now adorn the scientific institutions of the land."

In regard to the "field meetings" which Mr. Phippen mentions, and which, in the particular form of free popular gatherings at various places for local research and an accompanying meeting for mutual discussion and information, were of Dr. Wheatland's suggestion, and owed their success to his peculiar genius for bringing people into co-operation, I quote the following most excellent description from a commemorative sermon by Rev. Edmund B. Willson at the North Church, Salem, on the Sunday following Dr. Wheatland's death:—

"I remember most distinctly how much I was impressed when I first became a citizen of this place by the aspect of things here, and how soon I observed this man's influence in much which interested me most. . . . Perhaps nothing filled me with greater admiration at that time than the—to me—novel and original institution called a 'field meeting' of the Essex Institute. I had never seen or heard of anything like it. . . . It seemed to me the most thoughtfully devised and simply managed method of extending and popularizing knowledge, of quickening mental life, of teaching the value of observation and of opening the book of nature to the study of the young and curious of all ages, of which I could conceive. Here came a little group of specialists to a country town of the county, few, perhaps none of them, very learned yet, even in their own department of science; but, though rating themselves as students and collectors only, possessing so much knowledge that they could study the locality and discuss its history and its natural history intelligently. And this they did. After a morning spent in exploring the vicinity, divided into parties according to their tastes and special studies, and accompanied by any one who chose to join them in the walk and the search, they assembled at mid-day, and after partaking of the refreshments they had brought with them, they made their reports to an audience composed half of members of the Essex Institute and their friends and half of such dwellers in the vicinity, old and young, as were interested enough to attend.

"The more expert we will say in geology, mineralogy, and archaeology now gave their interpretation of the geological formations of that locality, finding on that little spot of the earth's crust the signs of how it had come to be, hill and stream, rock and soil, the processes of prehistoric times by which it was being made fit for man's habitation;

with mineralogical specimens before them they gave interesting information of the order of rock-making, the succession of deposits, the agencies of sun, rain, and weather, and of internal and external temperatures, in shaping this bit of the world to its existing contour and consistency.

"The botanist followed in turn with talk of the forests, the flowers, the plants, the vegetable growths of that same territory; made known the methods of identifying families and species of trees and plants, with leaf and bud and plant in hand to illustrate the lesson, all given in the simple and familiar conversational style.

"Then came the zoölogist, whether ornithologist, entomologist, ichthyologist or ophiologist, with their accounts of the animal life of the region, with specimens gathered from the waters, the woods and fields, to give flavor and color by illustration, and thus deeper impression to their discourse.

"From fossil implements, graveyard inscriptions, family and town records, the antiquarian and local historian brought interesting fragments of early settlement, family history, the developments and changes of industries, the statistics of schools and literary associations, of inventions and architecture, and whatever else would diversify, instruct, and entertain the meeting.

"Now, the most significant thing about all this was, to my mind, its simplicity and efficacy as an educational agency. . . . It opened eyes to see; it set minds to thinking. Without other text-book or teacher than this open book of nature, it became possible for each one to enter on a course of observation and experiment for himself by the roadside, in his dooryard, in the brooks, pastures, and woods of the homestead; everywhere were these most interesting and curious facts open to the discovery of one who had eyes and would use them, who had powers of thought and would think. The learned book would follow in time, the more perfect science would come later. Here was the start, the quickening of mind, the faculty and the thirst for observation and comparison set going, the foundation and beginning of all knowledge. And this far-seeing man perceived here the means of impulse and guidance, in line with all wise educational methods from Kindergarten to University."

At a field meeting at Manchester, July 18, 1856, Dr. Wheatland states that the first Essex Institute Field Meeting was held at North Danvers, in June, 1849, and that "the programme of this meeting was taken from the perusal of an account of the Berwickshire Naturalist Club in Scotland," which held similar meetings. The wide scope of subject, however, and the popular character of the Institute Field Meetings gave it an originality of its own, and it is doubtful

whether just such an institution has existed anywhere else.

Professor Morse mentions some singularly antithetic traits in Dr. Wheatland. He describes him as never enthusiastic, (meaning of course never demonstratively so) —

“yet he always kindled enthusiasm in others. While abstemious in the last degree, he never found fault with others for being otherwise. . . . While abstaining from tobacco and spirits in every form, he never interfered with the enjoyment of others in these matters. With unwavering devotion to the Institute, he never solicited aid for it or asked any one to become a member. . . . He dwelt in the past, and yet continually planned for the future.”

Mr. Henry M. Brooks, Secretary of the Essex Institute, and one of its first members, whose quick perception and skilful portrayal of the quaint and curious are well known through his numerous publications, says of him : —

“The Doctor was always very neat in his dress, which was quite simple and inexpensive. . . . From the time I first knew him he had but one fashion for his coat. It was always made with numerous and capacious pockets, in some of which he had a store of waste paper and twine, so that he was ready to wrap up anything that might be given to him for the Institute, and thus save some delay. He even carried the scissors to cut the twine. He was very careful to keep his feet warm and dry, and wore rubber overshoes well into the summer. Some one said, referring to this habit, ‘he left his rubbers off in July and put them on in August.’ Of an economical and saving turn, he used small scraps of paper and old envelopes to make memoranda on, when there was plenty of paper at his disposal, but his early habit of saving clung to him through life. He had an old lead pencil which looked as if it had been used for years and not mended often. But all this saving was not for his own benefit.”

I may add as another peculiarity that though he does not appear to have had any taste for music, poetry, or the fine arts in general, he spent liberally of his means for the encouragement of these branches of culture, and took great pains to add departments to the Essex Institute specially devoted to them.

In a letter of Oct. 17, 1893, from the well-known numismatist and antiquary, Matthew A. Stickney, since deceased, he says of the Doctor : —

"He was of a delicate frame, and with his student-like habit, would have been taken by a stranger for a member of the Society of Friends, as in fact he was, in his love for peace and harmony. . . . He did not excel in public speaking, but, like myself, was a collector. He disliked contention, in law, politics, or religion, and did not often converse on those subjects." He was "a skilful planner of whatever he undertook, and in some respects resembled William Smith Shaw, one of the founders of the Boston Athenæum."

In the letter from Mr. Palfray, already quoted, he further writes, after referring to his early relations with Dr. Wheatland:—

"Our intimacy in after years is a memory to be treasured. I am glad you recall the regularity of his visits to the dingy old editorial den on the corner of Essex and Central Streets, which your father, of blessed memory, who so frequently honored and illuminated it by his presence, was accustomed to regard as a local curiosity shop, one of the oddities of our old Puritan City as people are now fond of styling it, and occasionally introduced a stranger from abroad to view the unique spectacle. How many the nights which never failed at a certain hour to bring the Doctor and Caleb Cooke, too early lost to science, and, later, Kingsley or some other incipient scientist, for a social chat before retiring! Ah! those were 'the days that are no more.'"

"And then, too, our constant companionship in meetings, excursions, rambles, &c., under the auspices of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in many parts of the country,—the first at Dubuque, Iowa, in 1872,—how the scenes rise up before me, and how I wish I could do justice to them! But old age is merciless, and I forbear.

"Excuse the garrulousness and wandering of a dilapidated veteran in his 80th year, and believe me to be

"Very truly your Friend,

"CHAS. W. PALFRAY."

It was a peculiar experience, conveying the strongest impression of Dr. Wheatland's devotion and watchful zeal, to accompany him at the close of the evening on his regular round about the Essex Institute building where his treasures, the institute libraries and cabinets, were stored, and which seemed dearer to him than his own life. He would pass through or look into every room from cellar to attic, without light of any kind, to make sure that no lurking fire or other danger existed, and, all being found safe, would resign

the charge to the ordinary street watch. On the way home he would generally stop at "Palfray's," where the serene editor was always to be found surrounded by what seemed to the stranger an unfathomable abyss of confused books and papers, but which really was a collection most admirably arranged for his purpose, since he could place his hand at once upon whatever might be needed for the moment. Here the Doctor, aided by the hearty co-operation of the editor and free from interruption, prepared innumerable notices and accounts of meetings, exhibitions, excursions, etc., held or to be held, or wrote articles calculated to create a public interest in the ever varying enterprises of the Institute.

Professor Alpheus Hyatt, Curator of the Boston Society of Natural History, writes me, May 16, 1893, referring to Dr. Wheatland's unremitting self-sacrifice to the public interests of humanity and of science:—

"Our little community of scientific men were held together, perhaps, more largely by these qualities of his character than by any other single means. I well remember how completely he seemed to lay aside all personal interest for those of science when we first came to Salem; how studiously he avoided making himself prominent while helping every one to take that place for which he seemed best fitted, and finally cheerfully surrendered all the natural history collections, and the local influence of the administration of that division in the work of his beloved Essex Institute, to the newly formed Peabody Academy of Science."

He further pays a warm tribute to the many excellent traits so generally recognized in Dr. Wheatland, and concludes by expressing the "love and admiration" which he has for his memory.

The writings of Dr. Wheatland on scientific and historical subjects are scattered through the Essex Institute publications. Professor Morse, referring to his scientific communications, written and verbal, remarks that they indicate "a very general knowledge of natural science" and a special taste for zoölogy and comparative anatomy. His skill in dredging was well known to scientists. He is stated to have first taught the eminent zoölogist Stimpson the use of the dredge, as early as 1850.

Among many historical papers the following are particularly valuable:—

Historical Sketch of the Philosophical Library at Salem, with Notes, Hist. Coll., vol. iv. p. 175.

Materials for a Genealogy of the Higginson Family, vol. v. p. 33.

Extracts from Records of two Aqueduct Corporations in Salem and Danvers, vol. vi. p. 43.

Baptisms in the First Church in Salem, vol. vi. p. 227.

Baptisms by Rev. Benjamin Prescott, etc., Salem Middle Precinct, vol. vi. p. 258.

Address, as presiding officer, at the 250th Anniversary of the Landing of Governor Endicott at Salem, vol. xv. p. 114.

Baptisms at Salem Village Church, vol. xvi. p. 233.

[Some of the above are continued in subsequent numbers.]

Account of the Essex County Natural History Society, with Notes, at the Field Meeting at Topsfield, June 21, 1856, Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 24.

Report on the History and Progress of the Essex Institute at the Field Meeting at Manchester, July 18, 1856, vol. ii. p. 36.

Account of the Social and Philosophical Libraries of Salem, April 10, 1857, vol. ii. p. 140; continued, July 18, 1868, vol. vi. p. 33.

From the latter I quote the following admirable passage, showing in a succinct form the remarkable development of culture in the pursuit of history and science in Salem, and concluding with sentiments nowhere better exemplified than in the life and history of Dr. Wheatland himself.

"Some one hundred and ten years since,¹ at a meeting of the Monday Evening Club, composed of the leading spirits of that day,—the Brownes, Pickmans, Ornes, Higginsons, Lyndes, and Olivers,—the plan of organizing the Social Library was matured. Some twenty years later the Philosophical Library was called into existence by Holyoke, Prince, Barnard, and Orne of Salem, Willard and Fisher of Beverly, and Cutler of the Hamlet, now Hamilton. Thirty years pass away, and we behold Bowditch, Story, Pickering, Silsbee, and Putnam organizing the Athenæum, taking the two libraries above named as the basis of the new institution. Ten years later, White, Tucker, Saltonstall, King, and Ward are interested in the formation of an historical society to preserve the rich materials everywhere then abundant to elucidate the history of this section of our good old Commonwealth. Another decade of years pass, Peabody, Webb, Cole, Phillips, and Peirson are preparing courses of lectures on literature and science adapted to the popular mind, and hence arose that system of lectures which has been so prevalent throughout the country for the past thirty

¹ In 1758.

or forty years, and which has been a great auxiliary to the cause of general education. After the lapse of some three or four years, Nichols of Danvers, Oakes of Ipswich, Perry of Bradford, Page and Ives of Salem, laid the groundwork for a society of natural history to develop a taste for this study, and to extend researches into the various departments of nature.

"In this connection let us allude to the labors of Hodges, Lambert, Carpenter, Osgood, Crowninshield, Nichols, and others in organizing the East India Marine Society in 1799, and consequent thereupon the forming of the valuable Museum which has had a world-renowned reputation, and which, with the scientific collections of this Society, is being rearranged in the East India Marine Hall, recently obtained and fitted up with galleries and cases for their reception through the liberality of a son of Essex, whom governments and crowned heads delight to honor.

"Some of the above-named persons were interested in several of these institutions; thus, for instance, the venerable Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke was one of the original members of the Social Library in 1760, and at the time of his death, in 1829, was President of the Athenæum, and also of the Historical Society, having held that office in both of these institutions from their respective organizations, thus taking an active part in the institutions of this place for a period of seventy years.

"These have all passed away, leaving deep traces of their influence upon the institutions of this day, which are modifications of the preceding to conform to the wants and requirements of the age.

"Although much has been accomplished, yet we have only entered upon the threshold of the domain of science. More remains to be done before the objects which these pioneers have labored for can be said to be in a good working condition. This duty is never finished; the more an institution does, the wider the vista opens, and a greater amount of labor is found necessary to be done, increasing as it progresses in a geometrical ratio. It is a law of nature when any institution or organic object ceases to grow, decay commences, and a gradual dissolution follows.

"Let all who revere the memory of the departed, and desire to have accomplished, or at least greatly advanced, the objects that were dear to them, come forward and extend a helping hand to those who bear the heat and burden of the day. Though dead, they yet speak in the recollection of their zeal and energy in all worthy undertakings; truly, their good works follow them."

Of the seventy-two members of Dr. Wheatland's class at Harvard (1832), but seven survived him, and of these two

have since deceased, George T. Curtis and John S. Dwight. The latter, in a letter in answer to an invitation to attend the meeting of the Essex Institute in memory of Dr. Wheatland, writes thus of his classmate : —

“ When I recall his venerable and Dantesque profile, his uniform sweetness and simplicity of nature and of character, his sincere devotion and regard for truth in his favorite sciences, his fine powers of thought and observation, his friendly interest in all about him, and his zealous efforts to rescue from oblivion all precious bits of personal history ; and when I think how heartily he used to come to the reunions of our little remnant of a class, each time renewing the impression of these lovely traits of mind and character, I feel how much we have lost in these last years by his involuntary absence.”

One of the present survivors of that class, Dr. William W. Wellington, of Cambridgeport, writes me that Dr. Wheatland “ was regarded by all his classmates as a man of high moral excellence, a careful student, and a pleasant companion. He retained in after life the look of his younger days. . . . My recollections of Wheatland are all of the most pleasant character.”

The large mass of personal papers, correspondence, etc., which Dr. Wheatland had accumulated became somewhat disarranged, during the last years of his life, owing to their being necessarily consulted and handled by others in order to answer frequent inquiries. The preparation of this memoir has been delayed by the work, which seemed desirable, of first restoring these to something like the methodical arrangement in which it is evident he kept them, so long as he was able to attend to them personally.

Though he seldom kept copies of his own letters, he carefully kept the letters written to him, and they will be found a valuable source of information on many subjects.

His genealogical memoranda were kept in alphabetically arranged envelopes and in books, and make a large and valuable collection which will no doubt be very gladly consulted by genealogists.

There are also, besides many original manuscripts, minutes of record and memoranda relating to the organization and history of numerous local societies with notes as to the lives and families of their members.

Among his papers are diplomas and certificates from which the following partial list is made of the societies of which he became a member, resident, corresponding, or honorary.

Massachusetts Medical Society	Aug. 30, 1837.
National Institute for the Promotion of Science, Washington, D. C.	Oct. 12, 1842.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston (a Fellow)	Feb. 26, 1845.
New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston	March 7, 1846.
Concord (N. H.) Society of Natural History . . .	May 2, 1846.
American Statistical Association, Boston	Jan. 13, 1847.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston	Jan. 27, 1848.
La Real Sociedad Economica Filipina	Aug. 29, 1848.
Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society . .	May 10, 1849.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison . .	March 7, 1854.
California Academy of Natural Sciences	April 7, 1856.
New York Historical Society	Nov. 2, 1858.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia .	Nov. 12, 1860.
Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier	Feb., 1862.
Portland Society of Natural History	Jan. 1, 1863.
Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences	Feb. 3, 1865.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Society .	May 8, 1869.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester . . .	April 30, 1871.
Massachusetts Horticultural Society, Boston . . .	June, 1871.
Humboldt Collegiate Association, Humboldt County, Iowa	Sept. 1, 1871.
American Social Science Association	Nov. 15, 1871.
Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence . . .	May 6, 1873.
Virginia Historical Society, Richmond	June 2, 1880.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia	March 4, 1881.
Bunker Hill Monument Association	June 17, 1887.

Besides the above, Dr. Wheatland became a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its first meeting, in September, 1848, was chosen a Fellow in 1874, and was for many years one of its Auditors. He was an original trustee and Secretary of the Board of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge, and an original trustee and Vice-President of the Peabody Academy of Science for the County of Essex. He was Superintendent, from November, 1837, to October, 1848, of the Museum of the Salem East India Marine Society, an honorary member of

the Danvers Historical Society, President for a long time of the Salem Fraternity, and was a member of many other local associations of Salem and its neighborhood.

He was always actively interested in the schools of Salem, and did much service on committees and as a friend and co-operator with the teachers. In 1854 he was appointed a member of the Massachusetts Board of Education by Governor Washburn. In 1856 he became, by the appointment of Governor Gardner, a member of the board of the first Commission for the "Artificial Propagation of Fish." The other commissioners were Reuben A. Chapman, of Springfield, and Nathaniel E. Atwood, of Provincetown.

Dr. Wheatland resided during the last years of his life until near its close on Chestnut Street in Salem. A few months before his death, having been for two years helpless from paralysis though happily without suffering, he was removed to the house of his brother George on Essex Street, where he passed away peacefully on the morning of Monday, February 27, 1893, in his 82d year. Thus ended a long life, full of usefulness and of honor. To recount its history, however inadequately, has been a pleasing task to the writer, enabling him to do some service to the memory of one whom he regarded with an almost filial love and esteem.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1895.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first Vice-President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

Mr. ADAMS then said:—

Nearly all those now present will remember that at the last meeting of the Society a communication was received from one of our most eminent and most valued associates, written from what we knew to be his death-bed and intrusting to the keeping of the Society a relic of unusual historical interest,—a lock of the hair of Abraham Lincoln. To me, at least, there was something oppressive in that occasion,—we seemed to turn from the graves of Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis only to utter a last farewell to Judge Hoar; and now he also lies buried at Concord, with Hawthorne and Emerson.

It was on the 10th of January that we sent him, in response to his letter and gift, a last greeting, and then he was supposed to be dying; but he lingered on—the candle flickering in the socket—for exactly three weeks longer, until the evening of Thursday the 31st of January, when the last spark of life smouldered away. A bright light was gone out.

Born on the 21st of February, 1816, at the time when both in Europe and America the world was just entering on its nineteenth-century existence,—for it was then only eight months after the battle of Waterloo, only thirteen months after the signature of the treaty of Ghent,—born thus in 1816, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar lacked at his death three weeks only of rounding out his seventy-ninth year: nearly seven years younger than Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Holmes, Dr. Ellis was his senior by thirty months. He was chosen a member of the Society at the meeting of May 12, 1864,—a date the mention of which carries some of us back into what now

seems another existence ; for, as I well remember, it was on that same day that Barlow, at Spottsylvania Court-House, made his assault on the salient in Lee's line. While those scenes were being enacted in Virginia, the members of the Society, meeting here with anxious minds, — thinking rather of what was taking place at the scene of war than in this room, — went through the customary forms, Mr. Winthrop occupying the chair. Thus, thirty-one years ago, lacking three months, Judge Hoar's name first appeared at the foot of our roll: at the time of his death it stood tenth upon it, in seniority ; in eminence, first.

As presiding officer of the Society, it would in any event to-day have devolved on me to pay official tribute ; but, had this not been so, I should have claimed the privilege. I could not have let the occasion pass in silence. We all know how seldom it is that the death of any person not of our immediate family causes an appreciable sense of difference in our lives. There is a sudden shock ; and as our thoughts revert to well-remembered scenes, and the familiar face and form, it seems for the moment as if a great loss had been sustained : but it is only for a moment ; and then life moves on as before, the sun rises and sets just the same, our pleasures and anxieties are as they were, the routine of life is not varied, no empty chair confronts us, and it soon requires almost an effort of imagination to call up again the half-forgotten presence.

" Various the roads of life ; in one
All terminate, one lonely way.
We go ; and ' Is he gone ? '
Is all our best friends say."

The average man can probably number on the fingers of his two hands those he has ever known or, outside of his family circle, been associated with, whose departure to join the silent majority had caused him a lasting sense of personal loss, — those of whose going he could truly say that thereafter something was missing, a light had gone out, a voice was silent, a familiar presence ought to be there and was not.

Yet it is so to me personally with Judge Hoar. An individuality is gone ; the world is not, will not again be, quite what it was, — something has passed from it. And yet I never, or never until quite recently, knew Judge Hoar well.

Some twenty months ago,—driven from a home of two hundred and fifty years by the steady, irresistible advance of what the world is pleased to call modern improvements, including telegraph poles, asphalt sidewalks, brick blocks, and electric railways,—driven, I say, from an ancestral abiding-place by the encroachments of these unpleasing features of city life, I moved from Quincy to Lincoln; and as Lincoln adjoins Concord, I there found myself a near neighbor of Judge Hoar's. For nearly forty years I had known him more or less,—hereditary, family friends; I had met him in these rooms, more frequently still at the dinners of the Saturday Club, and now and again public events or discussion would throw us together; but only of late did we come together in Concord and as neighbors. It was, as I have said, less than two years ago, and I can but add that Lincoln and Concord, now that he is dead, are no longer quite the same to me,—a something is gone from them, and I shall miss it all the time.

Thus, what I now have to say of Judge Hoar has a personal significance; it is no mere official and perfunctory utterance. I feel I am speaking of a friend, who was—and is not. And, in the first place, I want to bear my witness to the man. In speaking of Mr. Winthrop here now only two meetings since, I used the expression, which to me means much, that, after all, in weighing in the balance those we have known, we get to realize that in this life it is not so much what a man does as what he is. He may succeed in a worldly way or in a worldly way he may fail,—he may win or lose the game,—but he still will be a man, or not a man, for all that; and for what he is, or was, and not for his skill at the game, at last we take him. Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar was every inch a man.

Springing, as I shall presently have occasion to point out, from the oldest and purest English New England stock, Judge Hoar was in body, thought, word, and action a typical New Englander. Shrewd in thought, keen of speech, angular and even rough in aspect and demeanor, whenever and however it was struck, the material of which he was made returned a true ring.

He was essentially a Puritan. But just as there are men and men, so there are Puritans and Puritans; and Rockwood Hoar was a Puritan of the most attractive kind. Yet it was

curious in observing him to note how easily a slight difference in his composition — in the balance, so to speak, of his make-up — would have wholly changed the result, bringing to the front the more repellent as well as familiar attributes of those of whom he was a type. A man of intense, deep-rooted convictions, — religious, political, social; of strong family and local, almost clan, feelings; seeing things most clearly from his own point of view, and not devoid of prejudices; conscious of strength, and consequently fearless of contact with opponents; honest himself and intuitively sensitive to dishonesty in others, with an instinct like the scent of a hunting-dog for cant, pretence and sham, and a wit which as with flashes of lightning revealed and not infrequently scathed what he thus instinctively saw, — Judge Hoar was saved from that Puritan sourness of disposition so often noticed, by a sense of humor and a spirit of kindliness which were worthy of Shakespeare or Montaigne. They redeemed him altogether.

Like Mr. Winthrop, I think Judge Hoar must have grown kindlier as he grew older. And yet he too had had his checks and reverses; to him, as to Mr. Winthrop, of life-long import also. That in 1868 another was preferred over his head, and he was not made Chief Justice of that Supreme Court of Massachusetts of which he was then the senior judge, was, as I think all will now agree, a slight upon him as cruel as it was unmerited. Looking back through thirty years, he would, in my judgment, have been justified in resenting it. I am glad that his friends did resent it. So again, when, two years later, President Grant nominated him as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and the Senate rejected him, — it was the Senate, not he, that stands condemned of record. One winter afternoon, years ago, I remember, we got jesting with him over the table of the Saturday Club upon his supposed roughness of manner and sharpness of tongue, while he himself entered into the spirit of our badinage most keenly of all; and then, without the slightest indication of feeling or irritation, but with strong humor, he repeated the remark of Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania, a personal friend of his, explanatory of that Senate rejection, — “What could you expect for a man who had snubbed seventy Senators!” — seventy then being the full chamber. That way of putting it un-

doubtedly had a basis, and no little basis, of truth. Judge Hoar at the time, — and, be it also remembered, it was the time of the so-called reconstruction of the subdued South, — Judge Hoar was then, I say, head of the Department of Justice. As such he had a large patronage to distribute, and was brought in close contact with many eager applicants and their senatorial patrons. His sense of humor on such occasions did not always have time to come to his rescue, and it was commonly alleged of him that, in political parlance, “he could not see things”; the real fact being that with his rugged honesty and keen eye for pretence and jobbery he saw things only too clearly. And so, first and last, he “snubbed seventy Senators,” — all the Senators there were; and they, after their kind, in due time “got even with him,” as some among them doubtless expressed it.

Then it was, under this undeserved stigma, twice repeated, — first in the State House at Boston, next in the Capitol at Washington, — then it was that the metal of the man’s nature returned its true ring. He wore defeat as ’twere a laurel crown. I knew him well, — I am vain enough to say that in these latter and better days I knew him almost intimately, — and never by look or word did I see in him indication of malice, unkindness, or harshness of memory. Two men, and two men only, among his leading cotemporaries with whom he had been brought in sharp personal collision, have I heard him criticise, and criticise with that incisiveness of thought reflected in speech of which he was the consummate master; but in the case of those two his words were colored by contempt for what he felt was rancor and meanness rather than by any sense of injury received.

But, turning from this aspect of the man, I would say a few words of him as we saw him here. Though a constant attendant at our meetings, — sitting always in the place towards which we shall hereafter not rarely turn, thinking instinctively there to see him again, — a close listener and keen observer, like Cassius, looking “quite through the deeds of men,” Judge Hoar took little active part in our proceedings. Rarely did he join in our discussions; still more rarely did he contribute to our record. In fact, I do not think Judge Hoar’s taste turned to literary effort. With a singular felicity of language and power of expression, — coining a phrase now and again

as no one but himself could coin it, — sustained effort with the pen seemed irksome to him. His opinions as a judge were always tersely put, nor was he at all given to elaborate speeches, much less rhetorical *tours de force*. And yet, alone among the prominent members of the bar that I have known, Judge Hoar and Richard H. Dana — those two — had a distinctly literary element in their composition. In the case of each it was there, and, what was more, literary men instinctively recognized that it was there. This was most apparent at the Saturday Club. The angle of contact in the two was different, and well worthy of notice. They were both remarkable men, — among the most so that it has been my good fortune to meet, — they would have distinguished themselves anywhere or at any time. Shakespeare, Molière, Edmund Burke, Samuel Johnson, Walter Scott, or Goethe would have delighted in their company; and blind Milton's countenance would have lighted up, if upon a Sunday afternoon he could have looked forward to an hour's call from his friend, and brother Puritan, Rockwood Hoar. But while Dana found his point of contact with the literary man in his wealth of imagination and his conversational power, that of Hoar lay in his shrewd common-sense perception, his keen wit, and his genuine, homely sense of humor. So Emerson loved him; Hawthorne studied him; Lowell paid tribute to him; George William Curtis quoted him. All of them profoundly respected him. He walked with them in their peculiar province as their equal. And now he has left us and again joined them. It was, and is, a choice companionship.

Yet one word. I feel that I am of late taking up more than my share of your time in referring to those of us who are gone; but in the present case I have a dying injunction to obey, almost a duty to perform. I have referred to Judge Hoar's ancestry, to that honest pride of descent which was so strongly, so characteristically an element of his rugged individuality. I have also said that as a neighbor my relations with him had of late assumed the shape almost of intimacy. We were far-away cousins, so far away that I shall not endeavor to trace or state the degree; but I belonged to the clan, and with him blood was indeed thicker than water. As he grew more and more infirm, but never less cheerful and ever more kindly, it was my custom from time to time, as my afternoon rides car-

ried me by his door, to stop, and, if I could not see him, at least to inquire for him. When I was so fortunate as to find him, his face, naturally harsh in outline and now ashen with age and increasing infirmity, would light up and become instinct with expression and kindliness, so that it seemed to me as if no one I had ever met had so charming and ingratiating a manner. That he should ever have been regarded as rough and repellent was not to be imagined! But, of late, I did not often see him. He was confined to his room. The last of these occasions was on Sunday the 30th of December, the month before his death. He was then a stricken, consciously dying man. Hearing my voice below, — at any rate, knowing I was there, — he presently sent for me to come to his chamber, and I saw him for what both he and I knew to be the last time. For me at least there was something infinitely touching in the interview, — I was conscious that it froze me up. I could not even attempt to express by act, much less by word, what I felt. The contrast was too great. Fresh from the saddle and swift motion in the strong winter air, I sat by his side in the death-laden twilight atmosphere of the sick-room; but though he labored for breath, his voice was strong and his cheerfulness and humor unabated. Taking my hand, still cold from the frosty air, he began at once by humorously charging me with having proceeded to administer on his estate in anticipation of his death, in an allusion I had made, in some published remarks of mine, at a dinner given the evening before to our associate Mr. Pierce, the biographer of Sumner;¹

¹ The following is the allusion referred to. It has a certain historical interest of its own as well as a connection with Judge Hoar, so that it is here quoted in full from the published record of the Pierce-Sumner dinner: —

"One more incident, — an incident which brings upon the stage my friend Mr. Pierce, as well as other memorable characters. The scene shifts to England; and the time last summer only. I was in the cathedral of Peterborough, when I saw Mr. Pierce's name written in the visitors' book directly above my own. I went through the noble edifice until I found him, and we walked together up and down the grand Norman nave and transept. He spoke of his book and of Sumner, and then suddenly said, 'By the way, a curious thing; I wonder if you can throw light upon it. When your grandfather died, in 1848, your father sent to Mr. Sumner "a slight token," as he described it, as a remembrance of your grandfather, not saying what it was. I found his note among Mr. Sumner's papers, but have never succeeded in getting any trace of the article. You wrote me some years ago that it was a silver ring, which, to correct the tremulousness of his hand, your grandfather wore to steady his pen in writing. Have you any idea what became of that ring after Sumner's death?' 'Yes,' I replied at once, 'I

and then, in reply to my inquiries, he began to discourse on the necessity, as he expressed it, of a new humane society. We have, said he, all sorts of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children and to animals; "but what we most need now," he added, "as it seems to me, is a society to promote ease of dying in old people." I had been cautioned not to remain with him long, as his strength was unequal to conversation; so presently I rose to leave, and we joined hands for the last time. To me at least such occasions are terrible. You long to say that which words may not express, and the utter inability to do so causes an appearance of reserve against which one strives in vain. You feel—you are—powerless. It was so with me then; but just as I had left the room, saddened, self-abashed, and even humiliated, I heard his voice

can tell you exactly what became of it. In the first place it was not a ring at all. I was mistaken. I knew that my father at that time sent such a ring to Dr. Palfrey; and my strong impression was that he had sent a companion ring to Mr. Sumner. I so wrote to you. But since then Judge E. R. Hoar has incidentally told me that, when Sumner died, his sister sent to him (Judge Hoar) two silver sleeve-buttons which my grandfather was wearing at the time of his death in the Capitol at Washington, and which my father had then sent to her brother. That was the 'slight token'; and was it not singular that our friend, Mr. Pierce, after seeking high and low for a solution of that little American biographical puzzle, dating back more than twenty years, should suddenly find it as he paced up and down in the dim light of the ancient cathedral of Peterborough!

"A few days afterwards we both returned to America, and I shortly, being now a near neighbor of his, called on my old friend, Judge Hoar. He is not here to-night. Of all living men he should be here; but the end cometh, and the places which knew him will soon know him no more forever. But, as I was saying, soon after my return I called to see him at his home; nor shall I soon forget the look of genuine pleasure which lighted up that rugged, familiar face, and the exclamation, 'Why! Charley boy!' which broke out, as he welcomed me back. Rarely have look and involuntary exclamation given me keener and more lasting pleasure,—from that source it was a compliment, than which none greater.

"Then, as we sat on his porch, looking out on the quiet tree-shaded Concord road, and chatted in the pleasant October afternoon, I mentioned among other things the incident of the 'little token' and Peterborough cathedral, and how singular it was that our friend here should at last have found trace of it when and as he did. Judge Hoar agreed; and then, referring to those sleeve-buttons, he suddenly turned and said, 'Do you know, I've been thinking I ought to leave those to you!' I do not know or greatly care whether he really does it; but I do know how gratified I felt when he said it. That 'little token' has a genealogy; it is a veritable *transmittendum*,—John Quincy Adams in 1848, Charles Sumner in 1874, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar in 1895: it is a goodly parentage! If the 'little token' should now, indeed, pass on to me, I shall be but a trustee. Who next?"

calling me to come back. I did so, and, looking up at me, he said, "Take care of Joanna Hoar." They were the last words he ever spoke to me.

I obey the injunction.

I have already referred to the remote kinship between Judge Hoar and myself. Joanna Hoar was our common ancestress, — perhaps I might say that we were both of "the tribe of Joanna,"¹ — and of Joanna Hoar I now propose to speak. The widow of Charles Hoar, for a time, during the reign of one of the earlier English Stuarts, sheriff of Gloucester, Joanna Hoar came to New England in 1640, bringing with her five children. But her story, as will presently appear, has been best told, and that very recently, by another. Suffice it now to say that one daughter of Joanna Hoar, called after her mother, married in due time Edmund Quincy, second of the name in New England, and familiar to us in the pages of Sewall as "Uncle Quinsey," that "true New England man." They had a son, Daniel, to whom, in 1689, was born a son, John. This John Quincy lived until 1765, and then dying, bequeathed his name to a great-grandson, just born, the child of his granddaughter, Abigail Smith, who a year previous had married the young Braintree lawyer, John Adams. While Judge Hoar therefore was descended in the seventh generation from the original Joanna in the direct male line, the descent of the family of which I am a member was through a succession of females, — Joanna Quincy, Elizabeth Smith, and Abigail Adams. Nevertheless, we were offshoots of a common stock; and for Joanna Hoar, the widow with five children who came to New England in 1640, Judge Hoar felt a deep and abiding reverence truly characteristic of the man. Of this he recently gave proof in connection with that College of which the son of Joanna Hoar was the third President.

Though in no degree wealthy, Judge Hoar was a liberal, freely giving man; in proportion to means, few more so. He had, too, a strong feeling for his Alma Mater, — a devotion. His liberality and this devotion bore fruits in full measure to

¹ I have elsewhere (Three Episodes of Massachusetts History, pp. 603, 704-706) had occasion to point out how curiously prolific of noticeable men "the tribe of Joanna" has proved. To this earlier reference of mine the injunction of Judge Hoar was probably attributable.

the College on one important occasion. President Eliot is my authority for the anecdote. Once, when at some dinner I found myself next to Mr. Eliot, — in the course of conversation I referred to the large subscription by its alumni after the great Boston fire of 1872, to make good the losses Harvard College then sustained. I spoke with genuine admiration of it as a stroke of genius on his part, that then, while Boston was still smoking in ruins, before the extent of its loss was measured, while its sons knew not what, if anything, might still remain to them, — even then, hardly yet in the morrow of calamity, realizing the truth that when men are most deeply moved they most freely give, he, as representing the College, had had the audacity as well as the true insight to call for free-will offerings at once, to make good the losses Harvard had sustained. The result of the call many here doubtless remember. The alumni seemed to open their purses as never before; money flowed from them like water. Harvard College rose like a phoenix from the smoking ashes of Boston.

The President listened to my comments on this, as I jestingly termed it to him, Napoleonic stroke of mendicancy, and then proceeded to explain how it came about. It was all very natural. He told me that a day or two after the fire he, the Treasurer of the College, and I think one other member of the Corporation, were seated in the Treasurer's office, computing as well as they then could the extent of the calamity, and looking each other in the face in blank dismay. The disaster seemed fairly irretrievable. Footsteps, he said, were then heard on the stairs outside, and, opening the door, Judge Hoar came in. He had in his hand a bond, railroad or otherwise, just taken apparently from his box, and with as deep a feeling as he ever allowed himself to show, he proceeded to say that he considered he owed everything to Harvard College, — a debt nothing he could do or give would ever repay; that he saw she had been one of the heaviest losers by the fire, and now stood in need of help; and so, as one of her children, he had brought in his contribution now; and, so saying, he handed the bond to the Treasurer. Some one else, I do not remember who, presently appeared that day on the same errand; and, added the President, it then occurred to me that if these two felt thus, others probably felt the same way, and an immediate public appeal for aid was decided upon. The blow thus struck

was timed exactly. Within sixty days more than \$180,000 poured in upon the astonished Treasurer.

But it was at a later day, indeed only recently, that Judge Hoar's combined veneration for Joanna Hoar and his love for the College found most characteristic expression in a similar generous way. The Harvard Annex, as it was called, last year developed into Radcliffe College. Shortly after my return from a trip to Europe, nearly six months ago, Judge Hoar drove over to my house in Lincoln one bright September Sunday, and after some pleasant talk drew from his pocket a paper which he proceeded to read to me. Dated from Quincy, where Joanna Hoar lies buried in the ancient graveyard by the side of her son Leonard,¹ it was a supposed communication from her, written in the quaint olden style and addressed to Mrs. Agassiz, the President of Radcliffe, conveying a gift of \$5000 to endow a scholarship to assist in the education of girls at the College, "preference always to be given to natives, or daughters of citizens of Concord," and to bear as an endowment the name of "THE WIDOW JOANNA HOAR."

The whole correspondence as it took place has since been printed in the first annual report (1894) of the President of

¹ Our associate George Frisbie Hoar has recently caused a fresh tablet to be placed over the spot where Joanna Hoar, and the widow of her son, Leonard Hoar, are buried: it bears the following inscriptions:—

BRIDGET
WIDOW OF PRESIDENT
LEONARD HOAR,
DIED MAY 25, 1723.
DAUGHTER OF
JOHN LORD LISLE,
PRESIDENT OF THE
HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE,
LORD COMMISSIONER OF
THE GREAT SEAL, WHO
DREW THE INDICTMENT
AND SENTENCE OF
KING CHARLES I., AND
WAS MURDERED AT
LAUSANNE, AUG. 11TH, 1664.
AND OF LADY ALICIA LISLE,
WHO WAS BEHEADED BY
THE BRUTAL JUDGMENT
OF JEFFRIES IN 1685;
SHE WAS NEARLY AKIN
BY MARRIAGE TO
LORD WILLIAM RUSSELL.

JOANNA HOAR
DIED IN BRAINTREE,
DECEMBER 21ST, 1661.
SHE WAS WIDOW OF
CHARLES HOAR
SHERIFF OF
GLOUCESTER, ENGLAND,
WHO DIED 1638.
SHE CAME TO
NEW ENGLAND,
WITH FIVE CHILDREN
ABOUT 1640.

Radcliffe. Though it can there be found, it is so charmingly and humorously expressed, it is so thoroughly, so kindly characteristic of Judge Hoar in his riper days, and withal of such genuine historical interest, that I ask permission to reproduce it here in full, so giving to it such permanence of record as may come from its incorporation into the published Proceedings of this Society. At the close of his last contribution to the correspondence, Judge Hoar, still keeping up an air of supposed mystery, and ignoring his own connection with the gift, says that he has stated the case to his brother, our associate, Senator Hoar, and to myself, as two of Joanna Hoar's descendants of the present time, and adds: "They look intelligent, but promise nothing; though both are members of the Historical Society, and perhaps know more than they choose to tell."

Altogether it was a delightful bit of fanciful correspondence, kindly as well as reverentially conceived, and most charmingly carried out; and our old friend enjoyed it keenly. It appealed to his sense of humor. He chose to give with an unseen hand, and to build his memorial to his first New England ancestor in his own peculiar way. He is dead now; and I feel that I commit no breach of confidence in thus obeying his last injunction to me, though, in so doing, I no longer merely look intelligent, but here openly tell all I know.

The extract from the report of the President of Radcliffe College referred to in Mr. Adams's remarks is as follows:—

In conclusion, let me add that the new aspect of our institution has already awakened a fresh interest in Radcliffe College, and we have received in consequence private donations as well as bequests and scholarships. Details respecting these gifts will be found in the Treasurer's Report. I wish, however, to make special mention of one recently endowed scholarship, because the manner of the gift brings it into a certain ideal relation with the scholarship presented by Ann Radcliffe to Harvard College some two hundred and fifty years ago.

The story which suggests this association is so charmingly told by the true donor (the gift remaining, however, strictly anonymous) that I think I cannot fail to gratify my readers by incorporating it in this report.

ELIZABETH C. AGASSIZ.

At the time that the following letter was received in Cambridge, a gift of two thousand dollars, without name of giver, was received by the Treasurer in Boston. A subsequent anonymous gift raised the sum to five thousand dollars.

QUINCY, Sept. 12, 1894.

TO MISTRESS LOUIS AGASSIZ,
President of Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

HONORED AND GRACIOUS LADY, — This epistle is addressed to you from Quincy, because in the part of Braintree which now bears that name, in the burial place by the meeting-house, all that was mortal of me was laid to rest more than two centuries ago, and the gravestone stands which bears my name, and marks the spot where my dust reposes.

It may cause you surprise to be thus addressed, and that the work which you are pursuing with such constancy and success is of interest to one who so long ago passed from the mortal sight of men. But you may recall that wise philosophers have believed and taught that those who have striven to do their Lord's will here below do not, when transferred to his house on high, thereby become wholly regardless of what may befall those who come after them, — "*nec, hæc coelestia spectantes, ista terrestria contemnunt.*" It is a comforting faith that those who have "gone forth weeping, bearing precious seed," shall be permitted to see and share the joys of the harvest with their successors who gather it.

I was a contemporary of the pious and bountiful Lady Radcliffe, for whom your College is named. My honored husband, Charles Hoar, Sheriff of Gloucester in England, by his death in 1638, left me a widow with six children. We were of the people called by their revilers Puritans, to whom civil liberty, sound learning, and religion were very dear. The times were troublous in England, and the hands of princes and prelates were heavy upon God's people. My thoughts were turned to the new England where precious Mr. John Harvard had just lighted that little candle which has since thrown its beams so far, where there seemed a providential refuge for those who desired a church without a Bishop, and a state without a King.

I did not, therefore, like the worshipful Lady Radcliffe, send a contribution in money; but I came hither myself, bringing the five youngest of my children with me, and arrived at Braintree in the year 1640.

From that day Harvard College has been much in my mind; and I humbly trust that my coming has not been without some furtherance to its well being. My lamented husband in his will directed that our youngest son, Leonard, should be "carefullie kept at Schoole, and when hee is fitt for itt to be carefullie placed at Oxford, and if ye Lord shall see fitt, to make him a Minister unto his people." As the nearest practicable conformity to this direction, I placed him carefully at Harvard College, to such purpose that he graduated therefrom in 1650, became a faithful minister to God's people, a capable physician to heal their bodily diseases, and became the third President of the College, and the first who was a graduate from it, in 1672.

My daughters became the wives of the Rev. Henry Flint, the minister of Braintree, and Col. Edmund Quincy of the same town: and it is recorded that from their descendants another President has since been raised up to the College, Josiah Quincy (tam carum caput), and a Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, John Quincy Adams, who as well as his sons and grandsons have given much aid to the College, as members of one

or the other of its governing boards, beside attaining other distinctions less to my present purpose.

The elder of my three sons who came with me to America, John Hoar, settled in the extreme western frontier town of English settlement in New England, called Concord: to which that exemplary Christian man, the Reverend Peter Bulkeley, had brought his flock in 1635. In Mr. Bulkeley's ponderous theological treatise, called "The Gospel Covenant," of which two editions were published in London (but whether it be so generally and constantly perused and studied at the present day as it was in my time, I know not), — in the preface thereto, he says it was written "at the end of the earth." There my son and his posterity have dwelt and multiplied, and the love and service of the College which I should approve have not been wholly wanting among them. In so remote a place there must be urgent need of instruction, though the report seems to be well founded that settlements farther westward have since been made, and that some even of my own posterity have penetrated the continent to the shores of the Pacific Sea. Among the descendants of John Hoar have been that worthy Professor John Farrar, whose beautiful face in marble is among the precious possessions of the College; that dear and faithful woman who gave the whole of her humble fortune to establish a scholarship therein, Levina Hoar; and others who as Fellows or Overseers have done what they could for its prosperity and growth.

Pardon my prolixity, but the story I have told is but a prelude to my request of your kindness. There is no authentic mode in which departed souls can impart their wishes to those who succeed them in this world but these, the record or memory of their thoughts and deeds while on earth; or the reappearance of their qualities of mind and character in their lineal descendants.

In this first year of Radcliffe College, — when, so far as seems practicable and wise, the advantages which our dear Harvard College, "the defiance of the Puritan to the savage and the wilderness," has so long bestowed upon her sons, are through your means to be shared by the sisters and daughters of our people, — if it should so befall that funds for a scholarship to assist in the education of girls at Radcliffe College, who need assistance, with preference always to be given to natives, or daughters of citizens of Concord, Massachusetts, should be placed in the hands of your Treasurer, you might well suppose that memory of me had induced some of my descendants to spare so much from their necessities for such a modest memorial: and I would humbly ask that the scholarship may bear the name of

THE WIDOW JOANNA HOAR.

And may God establish the good work you have in charge!

In reply, this letter was addressed to one of the descendants of Joanna Hoar: —

QUINCY ST., CAMBRIDGE, Oct. 11, 1894.

DEAR SIR, — Very recently I received the most gracious communication from the far past, written with the mingled dignity and grace which we are wont to associate with our ladies of the olden time, yet not without a

certain modernness which showed that she still keeps in touch with what is valuable in our day and generation. Through me she sends greeting to the young Radcliffe College, and a most generous gift to aid in the work for the education of women in which that institution is engaged.

A doubt as to the best way of acknowledging the gift and the sympathy it represents has kept me silent till now. But a friend suggests that you might put us in the way of reaching that gentle Joanna Hoar who speaks across the lapse of time so cordially and sweetly. In that case will you express, if not to her, to some of her living descendants, the thanks of Radcliffe College for the scholarship which she has so generously endowed?

Perhaps I may be allowed to add my own respectful gratitude for her valued letter to me.

With great regard, most cordially yours,

ELIZABETH C. AGASSIZ.

Letter from a Descendant of the Widow Joanna Hoar.

CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS, Oct. 15, 1894.

DEAR MRS. AGASSIZ, — I am honored by the receipt of your courteous letter. If, as I suppose, the Joanna Hoar to whom you refer is a lady from whom I am descended, I know no means of communicating with her. Even the messenger entrusted by the Post Office with a "special delivery" letter might decline to risk the chances of getting back, if he were to undertake the delivery in person. So I adopted the other alternative which you suggest, and stated the case to two of her most conspicuous descendants of our time, Senator George F. Hoar, of Worcester, and Mr. Charles F. Adams, who has recently removed from Quincy to a house in Lincoln, just on the borders of Concord.

They look intelligent, but promise nothing; though both are members of the Historical Society, and perhaps know more than they choose to tell.

I am glad, however, that the old lady contrived a way to send Radcliffe a gift with her greeting.

Very faithfully yours,

Mrs. ELIZABETH AGASSIZ.

The Hon. WALBRIDGE A. FIELD, having been called on, said: —

There are many men here who knew Judge Hoar longer and better than I, and who could better express the esteem in which he was held by the members of this Society and by the community. I first knew Judge Hoar by sight when he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, and after 1869 I knew him well. Of his life before his appointment to that bench I know only what everybody knows, — his admission to the bar, his appointment to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas, his resigna-

tion from that bench, and his practice of law in Boston until he became a judge of the Supreme Judicial Court. Of his political life before that time I know only that he was a strong antislavery man who had been a Whig, and that he had taken part in an attempted organization of a Free Soil party. His published opinions while a judge on our Supreme Court, where he continued for nearly ten years, are the best evidence of the kind of judge he was. Those opinions, as a rule, are not long; they begin directly with the discussion of the questions of law involved; they are exceedingly clear; the analysis of the case is perfect; authorities are cited when necessary, but there is no great display of authorities; and the opinion ends when the argument ends, and there is robust good sense manifest throughout. There is no attempt at display, and very little discussion of subjects that might be interesting but are not strictly necessary to the decision. The reporter informs me that his opinions were always carefully written out in his own handwriting, ready for the printer, that he never corrected them after they were filed, did not care to see the printed proofs, and that apparently he dismissed them from his mind when they had been approved. I am informed that he rarely made more than one draught; that he formulated what he had to say in his mind before he wrote anything, and that he made very few changes in the revision. I think he had never been in the habit of dictating to a stenographer until he was Attorney-General, but he then dictated long opinions which were sent to the other departments often without the change of a word. I tried a few cases before him, as well when he was sitting at *nisi prius* as on the bench; and it was impossible not to notice the quickness of his perceptions, the keenness of his logic, and his dislike of any conduct in a cause which was not directly pertinent to the issues and did not throw light upon the trial. He had the impatience natural to very quick minds at the slow processes of duller men, and he especially disliked any indirection, any arguments that missed the point of the case, and any pretensions and affectations of thought or feeling that were intended or were likely to mislead. I think no jury ever left their seats under his instructions without having clearly and forcibly presented to them the exact issues to be determined.

While he remained upon the bench, Chief Justice Bigelow resigned. Governor Bullock nominated Ex-Judge Thomas to that office, but he was rejected by the Council, and Judge Chapman was appointed. Judge Thomas had been appointed a justice in 1853, and had resigned in 1859 to practise law in Boston, and Judge Hoar had been appointed a justice in his place. It was felt by the friends of Judge Hoar at that time, and I think by the bar generally, then and since, that Judge Hoar ought to have been appointed. This was in 1868. How much or how little this incident had to do with Judge Hoar's acceptance of the appointment of Attorney-General in March, 1869, by President Grant, I do not know. It seems to me not unlikely that if he had then been appointed chief justice, he would have remained upon the bench of our Supreme Court until he died. When Chief Justice Chapman died, Governor Washburn offered the appointment to Judge Hoar, but he declined it. He was appointed Attorney-General by President Grant, and he qualified on the 10th day of March, 1869, and held the office until his resignation in the latter part of June, 1870. I was invited by him to be the Assistant Attorney-General assigned to his office, and from the latter part of April, 1869, until his resignation, I held that office. Part of the time I roomed in the same house with him, and sat at the same table. I then became very well acquainted with him, and came to have great regard for him.

The condition of affairs when General Grant became President it may be well enough to recall. All the seceding States had not been readmitted to representation in Congress. Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas were still governed as military districts. The State governments in many of the seceding States which had been reorganized were not such as to command much respect. President Johnson had not been the wisest of presidents, and his appointments to the civil service had often been bad. The Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States had not yet been ratified; there was some doubt of the ability of the United States to pay its debt; and the financial laws necessary to uphold the credit of the United States, and ultimately to insure the resumption of specie payment had not been passed. The Johnson-Clarendon treaty between the United States and Great Britain had been rejected by the Senate. Mr. Sumner had

delivered in the Senate what I consider a very intemperate speech against it which had been made public, and the chances for successful negotiation with Great Britain were not favorable. There was an insurrection in Cuba, and the President was urged by many men in public life to acknowledge the belligerent rights of the insurgents, with a view of making Cuba independent of Spain and ultimately annexing her to the United States. Before the war the acquisition of Cuba had been a part of the policy of the Democratic party. President Buchanan, both before and after he became President, had urged the acquisition of Cuba by purchase, with the intimation that if it could not be bought it might be necessary to take it by force, and Spain was very suspicious of the intentions of the United States. It became necessary for Judge Hoar as Attorney-General immediately to take part in the consideration of political questions of the gravest character; and it has, I think, always been considered that he acquitted himself with distinction. His opinion as Attorney-General in the case of James Weaver, upon the jurisdiction of a military commission sitting in Texas in the year 1868 to try and to sentence to death a person not in the military or naval service, is an example of the unusual character of some of the matters with which he had to deal. The statutes passed during the war were being brought before the Supreme Court of the United States for the purpose of testing their constitutionality, and as Attorney-General he argued all the important cases which were argued during his term of office. *Hepburn v. Griswold*, the first case involving the constitutionality of the legal tender acts, was decided while he held the office, but it was argued by his predecessor, and the subsequent legal tender cases were argued after he left the office, so that he took no part in the arguments upon the constitutionality of the legal tender acts; but he argued, for example, *Veazie Bank v. Fenno*, *The Justices v. Murray*, and the cases involving the constitutionality of the confiscation acts, although these were afterward reargued, and his name does not appear in the reports.

It was during his term of office that nine circuit judges were appointed and two justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Attorney-General's office was not changed into the Department of Justice until after he left it. That

change increased the clerical force of the office, and created the office of Solicitor-General; but in Judge Hoar's time the office had hardly the clerical force necessary to the efficient performance of its work. Taken suddenly, without warning, from the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, into such an office as that, with all its political business and appointments in addition to what may be called its strictly law work, he found it a very great change; but he was more than equal to it. The first thing that struck me was the remarkable quickness with which he saw through intricate and involved cases. I have never known anybody, I think, whose insight was quicker, more penetrating, or surer. I have known a few men who were as profound lawyers as he; one or two, perhaps, who would consider a case with a wider comprehension of all its bearings, but none who could see so much at the first glance. His aspect was somewhat stern, and he made a remark now and then that seemed ungracious, but on the whole he was as satisfactory a man to serve under as I ever worked with. I found him to be a very kind-hearted man. He was really very considerate to all the clerks in the office, although his manner at first frightened them. He turned nobody out, although there were one or two that I found rather trying.

Some time after Judge Hoar resigned he was appointed one of the commissioners for the negotiation of the treaty of Washington, and was associated with Mr. Fish, the Secretary of State, General Schenck, our minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain, Judge Nelson, of the Supreme Court, and Mr. Williams, afterwards Attorney-General of the United States. The whole subject of our relations with Great Britain was often discussed at cabinet meetings while Judge Hoar was Attorney-General, and his views were well known to the President. I have reason to believe that the President had a strong liking for him and great confidence in his judgment. I think that it was somewhat annoying to Judge Hoar that in these discussions and the subsequent ones that resulted in the treaty he could receive little or no aid from the senior Senator of Massachusetts. President Grant throughout, as it happened, maintained a strict non-interference with the affairs of Cuba, and enforced the neutrality laws; and in this he was supported very urgently by Judge Hoar. It is well known

that President Grant thought we should have some possessions in the West India Islands, and, while preserving strict neutrality about Cuba, was eager to acquire San Domingo. This policy was begun while Judge Hoar was Attorney-General, but it was more clearly shown by occurrences well known to the public which happened after Judge Hoar left office. Although I have no positive knowledge of Judge Hoar's position on the subject, I believe that he did not favor this policy of the President. It was during his term of office that he was nominated by the President as Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and was rejected by the Senate. This rejection did not involve any reflections upon the ability or character of Judge Hoar, but I shall not attempt to give a full account of it. For one thing, I have not sufficient knowledge. It may be said, however, that in carrying out his ideas of the proper manner of performing the duties of his office in making appointments he had thwarted a good many of the wishes of the public men in Washington. His manners were complained of, too; and it is true, I think, that his manner of speech had sometimes given offence. Coming from the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, where the traditional manners then were somewhat brusque, and transported into an entirely different sphere, he certainly did not always show that graciousness of speech which robs a refusal of a great part of its sting. He never seemed to me to lack tact in the management of grave affairs, where the persons interested were more intent upon things than upon forms, and personal considerations were not important; but he certainly had not the art of influencing men by conciliating or flattering them. The truth is, that at that time a proposition to do something which he thought ought not to be done struck him at first with surprise and indignation. If he could restrain his speech long enough to see the humor of the thing, he got along well enough; but if he spoke at once what he thought, it was apt to be severe. It is useless to speculate upon what would have been his life if he had been confirmed as Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. His natural place was to be a judge; he had the character and ability requisite for a great judge. If he had been made a justice on that bench, he probably would not have been assigned to the first circuit, certainly

not while Judge Clifford lived. He probably would have been assigned to some Southern circuit, which would have removed him from Concord a great part of the time. How long he could have lived out of New England, or how much he would have enjoyed it, and what would have been the effect upon his opinions and character of long-continued contact with new men and new forms of society, can only be conjectured. After he came back from Washington he resumed the practice of law in Boston, and except when acting in the negotiation of the treaty of Washington and serving in the House of Representatives at Washington during one term, he continued to practise law until a few months before he died. He occasionally tried cases before a jury, but most of his cases were before the court. I have heard him address a jury, and he was an effective advocate. Beside the power of clear and forcible statement he had strong feelings, and could by short pathetic appeals excite the emotions of a jury where it was appropriate to the case. Still his arguments were mainly before the court, and they were like his opinions, — not long, very clear, remarkably strong in the analysis of the exact points involved in them, and persuasive in their sound sense. His style always clearly and sharply expressed his thought.

I do not think he was a very laborious man. I doubt whether he ever in his life sat down and said to himself, "This is a great cause, and I will write the very best opinion or make the very best argument I can, and take all the time necessary for preparation." He did not like the manual labor of writing, and he was wholly averse to that elaboration of rhetorical statement which was perhaps the prevailing fashion in Massachusetts when he was in college. He liked directness, simplicity, and, except for the wit with which he pointed or enlivened the argument, he left it bald of decorations. I think you can find nothing of his which has been published in which you can see that he took great pains with the form of it, otherwise than to make as clear as possible what he thought and felt. There are some lawyers who think it great praise that they have never held public office, and have confined themselves strictly to their profession. Judge Hoar desired no such praise. He had the old New England notion that it was a man's duty, and a commendable ambition in any one, to

take such part in public affairs as came to him. He remained in Concord, the home of his father, but wherever he might have settled he would have taken the same interest in town affairs. He took an active interest in politics always, although the only elective political offices he ever held were those of Senator in the State Senate, of Representative in Congress for a single term, and of Presidential Elector. But he was interested not alone in politics; he was a devoted friend of his college, and served her faithfully. He was interested in everything human. Although an antislavery man from the beginning, and a Unitarian in religion, I think he must be regarded on the whole as a conservative man in his general character. I do not remember that he ever broached any scheme of philanthropy or of politics which he thought was a panacea for our social or political ills. He always seemed to me anxious to preserve the best institutions and the best habits of New England life, and to make the most of them. After he came back to Boston he had, I think, all the law practice he wanted; it was of the best kind, and took all of his time that he wished to give to his profession. I do not think he would have enjoyed an overwhelmingly large practice. He wished time for seeing his friends, and for meditating upon many things, and for enjoying many things, and for reading what he chose. He was always famous for his wit. He had as pronounced an individuality as Benjamin Franklin or John Adams or Charles Lamb or Thomas Carlyle. I remember when in Washington a gentleman said to me, "Some of the most eminent public men in Washington from New England do not seem to me to be what I had supposed the Yankee to be"; and he mentioned Mr. Webster and Mr. Choate. I said that Mr. Webster was a good enough New Englander, although he might have been born anywhere of English parents; Mr. Choate, I admitted, had not many New England characteristics. Judge Hoar could not be mistaken. His whole conversation and manner showed the soil from which he sprang. He had the shrewd judgment of the New Englander, and the faculty of characterizing a man or a cause by an epithet or a phrase, in a strictly Yankee way. It was the nimbleness of his wit as well as the sincerity of his character that endeared him so much to that bright set of literary men whose companion he was. In a running conversation his wit appeared

constantly. It was unpremeditated, sudden, and every way his own. I am told that he kept no memoranda of fine sayings, but he had a remarkable memory for anything striking or felicitous in speech which he had ever heard or read, — and he had read much, but I think in rather a desultory way. He read what he liked to read. He delighted to gratify his mind.

Judge Hoar as I knew him was an aggressive man in his opinions, and had some of the defects of his qualities. I have seen men more tolerant than he, and of more catholic judgments. He was unflinching in the maintenance of any cause which he had much at heart, and he could hardly forgive persons who he thought deliberately acted in violation of their own sense of right. He grew more tolerant as he grew older, but still he always preserved fidelity to his own convictions, cost what it might. The men who knew him best liked him best, and he was a delightful companion. It was only on acquaintance that you could find out how tender-hearted he was, how generous he was, how considerate he was to those whom he thought deserving. He had the habit of repressing any exhibition of feeling, which we all know was one characteristic of the old New Englander, and he took great satisfaction in doing good by stealth. He meant to live his own life. He was about the best specimen we had of a witty, wise, courageous, public-spirited, God-fearing New England lawyer.

The Recording Secretary then read the following letter which had been received from the Hon. Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, a Corresponding Member: —

CINCINNATI, 4 February, 1895.

Hon. C. F. ADAMS, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

MY DEAR SIR, — Learning from Mr. E. L. Pierce that the approaching meeting of the Society will probably be a commemorative one, when the death of our fellow-member the Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar will be fitly noticed, I venture to make some mention of my personal and intimate relations to him in 1869-70, and of my estimate of his character.

We met in Washington about the 6th of March at the beginning of General Grant's first term as President. He had been appointed Attorney-General and I Secretary of the Interior, and I believe that neither of us had the slightest warning of the appointment till it was

publicly announced that our names had been sent to the Senate. Summoned thus unexpectedly to public duty, we were not prepared to transfer our households to the capital at once, and I was very glad to accept the invitation of Mr. Hoar to join him in a temporary occupation of the house of Mr. Twitchell, a member of the House from Massachusetts, which would be unoccupied during the spring and summer. The house was in charge of a young married pair from New England, the husband being a teacher in the Freedmen's Bureau Schools, and we were thus able to step at once into a home-like and comfortable establishment.

It had for me, however, the far more fortunate and important result, that I was thus thrown at once into the closest personal association with Judge Hoar, both in our duties in the Cabinet and in our leisure hours. The house was near the Capitol; and Mr. Evarts (who, as you know, is a cousin of Judge Hoar) was often the Judge's guest when his business with the Supreme Court called him to Washington. It goes without saying that whoever was permitted to be of the party when such men met under such circumstances enjoyed *noctes ambrosianæ* equal to any that Kit North described.

The common impression that Judge Hoar had a wit that was too tart to be genial, has always seemed to me very like the other notion quite prevalent forty or fifty years ago that Thackeray was a cynical writer, — an error in which the responsibility for the misjudgment must be laid at the door of those who lacked the ear to catch the subtle tone of sympathy vibrating from the very heart, or the eye to see the merry twinkle which accompanied the words which glittered with so keen an edge.

A truer and more unselfish friendship, a heartier accord with all that is right and true, a warmer sympathy with whatever makes for progress and tends to level men upward, was never seen. The playfully mocking air covered pity and kindness of the most thorough sort. The humorous or sarcastic turn of a phrase covered a heart that was thoroughly earnest, and full of most steady and fixed purpose.

In official consultations he made a public labor as attractive as a social feast, whilst his opinions were as weighty and his judgment as solid and as helpful as if no flash of wit ever illumined his thought. The wild-apple "tang," as Thoreau calls it, which gave his thoughts and words a native character of their own, made him an unfailing source of joy to all who knew him well, whilst his solid powers and his thorough cultivation of every faculty of mind made him wisely instructive, and intellectually powerful in every sphere of action. As a judge, his racy wit gave new aptness to the sound application of old principles. As a Cabinet officer, he touched the very marrow of the question under discussion. As a member of an important diplomatic

commission, he knew how to cut sheer through the most tangled logic in a way to amuse and delight even those who found their sophistries scattered to the winds.

Massachusetts has reason to be proud of the memory of a noble list of men who have kept good the promise of the great characters of their colonial ancestors, and Judge Hoar's place is a safe one among them. For traits of native quality, improved but not lost in the refinements of modern education; for hearty love of right and for sturdy and unflinching support of it; for readiness to help every good cause and a strong mind and will to make his help valuable; for purity of heart and sincere reverence for all that is divinely taught,—he was a man for his country to be proud of, and for his friends to model their own lives upon.

Faithfully yours,

J. D. Cox.

Mr. HENRY LEE said :—

“Behold there come seven years of great plenty throughout all the land of Egypt: and there shall arise after them seven years of famine.”

At our last meeting but one Dr. Ellis was speaking words of lament at the loss of Mr. Winthrop; a month later, stunned by the news of his sudden death, we came together to mourn him. This loss upon loss makes us poor indeed.

A few years ago we had the pleasure of beholding among us Emerson, Deane, Lowell, Parkman, Holmes, Winthrop, and Ellis,—these were our years of great plenty; now the last of them has gone, and the years of famine have come upon us. When such men are withdrawn, the sadness of personal bereavement is followed by dismay over our deferred intentions, our lost opportunities. We can never know, we cannot estimate, we can only conjecture, what garnered secrets of the past have been buried with them, which might have been revealed had their lives been prolonged, or extorted by us had we been more vigilant.

Now we vainly regret that we had not, like Joseph, gathered up the food of the seven years of plenty.

For while there are many untiring scholars flashing their searchlights upon obscure passages in our history and illuminating them for us, they have never seen the unsullied, uninvaded New England pictured by Emerson in his historical discourse at Concord and in his memoir of Dr. Ezra Ripley,

by Holmes and Lowell in divers places, and loved and studied and set before us by Winthrop and Deane and Ellis. They were the representatives of a vanished age; in their brief lifetime the transformation of centuries has been accomplished: the peaceful, farming, maritime New England has passed away, only to be conjured up by realizing their descriptions, and shutting eyes and ears to the unwelcome intrusion of the bustling, heterogeneous present.

To-day we are called upon to grieve over the departure of a true Puritan. Leaving to others an estimate of his rare ability, of his professional eminence, of his patriotic public service, I dwell on certain salient traits which have perhaps masked more fundamental elements of his character.

Gazing into the grave of an old friend, one may get a blurred image; so I recur, on this occasion, to a portrait drawn by me twenty years ago, when he was candidate for the United States Senate: —

"At the Republican conference Tuesday evening, Mr. Shortle of Provincetown said that no man who could only be approached by those within certain walks of life, who represented not the Republican party, but only a peculiar shade of blood, a few families on Beacon Street, would get his vote. Now, if Mr. Shortle knows Judge Hoar at all, even by hearsay, he must have been aware he was talking nonsense. As to Beacon Street, living there is a presumption of wealth, nothing more; in some cases inherited, in most earned, — by some honestly, by others dishonestly, — and spent wisely or unwisely, frugally or lavishly, according to the disposition of the holder. Of over four hundred householders only five live in the houses in which they were born. The blood is pretty much what it is throughout Massachusetts, — that of the early settlers filtered through several generations of varied fortunes and occupations, of good and evil report.

"But whatever the merits or demerits of the dwellers in Beacon Street, who are only distinguished by that success in money-getting which Mr. Shortle and the majority of men strive for, Judge Hoar will be amused to learn that he is their representative. I have known him well for forty-two years, and I have often qualified my praise of him by charging him with an undue severity on city men and city ways, an almost aggressive simplicity and disregard of the little graces.

"If one wants to see Puritan principles carried into practice, let him visit Concord and witness the noble frugality and quiet dignity of that small circle of highly endowed and highly educated men and women to which Judge Hoar belongs, and which is characterized by those virtues easy to admire, hard to practise, even by Mr. Shortle."

After this lapse of time the record stands approved ; his undue severity on city men and city ways, his aggressive simplicity and disregard of the little graces, as well as his plain living and high thinking, have still characterized him.

I once addressed him as the incarnation of the State of Massachusetts in general, and Middlesex County in particular ; and so he was.

Born in Concord, the wilderness town, consecrated by the piety and generosity of its well-born founder, the Rev. Peter Bulkeley ; made picturesque by the brotherly reconciliation of the gentle Winthrop and stern old Dudley ; and illustrated, not only by the "shot heard round the world," but also by the character of its people, — by such citizens as the patriotic Chaplain Emerson ; by good old Dr. Ripley, who ruled so long as Parson and Autocrat, one of the rearguard of the army of the Puritans ; by Emerson and his brothers, and by Mrs. Samuel Ripley, the most learned, brilliant, and modest woman of "Our First Century," who made it classic ground ; and, last not least, by his own father, the Hon. Samuel Hoar, a modest, dignified, frugal, generous, wise man, whose word was law ; — born and bred in this happy town, which "stints its expense in small matters, that it may spend freely on great duties," and so inculcates frugality and public spirit ; listening year by year to the story of the 19th April, or better still to the reminiscences of the survivors of the fight, — no wonder that he imbibed the belief that Concord, not Boston, was the hub of the universe, and that what was not done in Concord was not worth doing.

His faith in his town, his State, his church, his College, his class, his political party, was absolute ; so profound were his convictions, so strong his attachments, that he seemed to mistrust the sanity or sincerity of those who questioned their superiority.

This claim, and his denunciations, private and public, of all dissenters, were calculated to affront those who were without the pale ; the assumption was naturally offensive to those of other nativities, or to those who had conscientiously arrived at other conclusions on matters, religious, social, or political, and was taken too literally by those who were devoid of a sense of humor, or not well acquainted with his complexities.

For while it was difficult to trace the boundary line between

his settled convictions and his cherished illusions, to distinguish between the sallies of his wit and the utterances of his righteous indignation, those who had known him best allowed for the mixture.

They smiled at his local claims; they respected his rugged simplicity; they allowed for his excess, or what they deemed his perversion, of loyalty to his political party, for a certain astigmatism in looking at his associates and his opponents; they pardoned asperities of which he seemed unconscious, remembering the many tokens he had given of his deep underlying affection. I can give a specimen of this deep undercurrent, of this amiable inconsistency.

Writing to me, whose political debasement he had often deplored, about two common friends and kinsmen equally debased, he says, —

“What I knew of G. leads me to think he deserved the eulogy you give. But I was very fond of W., who always was a *trump*; and sickness and deprivation made him a hero, and as near a saint as it is good for anybody to be.

“What a curious study it is to look back upon these finished lives, of men whom we have known from youth to old age, and how hard it is to believe that there can ever be any more like them!”

Again, in another letter, —

“I never expect to find anybody in this world who is always right; indeed (with the possible exception of one whom modesty forbids me to mention), I have never yet found one.

“And as I grow old, I am more and more disposed to content myself with the admirable qualities of my numerous and excellent friends, and am caring less for their short-comings.”

This was his creed: nobody had ever been so blessed in his home, his friends, his surroundings; they were incomparable, and his heart beat with gratitude and love. If he had ever said anything at variance with this sentiment, why, like his neighbor, Mr. Emerson, he refused to be hampered by consistency.

Like other descendants of Roger Sherman, his wit flashed as brilliantly and continuously as heat lightning on a summer's evening; he said as many good things as Abraham Lincoln, and he shared his tenderness as well as his humor, so that the

victims of his satire, the subjects of his condemnation, felt that while he condemned the sin, he loved the sinner.

Following in the footsteps of his Roman father, he, seconded by his devoted wife, became the guide and benefactor of his historic birthplace; his Spartan simplicity, his sage counsels, his witty reproofs, and watchful benevolence will long be cherished by his bereaved townsfolk.

He was the guardian, the benefactor of his class; his loyalty and bounty to them were unstinted; he was the keystone which locked them all together.

Next to or abreast with his love of Concord, was his love of his Alma Mater, manifested by his unvarying attendance at her festivities, by his thirty years' service as Fellow or Overseer, by donations on many occasions.

While Treasurer of the Fund for Memorial Hall, I was struck with how he sought to express his love to the College as well as his homage to her noble sons, by bringing, first his own subscription, then one for a son, by and by for another son; and lately his gift to Radcliffe College in the name of his ancestor, Joanna Hoar, and his legacy to the College proper, are further manifestations of the same yearning.

I rejoice that some of the alumni, touched by his affection for the College and its children, testified their appreciation years ago by requesting a portrait to be hung in some Harvard Hall as a token to future generations.

Writing to him in November last, besides other things I said, "As I near the precipice, I am getting scared"; to which he replied, —

"Fear ends with death; beyond
I nothing see but God,"

and added these lines of Parnell's, —

"Stretch the glad wing, and soar away
To mingle with eternal day!"

and with this feeling in his heart, if not on his lips, he welcomed death.

I cannot better sum up his excellences than by requoting what I said in his lifetime, —

"If one wants to see Puritan principles carried into practice, let him visit Concord and witness the noble frugality and quiet dignity of that small circle of highly endowed and highly educated men and women to which Judge Hoar belongs, and which is characterized by those virtues easy to admire, hard to practise."

Mr. EDWARD L. PIERCE spoke as follows: —

It is not for me to repeat in this presence the testimony which has come from others having a longer or closer connection than mine with Judge Hoar; but I crave the privilege of sharing in this day's tribute to his ever-to-be-cherished memory. It is a long career which we contemplate, begun with promise, and continuing to the end without an incident which calls for apology or explanation.

He developed in youth capacity for the highest places in his profession. He had absolute clearness of intellect, which, after a keen sense of justice, is the first quality of a jurist. There was never for a moment obscurity in his mental vision.

He held political offices only briefly and at long intervals, and these were but episodes of his life. It is a public loss that his service of this kind was so limited. But for forty years politicians who were plotting to suppress moral questions or to advance their own selfish schemes had to take him into account. They knew that there was in Concord a man with whom they would have to reckon, — one whose intelligence they could not blind, whose moral sense they could not tamper with. Once, when others slunk away in fear and trembling from an encounter with the most audacious demagogue of the age, he faced undaunted a storm of calumny and abuse, with a self-consecration of which there is hardly a sublimer instance in ancient or modern story.

Mr. Webster said on a memorial occasion, "One may live as a conqueror or a king or a magistrate, but he must die as a man." With that sentiment in our hearts, we shall not often recall the well-earned honors of our departed associate, or the robes of office which he wore so worthily: but we shall keep fresh in mind, so long as memory shall serve us, the wit which sparkled in every word; the conscience which governed every act; the civic courage which never quailed before authority, or the *civium ardor prava jubentium*; the affection for friends which, outlasting differences of opinion, was faithful unto death; the devotion to liberty which glowed as a perpetual fire from youth to age; the simplicity in habits and ways which became one whose daily walks and drives were on those roads once trod by the embattled farmers of Concord and Lexington; and the patriotism pure from ambition and self-seeking, which, inherited from his ancestors, he has trans-

mitted to his descendants. Standing as it were before his open grave, I may be permitted to pronounce, with lips less worthy than his, the words of benediction, hallowed by the ages, which came from him as he held the hand of the dead Sumner, not yet cold: "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

MR. CLEMENT HUGH HILL was appointed to write the memoir of Judge Hoar for publication in the Proceedings.

REV. HENRY F. JENKS said:—

During the last few months I have been editing, as one of a Committee, the Records of the Church in Brattle Square.

In the box which contained these records, when they were put into my hands, were a number of letters from different persons addressed to the Rev. Dr. Colman, the first pastor of that church, many of which seemed, on a hasty examination, to contain matter worthy of preservation, and to possess sufficient interest to be communicated for our Proceedings.

I have selected as the first to offer, two letters from Dr. Isaac Watts, choosing them in preference to others, because our associate Mr. Pierce is the possessor of a letter from Dr. Watts which he is disposed to communicate at the present time, which, like one of these, contains some reference to Dr. Watts's theological opinions, which have at times been subject of discussion.

In the volume of Belcher letters recently issued in our Collections, there are several addressed to Dr. Watts, and in his correspondence with his son he frequently sends messages to him. One of these letters, beginning as it does with congratulations to Dr. Colman on the appointment of Belcher as Governor, is in consequence interesting to us. The second letter merely refers to a gift of books to Harvard College, and is of no great importance.

I hope to communicate at a future time other letters from the same source.

LIME STREET March 4th-5th 17²⁹/30.

REV^d & DEAR SIR,—Having many things to say you will excuse my short paragraphs.

The first in order is my most zealous & hearty congratulations to yourself & your country upon the surprizing turn of Providence in advancing your honoured friend Mr. Belcher to the government of

New England. We who love your country share in your pleasure, & join with you to bless that God who has the hearts of all in His hands. May wisdom & grace be ever with him. A copy of Verses I wrote on that very joyfull Providence I transmitt to you inclosed. My Muse is almost dead, but recovers some few youthfull ideas on such uncommon occasions.

The next theme is thanks for your sermon on y^e Resurrection in which I heartily assent to your own words, (viz.) The arg^t appears *new to me & I think brings new light & force with it.* I value it much.

I have read D^r Mather's Life. He was a most amazing pattern of holiness, labor & zeal for God. It was needfull such a man should have some little abatements, &c. *ὅνα μὴ ὑπερπαρήται.*¹ He would have been an angel without those foibles. I greatly reverence the name & memory of such a man, & would fain follow, but y^e example is too high. I am glad to hear from you y^t y^e son is daily wearing off some of those peculiarities, &c.

I am sorry that America has any tendencies toward infidelity, or toward y^e mischievous dispute about subscribing & non subscribing. I verily believe the last would have been almost forgotten among us had it not been for one man whose name begins with T. B.

I have packt up all my writings at your request in a square box & directed every book to Yale College in New-England. Tis better it should be y^e author's present than from any other hand. You are desired to convey it to them, with my hearty service to y^e Rev^d M^r Williams, their Rector, whose character is very bright as I am informed. The whole box is for Yale College except one packet in white paper which you may take out without disturbing the rest, and nail up the box again & direct it to Yale College.

I have just printed a series of Catechisms for the instruction of children from 4 years old to 14. I hope they will be of use when they come to be published single, if the world desires it. These I have sent to my friends at New England.

I hope you have received my Dissertations of the Trinity which I sent you in lieu of y^t which you gave the College last year. I have not putt the 2^d part of my dissertations into y^e box for Yale College. I would not be charged with leading youth into heresie, tho I am more & more confirmd in y^e general principle that y^e deity of C^t is not any other than the deity of y^e Father which is precise orthodoxy, and I think it is this very Godhead with which y^e Man *Jesus* was intimately united in his preexistent soul before y^e creation, & in his body at his incarnation. *Christ & the Father are one: Tis y^e Father in him that does y^e works. Tis by y^e Spirit of God, or Spirit of the Father that he cast out Devills &c.* Tho perhaps there are some distinctions in y^e

¹ See 2 Corinthians xii. 7.—Eds.

Godhead superior to all our thoughts, and the Godhead may be united to y^e Man *Jesus* under the peculiar idea of y^e *Logos* or Wisdom or Speech, &c. But perhaps also the preexistent soul of Cⁱ is oftener call'd the *Logos* than I was wont to think. However as I said, I will neither be a heretick myself, nor a leader of others afar off, into heresie. I am ready to receive conviction of any mistake.

There is another thing which I am almost ashamed to write to you, yet uncertain gratitude constrains me. In your letter dated [*blotted out*] 1729, you tell me Mrs Sewall has made her acknowledgements to me for the letter I wrote her, &c.¹ I never to this day understood what you mean by it. Last June there was a cask of cranberrys came to Lady Abney directed for her, & the porter was sure 'twas for her, yet he knew not what hand sent it, but only that it came from the keys or the ships. We all suppos'd it to be from Governor Shute, till he made us a visit about a month ago, and assur'd us that he knew nothing of it. Upon this I began to imagine it might have some reference to that line in your letter w^{ch} I could not understand. But since I never had the lest hint of it from M^r Sewall by word or writing nor any direction to me, I am still at a loss whence it came, & where to pay Lady Abney's thanks or mine. My salutations attend M^r Sewall & his lady, with hopes of y^e mitigation of her sorrows by length of time & divine grace. Your good brother has also my services & I cheerfully receive your tidings of his welfare.

My health has been worse these 8 months yⁿ in 8 years past. I have had a fever at autumn which kept me out of y^e pulpit till January, & now my strength is but low. But I heartily thank God who has drawn out my life so far as to perfect with much labor this book of Catechisms which was much on my heart. I now leave it under His blessing. Farewell, dear Sir, I am going out of town for 8 or 9 days, if Governor Belcher sail in that time I shall not have the honor of his promised visit before he goes. But I leave all that I have to send more early because I am so much out of y^e city.

Farewell, dear Sir, & if I have not opportunity of saluting Governor Belcher here, I entreat you to do it for me with all y^e esteem & affection of a man that rejoices in New England's happiness, because I think God has a large people there. I am, Sir,

Yours affectionately.

I. WATTS.

[NEWING]TON, n[eer] LONDON, May 16th 1735.

R^d & DEAR SIR, — If you have a mind to look into these sermons before they are sent to Cambridge I left them unseald on purpose. If

¹ The letter here referred to was, without doubt, a letter from Dr. Watts to the wife of Major Samuel Sewall, which is printed in the N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, vol. i. pp. 189, 190. — Eds.

I thought I could send those to Mr Williams safe by any other way of conveyance than by Boston I wou'd not have given you the trouble of them. Your goodness will excuse it. By D^r Boylston's son I sent letters to most of my friends in New England. I suppose you have received from his hand y^t wherein I promised to send these books to Harvard College by you. Wth all due salutations I am Sir,

Your affect^d bro. and humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

MR. EDWARD L. PIERCE said: —

I offer to the Society for publication a letter of Dr. Isaac Watts (born 1674, died 1748), written ten years before his death to Rev. Elisha Williams, President of Yale College from 1725 to 1739.¹ Dr. Watts became in 1712 an inmate of the house of Sir Thomas Abney, once Lord Mayor of London, and remained there till his death, making, as has been said, the longest visit on record. The house no longer exists, and the estate is known as Abney Park Cemetery, a burial-place for dissenters, in which rises a conspicuous cenotaph to Dr. Watts, who is, however, buried in Bunhill Fields. Stoke Newington is now a part of London. Curwen, the Salem loyalist, visited the house and grounds December 12, 1775, but was not admitted to see Dr. Watts's study, which was at the time occupied by a lady. On a visit to Westminster Abbey, April 13, 1781, he was surprised to find there a monument to Dr. Watts, erected since his last previous visit, of which he gives a description in his journal.

Dr. Watts and Mr. Williams seem to have exchanged good offices from time to time in the sending of books likely to interest each other. Dr. Watts's letter refers to Jonathan Edwards's "Narrative" of the "Great Revival," begun under his preaching four years before. Besides the reference to Dr. Benjamin Colman, the well-known pastor of the Brattle Street Church, Boston, is the mention of Rev. John Sergeant (born 1710, died 1749), missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, and father of another missionary to them of the same name; Dr. William Bates, an eminent Puritan divine, educated at Cambridge, England, who died in 1699; and Dr. Thomas Ridgley, a Calvinistic divine in London, who died in 1734. Personal and theological references in the letter are of interest.

¹ This letter was printed in one of the Boston newspapers some years ago. It is now printed from the original manuscript in the possession of Mr. Pierce, for preservation in a more permanent form. — Eds.

NEWINGTON, NEER LONDON, June 7th, 1738.

REV^d SIR, — Yours dated Dec^r 5th, 1737, came to my hands about ten days ago; and that of May before came to me last Dec^r. I am glad my writings find such acceptance with you; but tis God only who can make y^e consciences of unbelievers hear y^e voice of reason or revelation. May that divine power attend all my labors & yours for that happy end.

I had M^r Wm^s sermons wth D^r Colman's abridgm^t of M^r Edw^d's Narrative which (as you tell me in your last) wou'd come too late, having D^r Colman's present severall months before. And you will forgive me, Sir, if I desire you to ask y^e favor of y^e cap^{ts} of ships that bring any packetts for me that they wou'd not putt them into y^e post house at y^e first port they arrive att; for by that means severall small packetts have demanded 5 or 6 shillings apeece of me for postage, whereas if they are brought to London in the ship y^e peny post would convey them. I desire my packets to be directed to me at M^r George Streatfield's, merchant in Princes Street, London.

I suppose long ere this you have seen M^r Edwards's Narrative, printed at London. I am at every turn desird to inform my friends what further evidence we have of these things from New England. I should be glad to see some short account from one or two more of y^e ministers in New Engl^d who were eye & ear witnesses of this great work in some of the neighbouring towns, printed in Boston, & if they were judiciously done I am sure some hundreds of them might be sold in London as a further testimony to this great work of God in Hamshire, (which by y^e way we have unhappily confounded with New Hamshire by a mistake in a map).

You ask my age, S^r. Tis a wonder I can do anything after three score years of life, whereof ten or twelve have been wasted in various illnesses, chiefly of y^e nervous kind. Nor have I been able to preach one hour these 26 years. Nor can I study above an hour or hour & half at a time without release. So y^t all y^t I can do is by short snatches of easy & serene seasons, so y^t you will readily say, tis time for me to have done wth philosophy.

I rejoyce in any degree of M^r Sergeant's success among the Indians, and I hope such pious efforts of men wth much prayer may draw down y^e effusions of y^e Holy Sp. in such a degree as I speak of. Y^e reason of my opinion of y^e want of miracles & tongues to convert y^e heathen nations is this: God himself saw it necessary to begin & support & propagate his Gospel at first and y^t both as a morall medium of conviction & a naturall medium of y^e conveyance of this Gospell. Now we can hardly conceive it possible y^t there should ever have been such a speedy spread of y^e Gospell wth power thro so many various tongues & nations & people w^{thout} these gifts. And yet at y^e latter conversion of the

Jews (which I expect) there shall be a much more abundant conversion of the Gentiles yⁿ there was in S^t Paul's time. Nor do I think Rom. 11. 12, 15 can be explaind or fulfilld any other way; & therfore to convert such numbers of the rude savages of Africa & America or the polite nation of China tongues & miracles are needfull.

As for your want of Calvinisticall writers in your library, or moderate men on y^t side, I have herewith sent you in a box directed to D^r Colman of Boston for Yale College M^r Howe's Works, 2 vol., D^r Bates's Works in 1 volume, & D^r Ridgely's Body of Divinity in 2 volumes. I hope you will receive them safe as a token of my zeal for truth & respect to you. D^r Ridgely died quickly after his 2 vol^s were printed. You will find therein too large a discourse (in proportion) on the doctrine of y^e Trinity, in the explication of which he was so singular that I know of no followers he has. But all the explications I have yet seen do still leave great darkness upon it which I expect will be cleared up wⁿ C^{'s} Kingdom breaks forth in its power; for I believe in the Apostles' days twas a much plainer & easier doctrine than all ages ever since have made it, since there were no controversies about it in their time.

I received a letter of great respect from M^r Sergeant from Housatunnuck last year, with some acco^t of his success there at which I rejoyce. Farewell, dear Sir, and may our blessed L^d give you & all your fellow laborers abundant success in the Gospell & your daily cares for y^e interest of religion.
Yo^rs affect^{ely}.

I. WATTS.

Indorsed: "Ans^d Nov. 15, 1788."

Rev. Dr. EDWARD J. YOUNG said:—

Some months ago I received from the library of a deceased friend a fine copy of the complete works of Rev. Isaac Watts, in six large quarto volumes. They had formerly belonged to Professor Joseph McKean of Harvard College, who was also a member of this Society. Attached to the fly-leaf of the first volume was an autograph letter of Dr. Watts, addressed to Dr. Benjamin Colman, pastor of Brattle Street Church, Boston. Mr. Hutchinson, who is referred to, was at that time a Representative in the General Court of Massachusetts, and was afterwards Governor of the Province. The writer was evidently familiar with the public affairs of this community at that period, and was deeply interested in the prosperity of its institutions. He was a dissenting minister near London, and after his death a monument was erected to his memory in

Westminster Abbey, which shows how highly he was esteemed as a Christian Poet, as he has been down to the present time.

Epsom, Aug. 18th 1741.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR—Tho I have had very little opportunity of conversing with that excellent gentleman M^r Hutchinson, yet so far as I can judge by the discourse I have had with him, he seems to deserve the encomiums you are pleased to bestow upon him. I am sorry he has been so embarrass'd and delay'd in the pursuit of the important business he had undertaken; and he himself will inform you how incapable we, the Dissenting Ministers are, of assisting any man that comes with business to our British Court.

He was desirous that I should transmitt some letters by his hand; but having lately sent you a new book I publish'd, intitled, *The Improvement of y^e Mind*, and a letter together with it, I repeat not any thing I have there said; but only that my age is so advanced, and my health so imperfect, and my distance being three miles from my worthy brethren in London, I have seldom any capacity or opportunity of doing those services for any of my friends in New England which they may desire. But am with sincere esteem, Sir,

Your affectionate brother and humble serv^t,

I. WATTS.

P. S. I date this letter from Epsom, a place 15 miles from London, having promised to send letters by M^r Hutchinson who may be gone before I reach London. I am very sorry that your honored and excellent Governor, M^r Belcher, is dismiss'd from his great and usefull post in New England. I pray God to secure your libertys & guard your best interests in Church and State among all those that may succeed him.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said:—

In the very large and important collection of Belknap Papers, given to the Society by Miss Elizabeth Belknap, in 1858, there are about fifty letters from Dr. Watts to Dr. Colman, extending from 1723 to 1747. Copies of these I desire to communicate now, in order that they may be printed in the Proceedings, in connection with the letters communicated by Mr. Jenks, Mr. Pierce, and Dr. Young. They have considerable historical and biographical value for the light which they throw on Dr. Watts's theological opinions, on the relations between the Massachusetts ministers and the English Dis-

senters, and on the interest taken by the latter in the political as well as the religious affairs of the Province. Dr. Watts was on familiar terms with Governors Shute and Belcher, to both of whom he alludes several times.* He constantly sent books and pamphlets to Harvard College, to Yale College, and to friends among the Massachusetts and Connecticut ministers. There are many references to Edwards's revival at Northampton, in which he was deeply interested, and to the preaching of Whitefield and his followers, about the effects of which he appears to have been somewhat doubtful. The early letters are wholly in the handwriting of Dr. Watts; but as he grew older he was often obliged to have recourse to an amanuensis, though even in these letters there are many words and paragraphs in his own hand. It was his custom to read over carefully what the amanuensis had written, and to add qualifying clauses or new matter as it occurred to him, though he did not correct errors in spelling which could scarcely have escaped his notice. These errors will be retained in the printed copies. In printing the letters, I shall add a few notes, which seem necessary to explain obscure references.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — Under my long weakness 'tis a speciall favour of Providence that I have not been utterly restrained from all service. My health is not yet risen high enough to do more in the church of Christ to which I relate than to minister to them three quarters of an hour once in a fortnight, & I come constantly to London for that purpose, tho I live chiefly in Hertfordshire, at y^e Lady Abney's country seat.

I ought to acknowledge it with great thankfulness y^t God has made my writings extend in their acceptance & usefulness even to the saints in America. But my wishes & desires arise to a hundred things which my want of health forbids me to perform, as it also renders my performances poor & weak in comparison of y^e idea which I frame in my designs. Blessed be God that by such weak efforts as mine are, He does any thing for His own honour in the world and for the good of souls!

I return you my acknowledgements for the presents you made me, & delight to see such a rationall & a pious air run thro the writings of my friends. In your speech to the converted rabbi, I cannot but applaud the courage & freedom with which you address him with regard to the work of regeneration & the saving change that must pass upon every one who becomes a reall Christian. May y^e grace of C^d render him a greater honour to the Gospel than some others who have profest Chri-

tianity in our nation! His three treatises were sent me by M^r Prince: the first represents y^e Jewish objections well & answers them sufficiently; but y^e Cabbala of y^e third would never make me a Trinitarian.¹

I don't know that Arianism grows amongst us here at all for these two or three years past, but I am grieved at heart to think of the most unhappy quarrels of subscribing & non-subscribing which are not yet finisht amongst us, nor do I know when they will entirely cease. As I have always been a neuter in the controversie I have attempted to be a reconciler, & attempt it still where I have opportunity. But so great a fury was raised at first that I fear will require seven years to calm it.

I am sorry you should have any persons amongst you that affect our Episcopal forms. So far as I can hear it makes very little noise in London, & I hope will do you in New England but very little injury.

I have once enjoyd y^e worthy M^r Penhallow's conversation. I think he deserves the honourable mention you make of him. He has engaged me to let him know when he may do me the honour of another visit or two before he returns to New England.

You'll please to accept my new volume of Sermons which is just now published, not with any design to inform the learned world, but to serve the vulgar Christian, by endeavouring to establish him in the faith and promote Christian morality.

A few days since your Governor² did us the honor of a visit to our family. He assur'd me that he had no design to do anything to y^e prejudice of your countrey, being very sensible of the respect & honor which he receivd from the ministers, & from most of y^e nation. But that he could not think of returning without a redress of some things w^{ch} render'd him incapable of doing better services for your safety & welfare. He has laid the affair before the King, & is waiting what y^e King & Councill will do. I told him I should be much grieved if these quarrells should proceed so far as to subject all y^e libertys of your nation to y^e British Parliament. He assured me of y^e respect he had for y^e countrey, & desired only a few things alter'd that he might make you & himself more easy & safe, which might be done without such

¹ The reference is to Colman's discourse entitled "Moses a Witness to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," delivered in the College Hall at Cambridge, March 27, 1722, before the baptism of Judah Monis, who was the first instructor of Hebrew in Harvard College. The three essays by Monis were entitled "The Truth," "The Whole Truth," and "Nothing but the Truth." In the last he attempts to prove "the Doctrine of the Ever Blessed and Adorable Trinity, both out of the Old Testament, and with the Authority of the Cabalistical Rabbies, Ancient and Modern; and that said Doctrine is not a Novelty, as his Countrymen do think, but as ancient as the Bible itself." The discourse and essays were bound up together with a common titlepage. There are two copies of the volume in the library of the Historical Society.

² Samuel Shute, who went to England a few months before the date of this letter. He did not return to Massachusetts.

a subjection of your libertys. I am very sorry there should be any among you to irritate & ruffle his naturall good humor, & I know tis y^e matter of your grief as well as mine. I wish all things may issue to y^e satisfaction of all, to the glory of God & to your happiness. Farewell, dear Sir, & love & pray for

Your humble serv^t & bro.

I. WATTS.

LONDON, Ap^l 11th, 1723.

From the Lady Abney's, in LIME STREET, LONDON.
July 6, 1726.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I acknowledge y^e favour of your letters & y^e books which I have received from you, particularly that on y^e Doctrine & Law of y^e Holy Sabbath. I own with great thankfulness y^e too great esteem you have conceived & exprest toward one who has not sufficient merit to answer it. If any of my labours & studys under a long state of weakness have been made usefull to mankind, acceptable to my friends and any way serviceable to the interest of our holy religion, I rejoyce & acknowledge my obligations to Him who is y^e giver of every good & perfect gift, and I am waiting till He call me to nobler services in a superior state.

I am sorry if I have been so unhappy as to offend any of my brethren in my dissertations that relate to the sacred doctrine of the Trinity. My sincere design has been to introduce ideas as far as possible into the room of meer words & phrases, & to vindicate the true & proper deity of C^t and the Holy Spirit against the late Arian oppositions. But I must confess I have endeavourd to do it in such a way as might make this great doctrine appear consistent with reason & thereby attract the Arians into y^e belief & profession of it. If my attempts prove unsuccesfull as to the modus of explication, I recur to the generall doctrine & rest here, that there is a divine alsufficiency in the sacred Three to sustain their severall distinct offices, & to receive the divine honours that Scripture ascribes to them.

I have not had y^e honour to see your worthy Governour since the news came to us of your acceptance of the new Charter¹ tho I din'd with him but a few days before. But spending so much of my time at Theobalds, which is twelve miles distant from London, I am very much cut off from various notices of things which those who live intirely in the city enjoy; & tho I wish the happiness of your nation & churches as sincerely as any of my brethren, yet I live much out of the scene of action & service by reason of my weakness of body and want of health.

T is very probable that some persons who have set themselves with

¹ The Explanatory Charter of George I. It did not pass the seals until August 26.

violence to oppose what I write have sent over papers of that kind to your side of the world, & tho I intend not to enter into controversy with them, yet I have here sent you a paper written in vindication of my sentiments by a nameless friend which perfectly represents my sense of things, tho some expressions are a little more severe than I myself should have used. You will please to accept this with the rest as a token of sincere respect from, Sir,

Your affectionate brother in y^e Kingdom & service of our blessed Lord.

I. WATTS.

P. S. I entreat you, Sir, to do me the favour of presenting the inclosed little treatise on *Self-Murder* to the Colledge.

Indorsed: "Rec^d Decem. 12, 1726."

LOND. July 28th, 1727.

DEAR SIR, — This little sermon being extorted from my hands by the public voice of my people waits on you. Another attends your good brother, of whose arrival in New England I should be glad to hear. And with these accept my thanks for your invitation of children to come to y^e L^{ts} table with their parents, a duty too much neglected.

I hope my 3^d vol. of Sermons has found its way to you (or will do it) long before the arrivall of this. May God & His grace be with your spirit laboring in the Gospell of his Son. Amen.

I. WATTS.

May I intreat the favor of you, Sir, to distribute these as directed. M^r Hollis, whō I saw this afternoon, told me a ship was just going; & therefore in hast I follow his advice, & have committed this packett to his care.

July 29th.

From the Lady Abney's in LIME STREET.
LONDON, May 8th, 1728.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — Yours of Sept^r 20th came to me in about 2 months. Yours of Sept^r 4th arrivd not till 6 weeks ago. They are both before me. And in y^e first place, Sir, I cannot but thank you for the kind concern you shew for the unchristian treatment I have met with from M^r B. & one or two more of his spirit. But those who best know them & me know how little I have deserved such reproaches & such conduct toward me. The world has heaped unmerited honors on almost all my writings. Even Oxford & Cambridge break thro' their bigotry & hatred of y^e Dissenters, & use my Logic, my Astronomy, & my Poems. Now envy is a noxious weed that is ever sprouting up neer the bed of honor. But I hide my self from the honors & envy of

mankind at the Lady Abney's countrey seat in Hartfordshire, where I spend most of my life. May God be glorifyd, may my blessed Savior be adored, may mankind be made wise & happy, I have attained my ends. My heavenly Father has seen it necessary in every stage of my life to send me some thorn in the flesh or some messenger of Satan to buffet me lest I should be exalted, and blessed be His name. He is wiser than I am. He has unknown ways to carry on His designs of mercy. I am at His disposall here, & I trust He will dispose of me among y^e happy spirits hereafter. But I blush to review how large a part of my letter is filld up with self. Forgive me, dear Sir, you tempted me.

I entreat you, Sir, to make no apologies for want of thanks for my little tokens of respect to you. I have more, much more, from you than I either deserve or desire. I wish I could answer in a more effectually manner the good opinions of my friends. I know my own weakness, tho God sometimes honors the feeble.

I am perfectly of your mind in your notion of y^e human soul of Christ (viz.) that tis a proper spirit because suited to act in union with a human body. But how far this differs from an angelic spirit, I know not. I rather think there is no angel in heaven with so large a natural capacity as C^{'s} human soul; for why should we not suppose that y^e All-wise God forms all things suitably to y^e end for which he designs them? and consequently why should we imagine that y^e human soul of C['] is now vested with powers superior to any angel in heaven, if there be any angels that have in them a latent capacity of greater powers than he? But I mean no controversy. I think y^t let his human soul be never so glorious yet without united godhead he is not the proper subject of such honors as the Scripture pays him, nor of such worship as is requird from us.

I thank you heartily for your discourses sent me, particularly that on the Earthquake. It is no trouble to me to distribute those which you directed to other friends. The penny post does it the same day y^t I receive them with great ease & pleasure. But I more particularly send you my thanks for your volume of Sermons; some of which have already afforded me true instruction & delight, & I expect y^e same from the rest. Last week I received them but with great surprize, whereas but a month before I had told M^r Neal I expected to hear from M^r Harris some account of them in order to a preface. But visiting M^r Harris last week he informd me of the mistake arising from the printer becomeing a bankrupt a little before your Sermons were finished, & his successor sending some of them abroad without giving him notice that y^e sheets were finished. I suppose M^r Harris will make a large apology to you for this accident. He wrote a preface last Saturday, to which M^r Neal, M^r Evans M^r Hunt (M^r Hollis's pastor), & myself

joined our names, & he intended to ask Dr Calamy. Mr Harris tells me these leaves must be pasted in by y^e booksellers before the publication.

My hearty salutations attend your good brother, & I rejoice that he is in any measure led by Providence to retrieve his affairs. May divine success attend him, & divine grace be ever with him.

Mr Pollard who brought me your packet seems to be a very sensible gentleman. I was well pleas'd with his conversation, but I believe he mistook the time of my coming to London again, for I never saw him since, & tis now a month or 6 weeks ago.

racter you have drawn up just as I imagin'd it by his letters & publick writings, & for which I thank you.¹

Indorsed: "Answ^d by Mr Turell."

June 7th, 1728.

I almost finished my letter a month ago, in daily expectation of some tidings from Mr Pollard, by whom I hoped to have sent the letter & packet. But because I live chiefly out of town, & know not when ships come or go, I was unwilling to be any longer silent, & therefore I send my packets for New England to Mr Hollis this day, who promised me to convey them ʒ first opportunity. Whether he will direct y^e other little packets to you, or send them directly to Mr Prince, Mr Greenwood, Mr Foxcroft, y^e College, I know not. I presume they will be deliver'd by his care here or yours there. Besides my other obligations to you, Sir, I should thank you also for y^e sermon on Dr C. Mather's death, which I received a month ago. And so far as I am capable of judging you have given him an honorable & just character, but I knew him only by his writings. He had (I'me persuaded) a most extensive treasure of learning, & a soul devoted to serve his God & his Savior. Such men of zeal, learning & piety are not soon rais'd. Their death is a vast loss to y^e church. Farewell, dear Sir, live long & usefull. And may our blessed Redeemer be honord, & his Kingdom enlarged by all our labors thro y^e influences of y^e Eternall Spirit! Amen.

I am, Sir, yours in y^e bonds of y^e Gospell & sincere affection.

I. WATTS.

LIME STREET, in LONDON. Ap^l 26th, 1729.

DEAR & R^d BRO. — Tis now about a fortnight since I received yours of March 4th by the hand of Mr Belcher,² who together with Mr Sewall

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² Jonathan Belcher, afterward Governor of Massachusetts.

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I. WATTS.

LIME STREET, in LONDON. Ap^l 26th, 1729.

DEAR & R^d BRO. — Tis now about a fortnight since I received yours of March 4th by the hand of M^r Belcher,² who together with M^r Sewall

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² Jonathan Belcher, afterward Governor of Massachusetts.

favord me with a visit. I am glad to hear your Gov^r¹ carries it better in his conversation relating to your strict observances of religion in N. E., & that he puts only men of merit into place. It will be a happiness if y^e present differences may be accommodated so as not to deprive you of any of your civil and religious liberties. The Court at St. James's are sensibly prejudiced ag^t your country by their conduct toward Gov^r Shute. But M^r Sewall can inform you of all these affairs far better than tis possible for me to do. I heartily wish that no new influences may arise from any quarter to the diminishing of that piety & spirit of religion for which N. E. has been eminent & greatly distinguished. Four days ago I receivd from our good friend M^r Neal y^e sermon you promised on M^r Stoddard's death.² I have been perusing it this morning, & come much into your sentiments y^t *the diligent, compassionate, & faithfull pastor is a brighter characiter than the student, the disputant, & the casuist.* And again that *A constant inwrought sense of our standing on y^e borders of eternity is one of y^e most effectuell motives to our zeal & diligence in y^e sacred work, & tis also of eminent use to direct us what studies & w^t labors to pursue & which to neglect.* May divine grace render survivors more compleat images of the venerable man whom you mourn! Farewell, dear Sir, & saluting your good brother in my name, accept y^e salutations of love & Christianity from

Your affectionate bro. & humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

The inclosed are to be distributed as you think proper, besides the 2 w^{ch} are directed. Whether I shall see M^r Sewall again I am not certain. This letter comes by him who desired me to send some thing to N. E. by his hands.

P. S. I hope, Sir, you have long ere now receivd my book of y^e Passions, & another treatise which I published since (viz.) a Caveat ag^t Infidelity, which I sent many weeks ago.

LONDON, Feb. 3^d 1731-2.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — This comes to attend a new little book of mine which may be blest if God will to y^e instruction of youth in Scripture affairs. I rejoyce to hear by your last, dated about 2 months ago, that your country is made easy at present by y^e King's permission of the

¹ William Burnet, son of the famous Bishop of Salisbury. He was an Episcopalian, but not very regular in his attendance on the church services. Hutchinson says of him: "He was a firm believer of the truth of revealed religion, but a bigot to no particular profession among Christians, and laid little stress upon modes and forms." — *Hist. of Mass.*, vol. ii. p. 366.

² Rev. Solomon Stoddard, minister of the church at Northampton, died Feb. 11, 1728-9.

Gov^r to accept w^t y^e Senate proposes.¹ I shall be sorry if our Court should be so imposing for time to come as to demand w^t your people will not comply with. And I cannot say but I am heartily grieved that the matter of contest has continu'd so long as to create any mutuall diffidence between y^e Govern^r & his country. I wish him all ease & prosperity & success in his endeavors for publick good, & I wish that land, where are so many thousands dear to God, all peace & happiness. May that Providence that over-rules the spirits of men cause every thing to work for the best interests of Church & State among you.

Your letters & sermons are acceptable to your friends here, as I hope ours with you. May divine grace make all our severall essays effectuall to promote serious religion. You tell me of your appointm^t by y^e Scotts Corporation² as correspondent member & your beginning to act upon y^t trust with regard to y^e 3 missionaries. May y^e conversion of Gentiles attend their labors! This day I should have mett the correspondent members of y^t Society in London but was detain'd by a little accident. I congratulate you, Sir, on y^e honor done you by y^e University of Glasgow,³ & I'me persuaded your service to y^e churches will be encouraged by all marks of dignity without any of that affectation w^{ch} spoils the honor. Last week I happend to meet Gov^r Shute, to whom I gave your dutifull salutations, which he desired me to return with all hearty respect & with remembrance of your good conduct when he was among you. Dr Harris shew'd me his letter from you, wherein I cannot but mourn y^e circumstances of young M^r Calamy⁴ for y^e Dr^s sake. I believe it hangs heavy on y^e father's heart. I send as usuall a book for y^e College at Cambridge by your hand. I send also to M^r El. Williams, &c., but I have given the trouble of y^t to your hon^{ble} Governor, as also a book for M^r Prince. I live not within y^e reach of acquaintance wth captains of ships, and therfore I am forced to send all in one or two parcells to some merchant of my acquaintance, & give my friends at New England the trouble of distributing them. Forgive this imposition & remember & love your affectionate bro. & humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I do not know y^t I have been so long silent to my friends at New England these many years. But y^e beginning of this year I was confind & withheld from business a great while by

¹ The reference is to the dispute over the Governor's salary. See the Belcher Papers in 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. *passim*.

² The Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge. It supported several missionaries among the Indians.

³ Colman received the degree of S. T. D. from the University of Glasgow in 1731.

⁴ James Calamy. Governor Belcher had given him an appointment as deputy sheriff at Salem.

y^e epidemicall fever w^{ch} ran thro y^e nation, & since y^t time business has multiplyd on my hands, & y^t of various kinds, beyond my strength which has forced me to drop or delay severall correspondencies.

Tis now a considerable time since M^r Dummer was with me last year, & among other things desird (as I remember) a sett of M^r Baxter's works which were in your hands to be given to a town for w^{ch} he is concernd, by M^r Holden's speciall order to you. But M^r Holden¹ was pleased only to remitt me to y^e generall order he had given you to distribute y^m as you thought best for y^e service of religion.

I thank you, Sir, for what I have receivd of your publications since you had any from me. Indeed, I have printed nothing but Miss Abney's fun^{ll} sermon this year & half with my name to it; and for what is printed without a name the booksellers do not give me books enough to distribute to a quarter of my friends, nor, indeed, can I desire it, for y^t distribution would proclaim the author. However, I have here sent y^e College two or 3 books as a friend, not as an author, w^{ch} I own I approve wth relation to y^e subjects on w^{ch} they treat. I put them into your hands that you may turn them over, if you please, before y^e College receives them. I have venturd to expose myself heretofore perhaps too much with regard to current Orthodoxy where I have set my name. But as to these books I think they are tolerably orthodox, tho I ever own myself a Protestant, & claim a right to think freely & to judge for myself.

With regard to y^e affairs of New England, I can only say I am grieved to find how few friends you have among y^e great ones of our land. So much confusion may clear up into serenity at last, but I rather fear evill consequences of all this contest wth y^e royall orders, tho I am not wise enough to advise. May y^e God of all wisdom & grace favor your Senators & Councillors with a spirit of discernment where their true interest lyes. Grace & peace be ever with you. I find I grow old apace, & my capacitys of service will diminish tho I would ever shew myself

Your affec^{te} bro. & humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

June 29th, 1733.

DEAR SIR, — Yours dated Aug^t 10th, 1734, lyes before me. I think you grow young again, my friend; you seem to be all rapture with the pen in your hand. Was it possible y^t a few rhymes toward the end of my last book could elevate you so divinely? This makes me give the more easy credit to those accounts wth w^{ch} you favor me concerning y^e goodness of God to me in rendring my writings so happily usefull to living & dying Christians. But my writing season, I fear, is almost ended.

¹ Samuel Holden, sometime Governor of the Bank of England, and a liberal benefactor to Harvard College.

This last year I have published nothing but 9 sermons joynd with 45 more of some of my brethren to make a book for familys on L^ds day evenings. I shall transmitt it as usuall to the Library at Harvard College by your hands by the very first opportunity I have. My health has been much impaired by preaching these 9 sermons on y^e Wednesdays, besides my L^ds days work. I could wish, if God saw fit to indulge me, that I might have strength & health enough to finish some papers that lye by me on various subjects. But He who rules y^e world does not need my tongue or my pen. I would learn submission to His will with all thankfulness for the favors already received. I am glad to hear that your nationall affairs are so far settled that they go on tolerably well, with ease to your people & your Governor.¹ May you continue to enjoy the civil blessings of unity & peace, & may religion thrive under these advantages. I am always glad to receive a letter from you, & the good news y^t relates to your country is ever gratefull to me, who suppose C^t our L^d has a large interest there. My salutations with all esteem attend y^e Governor & his family. I shall do myself the honor to write to him in a few days. But I live so entirely now in y^e countrey, at Newington, tho it be but 3 miles from London, that I have not y^e opportunity of seeing my friends who are neer me in England so often as formerly, & much less those who come from beyond y^e seas. Grace & peace be with you. Let me be assisted by your prayers. Farewell.

Yours affectionately.

I. WATTS.

Ap^l 29, 1735.

NEWINGTON, Jun. 21st, 1735.

R^e & DEAR SIR, — I have sent you a letter by M^r Boylston this year. I have since sent a packet of sermons (viz.) 4 vols., — 2 for Harvard Coll. & 2 for Yale. I have now receivd your letter with y^e acco^u of y^e controversy of y^e church of Salem,² & I like nothing in it better yⁿ

¹ Jonathan Belcher had been appointed Governor of Massachusetts on the death of Governor Burnet.

² For an account of the troubles between Rev. Samuel Fisk and the First Church in Salem, see Felt's *Annals of Salem*, vol. ii. pp. 503-506. In the manuscript records of the First Church in Gloucester is the following entry: "Gloucester, March 12, 1735. Then y^e first Church in Gloucester met by adjournment and voted, 1. That they concurred with the Grand Council met at Salem from time to time. 2. And passed the sentence of Non-Communion with the first Church in Salem. And it was done deliberately and with a great deal of awfulness and solemnity." The excommunication seems to have lasted for nine or ten years; for the next entry on the subject which I have found is as follows: "At a Church meeting 1745, upon an humble confession of y^e first Church in Salem, the first Church in Gloucester released Her from y^e sentence of Non Communion, and assisted in the Ordination of Mr. Dudley Leavet at their request." For an account of the action of the Old South Church, Boston, see Hill's *Hist. of the Old South*, vol. i. pp. 467-474.

y^e finall determination of your synod, which is so full of candor & of just sentiment, so far as y^e matter appears to me. I am sorry any rev^d brother by such an odd conduct should expose his character & grieve the souls committed to his care. May y^e spirit of y^e L^d give tenderness & prudence to all who are called to y^e work of y^e Gospell that y^e temper of y^e blessed apostle might be found ever living among y^e pastors of y^e flock of C^t. 1. Thess. 2. 7-12. I salute you in y^e L^d. Grace be with you. Amen.

Your affection bro.

I. WATTS.

Indorsed: "Answered, Sep. 9, 1735."

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — At present the circumstances of my health & time are such as will not permitt me to pay you so particular an acknowledgment for y^e discourses relating to your excellent daughter as I intended.¹ Accept a general congratulation upon your having been so highly favord of heaven in y^e birth, life, & exemplary talents of so valuable a person. May you live to see more such fruits still growing in your own garden, before you are transplanted to Paradise.

With all due esteem & salutations, I am, Sir, your affec^{te} bro. & serv^t.

I. WATTS.

Aug 21, 1735.

NEWINGTON, Sep^r 13th, 1736.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — 3 of your letters lye now before me, together with severall sermons, but when I let you know how lately I received them you will not criminate my delay of writing. Yours of Feb. 12th² came to my hand, with M^r Sargent's ordination sermon³ last Thirsday. Yours of June 8, 9, & 14 came but y^e day before, together with that of June 22^d. Tis not worth while to mention y^e reasons of y^e delay, some of which I know, & some I know not. Nor had D^r Guyse received y^e sermons by either of those ships till I sent them to him. This afternoon he made me a visit, & shewd me your letter to him, & I told him y^e contents of yours to me. I am very sorry to hear y^e y^e conten-

¹ Jane, third child of Rev. Benjamin Colman, and wife of Rev. Ebenezer Turell of Medford, died March 26, 1735, at the age of 27. On the Sunday after her funeral, her father preached at Medford two sermons which were printed under the title of "Reliquiæ Turellæ, et Lachrymæ Paternæ. The Father's Tears over his Daughter's Remains." To the sermons were added "Some large Memoirs of her Life and Death by her Consort."

² The letter here referred to is printed, with some typographical errors, in Milner's Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D., pp. 538-543.

³ A Sermon preached at Deerfield, August 31, 1735, at the Ordination of Mr. John Sargent as a missionary to the Indians, by Rev. Nathanael Appleton of Cambridge. Governor Belcher was present at the ordination.

tions among y^e ministers (& some of them on such important points) should be so mischievously improvd by y^e enemy of all good as to hinder y^e joyfull success of y^e work of God¹ begun in y^e county of Hamshire (which I also had mistaken for y^e province of New Hamshire till your line in D^r Guyse's letter undeceived me). When will y^e spirit of light & love putt an end to gross errors & unchristian strife? I wonder not at y^e slow spread of light & conversion when y^e spirit in us that lusteth to envy & contention prevails. May God root out this noxious weed out of every part of His vineyard!

Tis very pleasing, however, to find that no such unhappy differences arise to choke y^e seed of the word among the Indians. I am much pleased wth M^r Sergent's character & conduct, & give solemn thanks to my God that He has made my writings any way serviceable toward his qualifications for his work, and y^t my blessed Savior is pleased to honor my little Catechisms to teach y^e rudiments of his Gospel to the heathens. This morning Cap^t Coram² visited me together wth a gentleman whom he call'd Major Mason who has but one hand, & a son of his, & a young Indian, about 20 years old, who can read & write English, having been some time under y^e instructions of this Major Mason, who teaches a school 8 miles from New London in Connecticut Col^y. I presume you know his business & y^e design of his voyage better than I, therefore I say no more of it, but according to his representations I wish him success. Cap^t Coram is greatly concern'd at your thought of removing M^r Seccomb³ from his station, &c. I talked the matter over with him, & said if there is so great opposition in one place from Papists as renders y^e success very slow & small, & no opposition in another place, tis reasonable to hope y^e success may be swifter & greater. Tis a preponderation of circumstances must determine that matter; but he seems to have a tender concern for those Indians where M^r Seccomb is, & will write to you about it.

Tis a pleasure to find by your sermon such an account of y^e benefactions you receive from our great city, & I am glad M^r Holden has so considerable a share in y^t honor. Alas, y^t y^e Hollis's are all dead, whose praise is great in both Englands for their extensive charity! There are 2 young men of y^{oss} families surviving. May divine grace give them y^e spirit of their fathers & a part in those honors w^{ch} spread over their tombs.

¹ The beginning of The Great Awakening, so called, under Jonathan Edwards. See Palfrey's History of New England, vol. v. pp. 5-7.

² Thomas Coram, founder of the Foundling Hospital, in London. See 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. p. 86 note.

³ Rev. Joseph Seccomb had been sent as a missionary to the Indians by the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge. He was stationed at the fort on George's River in Maine. See 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. pp. 103, 199.

The sermons on M^r Steel's death ¹ I received 3 or 4 months ago, long before either of y^e letters. I am glad to find such characters among you, & to see a pen so happily successfull in describing them for a lasting example. May y^e next generation be blest wth Steels & Colmans.

The dissertation on y^e Image of God is so just in all y^e scheme of it, both doctrine & inferences, & so very conformable to Scripture y^t must render it acceptable to those who join reason & revelation together.

M^r Holyoke's Election Sermon abundantly declares the character of y^e man as you express it, & I read it wth much pleasure. M^r Appleton's discourse at y^e ordⁿ of M^r Sargent is full of sense and pertinent to y^e case of every minister, so y^t we may all read it with profit.

So many things occur in your 3 letters, Sir, y^t you will forgive my want of method in the answer to them. The anonymous book w^{ch} you suspect is not come to your hand is *Y^e Redeemer & Sanctifier*; for wⁿ I wrote part of your letter I had thoughts of giving you the trouble of distributing some of those to your brethren, which I afterwards packt with other superscriptions. The book is anonymous still tho you ghesse at y^e author.

M^r Roffey is a young gentleman, a distiller, in pretty good circumstances for so young a man, but our late Act of Parl^t ag^t gin & distilled liquors must sink tho not ruin the trade. He & his wife are both members of our church. He is truly pious, & has a taste of ingenious writing. He is very intimate wth M^{rs} Rowe, & I sent him y^e packets for her & M^r Slanden, last week wⁿ I recd. them. He is gone that way this week himself.

I thank you, Sir, for y^e acco^t you give me of y^e Governor's excellent character & his readiness to distribute my packetts. I rejoyce to see such a spirit as breathes in his letters to me as well as to you. I wish y^e world on our side y^e water believed it as much as I do; then I shou^d certainly inserted my copy of verses to him in my volume of Miscellaneya. It was for fear of awakening severe & envious reflexions y^t I was advised to omit it. May all his virtues grow still more conspicuous & more extensively usefull. Tis a pleasure to me to find that publick affairs for 2 or 3 years past run on in a smoother course than before. May God continue this blessing to him & you. My best salutations attend him, & thanks for y^e care of my packets.

The mention of y^m puts me in mind y^t my books, letters, &c., did not arrive till 3 or 4 months after I dated y^m. Nor have I had any notice of their arrivall from any but the hon^d President of your College and yourself & M^r Smith.

¹ "The peaceful End of a perfect and upright life remark'd and contemplated in a Sermon after the Death of the Universally esteemed Thomas Steel, Esq., Merchant in Boston, who departed this Life on Thursday, January 8th, 1735-6. Ætat. 71. By Benjamin Colman, D.D."

Sept 16.

I make my acknowledgm^{ts} to you, Sir, for yo^r picture which I persuade myself has much more likeness to y^e originall than y^t w^{ch} I took two years ago out of your volume of Sermons & put it in a frame y^t it might hang in y^e same rank wth D^r Increase & D^r Cotton Mather in y^e front of my study. I have there very neer 80 philosophers & divines surrounding me. Their spirits are copied in their books, & their faces adorn my beloved place of retirement. There Heathens & Christians, Papists & Protestants, Calvinists & Arminians, Presbyterians & Episcopall men, all meet in silence & peace. Were you to see my colliantants, you would say I was a man of Catholicism. Most of them I hope to meet in y^e regions of peace & love.

As for my own picture in metzo-tinto I could not well send to my distant friends when it was done, for the plate was so faintly wrought y^t it wore out before any great number was drawn from it. Yet I have reserved one very good one, & sent it as a present to Harvard College, if it may have the honor to hang there where they have the image of my soul before in my writings. May every memorial of our dying friends awaken us to mind eternall things, & these amusing shadows tend to raise our thoughts to y^e substantiall building where we shall see face to face.

I cannot tell how to testify my respect to so worthy a man as M^r Sargent better than by sending him the examples of y^e greatest & best of missionaries & evangelists (viz.) our blessed L^d, S^t Paul & Timothy, as they are drawn up by a country minister (viz.) M^r Robert Murray. I desire him also to accept of my Discourse of Catechisms, wth all y^e 4 Catechisms annexed, as y^e most proper book to his purpose w^{ch} I ever wrote. Whether my Divine Songs for Children may be usefull to y^e young Indians I know not. I have sent him also 2 of M^r John Reynolds's Compassionate Address to y^e Christian World. Whether such a sort of book may answer any of his purposes I cannot judge. I entreat you, Sir, to pack them up, and send them to him. And lest you shou^d complain, Sir, y^t I had given you this trouble & sent you nothing, I must say I had nothing else to send but a few anonymous books to fill up y^e empty spaces (viz.) 1 Redeemer & Sanctifier, & 6 small pamphlets on Closet Religion, of which I bought 100 some months ago, to be all given where they may be most usefull.

Whether these things will all come safe to your hand without breaking the glass of y^e picture I much question, but I hope that may be repaired at Boston.

I am well persuaded my friends at Boston have received from y^e Governor y^e packetts I sent y^m y^e beginning of this year, but having no notice of it, I send y^m only my salutations by you. My thanks to M^r Mather & M^r Smith for their letters. But M^r Mather had not received

my packett at y^e end of May. Forgive, dear Sir, all this long detail of particulars, & believe me in generall & universally

Your sincere friend & affec^o bro.

I. WATTS.

NEWINGTON, Sep^r 20, 1736.

P. S. Perhaps because I have assigned no place in London where my packets may be sent for me I may miss of them, living 3 miles off. If you please therfore you may lett my friends know y^t any thing directed for me to M^r George Streatfield, merchant, in Princes street, near the Royall Exchange, London, will come safe to my hands.

P. S. 2^d. Upon putting y^e 2 peeces of my letter together I find one sheet less yⁿ y^e other. You will forgive this inequality & unpoliteness thro my mistake.

I. W.

Indorsed: "Answered Decem. 16, 1736."

NEWINGTON, Feb^r 28th, 1736/7.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—Tis about a month since I received your short letter giving me notice of your paquet approaching, which came to my hand this day fortnight, for which I first send you my thanks, and then make my answer to the several contents of your letter, which was dated Dec^r 17th.¹

I am sorry to hear of your asthmatic disorders which have lain so long upon you. As your recovery was then begun, I hope the gracious God has now made it perfect. My own experience eccho's to your words when you write, "My tender constitution from my youth feels the advances of age sooner than many others; yet I have seen others who seem'd to be stronger breaking sooner in all their powers, and what am I that I should be spared?" nor can I put up a better wish for myself or you than in your own words, "The Lord quicken us in our work and prepare us for our change."

I thank you, Sir, for your care of the picture and the books which I sent to the Colledge and to M^r Sargent, and since you mention M^r Appleton's name, I must be so just as well as so civil as to tell you how much I am pleased with his practical improvement of his funeral text on M^r Gerrish² and the experimental religion that is convey'd to

¹ Colman's letter is in Milner's Life, Times, and Correspondence of Watts, pp. 552-559.

² See 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii. p. 29. Rev. Nathanael Appleton preached a sermon after Mrs. Gerrish's death, entitled: "The Christian glorying in Tribulation, from a Sense of its happy Fruits. A Discourse occasion'd by the Death of that pious and afflicted Gentlewoman, Mrs. Martha Gerrish (Wife of Mr. Benjamin Gerrish, and Daughter of the late Col. Foxcroft) who rested from all her Pains and Sorrows, April 14, 1736, having newly completed the 48th Year of her Age." To this are appended "Some of Mrs. Gerrish's Letters, &c.," the whole making more than a hundred pages.

the world in her letters which he has published, & wth M^r Foxcroft has sent me.

And now I come to M^r Edwards's narrative of the work of God in Northampton and the places round about. I confess, Sir, your first mention of this matter gave me a religious pleasure, and I long'd for a more compleat account of it; but the extract from the letter which you have made exceeds my expectation & greatly increases my joy. These are certainly little specimens of what Christ and his grace can do when he shall begin to revive his own work and to spread his Kingdom thro the earth; and if he begins in America, I adore his good pleasure and rejoice, but wait for the blessing in European countrys. The same power can subdue all the opposition that is made by earth and hell, and can change heathens and papists as well as formal Protestants into lively Christians.

D^r Guyse has your present to him, and is as much pleased with it as I am. We both agree that your abstract of y^e letter is very happily drawn; but the hints are but brief, and many things are omitted which we long to see, and we are of opinion that so strange and surprizing a work of God that we have not heard any thing like it since the Reformation, nor perhaps since the days of the apostles, should be publish'd, and left upon record with all its attending circumstances, and therefore we join in subscribing five pounds towards the printing of the narrative, and let us have as many copys in sheets as may answer the bookseller's encouragement and our desire to spread this narrative in the world. But we intreat also that it may pass under your correction and the approbation of M^r Edwards; and if some of y^e neighboring ministers can add anything to make it more compleat, it will be more universally acceptable, and tis for this reason I send this letter so speedily by itself, tho perhaps in six or eight weeks time I may write again, and transmit some pacquets to the care of the Governor for my friends in Boston. since you tell me he is so good as to take pleasure in the conveyance of them.

If you should happen to see his Excellency before that time, let him have my repeated humble salutations & thanks for his favors, which I have already sent him by his son's letter, and let him know that his son has lately made me two visits to Newington, but whether it be proper to say also that I cannot find upon inquiry that he worships among the Dissenters,¹ I leave you to judge, tho at the same time, so far as I hear, his character is clean and unblemish'd.

Your sermon on M^r Stoddard's decease is with me. I have review'd his character and rejoice in such a successor as M^r Edwards.

¹ The attendance of Jonathan Belcher, Jr., on the services of the Church of England, was the occasion of grief and indignation to his father. See 6 Mass Hist. Coll., vol. vii. p. 292.

It is also a pleasure to me to find in M^r Williams's sermon which was preached at the time of this great work of God, the same spirit and savour, the same doctrines and the same practical turn which has been generally the taste of English Dissenters in the last age, and in this also among those who do not degenerate from the principles of their fathers toward Arminianism, or who do not strain points to nicer orthodoxy.

As for the affair of the missionaries, I hope M^r Sargent does not meet with the same difficultys to conflict with which M^r Seccomb has done. I must own I know not what to say about his continuance, since he must contend at once with heathenism and popery, and I hope a fair and just representation of these things will satisfy the honorable Society of Edenburgh. If he and M^r Parker have a true zeal and spirit for the work I wish some other proper station may be found for them.

I could wish, Sir, you had given me a hint concerning M^r Mason and his Indians who came hither to London, for I was in danger of being drawn into a snare, Captain Coram having first brought them to me. But when in his second visit he came without Capt. Coram, and wanted some assistance, I recommended him to M^r Wilks,¹ but he told me M^r Wilks opposed his cause, and this determin'd my conduct to be all silence and inactivity. But you have now, Sir, given me such a satisfaction, as well as some inquiry I made of M^r Belcher concerning the affair, that I want no more. However, I heard lately, by Capt. Coram that M^r Mason himself is dead, and tis probable that affair will end with him.

With regard to any unhappy circumstances you lie under because of your paper credit in New England I am so unskill'd in politicks that I only subscribe to your advice of cashiering finery, pride, & vanity, and living within yourselves; for if you will send silver to England to *support extravagancys*, as you express it, you must want it at home. May the great God direct and influence you all into the paths of industry and frugality, honor and honesty, truth and peace.

M^r Isaac Hollis, whom you mention, is y^e elder son of M^r John Hollis, lately deceased, & of so religious and pious a temper as to devote his life and all he has to the service of God and goodness, but in such a peculiar way which borders on enthusiasm, and has been many years at the same time so exceeding scrupulous that he cannot trade or merchandize; and having married in a low rank of life he lives intirely in the country, he contents himself and his family with a little, and lays out much of what his father has left him for pious uses. Tho he is a very good man, yet his excessive scrupulosity and his conduct were a matter of great concern to his relatives. I write this only for your own conduct, for I would not have it said that I send these things to New England, since he and I are very good friends.

¹ Francis Wilks. He was the agent for Massachusetts in England.

I am sorry to hear that you have buried y^e remaining branch of your excellent daughter M^{rs} Turell. One would wish, if God saw fit, to have a succession in the Church derived from such a character. But God is wiser than man. 'Tis a pleasure to me to hear that you have yet in your own family a rising character of the same kind. May rich grace accompany that blooming with whose specimens you have favor'd me with. My salutations attend her for the respect she has learnt of her father to pay my name.

I have not yet seen M^r Boylston. I am scarce ever in London, but on the Lord's day and on Tuesday, and I seldom stay within doors on Tuesday where I dine, unless I have notice of some business, so that I am much disappointed of seeing my friends; nor can I well alter it, unless I went oftener to London, but my health and my growing years will scarce permitt it.

With all sincere and Christian salutations to yourself, wishing you life, health, and success in your sacred labors, I am with sincere esteem and affection, Sir,

Your humble serv^t and brother.

I. WATTS.

March 1st. Yesterday after this was written, M^r John Smith from New England came to me, being just arrivd, & deliverd me a packet from you, for which I send my thanks, & will this day transmitt y^e sermons as directed. To M^r Prince also my thanks are due for his Funⁿ Sermon & M^r Byles's Elegy on y^e Gov^{rn} lady,¹ and to M^r Foxcroft, &c., but if I live 6 or 8 weeks I hope to send another packet.

March 2^d. The ship not going these two days yet, as I have learnt, I have sent you two or 3 books (w^{ch} y^e world will call mine) to be disposd of as directed. But as I have told you formerly when I print anything w^{thout} a name my booksellers do not give me books enough to oblige a quarter of my friends. However, I have sent one to y^e College, y^e Govern^r has one, & there is one for yourself, wth 2 other pamphletts which I have not publickly ownd, & I don't desire to have it said I sent you one of each, because I cant distribute any further.

I am glad to hear by M^r Smith that your late disorders are removed. May God prolong your life in growing usefulness.

I. W.

Indorsed: "Answered May 7, 1737."

DEAR SIR, — I hope before this comes to your hand you will have receivd my long letter and packet from y^e hands of his Excell^{cy}. I entreat the favor of your distribution of these books as directed. I

¹ Mary, wife of Governor Belcher, died Oct. 6, 1736. Her funeral sermon was preached October 17 by Rev. Thomas Prince; and a funeral elegy by Rev. Mather Byles was also printed.

think I have 2 or 3 sermons from M^r Appleton, & therefore I send my acknowledgem^t this way. I have had scarce any news from New Eng^l. last year but from yourself. I know not w^t M^r Moorhead's¹ conduct or sentim^{ts} among you may be. I have not so far ingratiated myself wth him as to send him a book, but you will please to convey a letter in ans^r to his. I have sent to Yale College one of y^e treatises of y^e *Strength & Weakness*, &c. I know not how to convey it but by you.

I hope my letter hath come soon to your hands wherby you will see that D^r Guyse & I have subscribed 5£ toward y^e printing of M^r Edwards's letter at length under your corrections, &c., & with any additions you think proper. We are so exceedingly pleas'd with y^e abstract you have made y^t we long for it at large. If you think proper to give M^r Edwards one of these little books in my name, or any other person you think more proper, I have sent one supernumerary for that end.

Having nothing further at present but to wish you all success in every work for God & his interest among men, & particularly in your sermon preach'd before the Councill, &c., for y^e recovery of your nationall affairs. I am, S^r, with much esteem,

Your affec^{tn} bro. & humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

NEWINGTON, Ap^l 2^d, 1737.

P. S. Perhaps you have heard by this time w^t I had almost forgot to tell you y^t the ingenious & pious M^{rs} Rowe of Frome² dyed about 2 months ago. She has left many papers. Some devotionall ones (in prose chiefly) are by her letter a little before she dyed committed to me for publication. She completed y^e poem of Joseph a little before she dyed, & tis now published.

Indorsed: "Rec^d June 5. Answered June 6."

NEWINGTON, Oct^r 13th, 1737.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — As I generally spend my Tuesdays in London, I heard last Tuesday that on y^e 15th of this month the last ship of this year would go for N. Eng^d. This has hastend D^r Guyse & me to send you some of M^r Edwards's Narratives,³ if possible. We both read it

¹ Rev. John Moorhead, minister of the Presbyterian church in Long Lane, now the Arlington Street Church.

² Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Walter Singer, of Ilchester, England, and wife of Thomas Rowe. Her husband died young, leaving her a handsome estate, of which she made a generous use. She published numerous productions in prose and verse. See Allibone's Dictionary of Authors, vol. ii. pp. 1890, 1881.

³ Edwards's "Narrative of the surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, and the Neighbouring Towns and Vil-

over carefully, & have omitted many things in it, & by reading it learn more particularly how judicious your abridgem^t is, yet upon the whole we thought it best to publish the larger acco^t & have made such apologies as we thought needfull. I corrected y^e last sheet yesterday, & we have agreed to send one hundred books in sheets as a present to New England, 50 of them to be disposed of by you, & 50 by M^r Edwards. If we have time to bind up any we have orderd 6 to be gilt (viz) 1 for y^e Governor, 1 for D^r Colman, 1 for M^r Edwards, 1 for M^r Williams who preachd y^e sermons, 1 for Harvard College, & 1 for Yale College. May y^e same spirit of grace that wrought that mighty work empower the Narrative of it to convert more souls & to make us min^{rs} more zealous in our labors!

But as I have now 3 of your letters lying before me I must proceed to other subjects.

I congratulate you on y^e choice of so worthy a person as M^r Holyoke to preside in your College in y^e room of your late worthy President.¹ May his name rest in honor & his successor exceed in every usefull quality.

M^{rs} Rowe's devotionall papers have been revised by me this summer; they will be published, I believe in 7 or 8 days. If any other ship shou'd go from London I will send you one this year: if not, I am sorry to think you must wait 3 or 4 months longer. Her memory honored by you in y^e Boston newspaper is very thankfully taken into the hands of M^r Theophilus Rowe, her husband's younger brother, to whom all her other papers & letters, verse & prose, are committed, & he is very busy in revising them for a publication, together with memoirs of her life; & after all I believe they will be supervised by M^r Henry Grove of Tanton.

Your opinion deriv'd from Cap^t Coram about y^e education of Indian girls strikes me well, & I think the reason has a great deall of weight in it.

I have M^r Sergeant's letter enclosed in one of yours, & I return him many thanks for it. May y^e work of God prosper in his hands, & may the labors & fatigues of such an excellent missionary be attended with much divine consolation.

I am surprized at y^e madness of y^e lower people in New England, whose conduct is represented in y^e newspapers you were so good as to send me. This is an easy way of conveying tydings of your affairs to us, when you mark out y^e paragraphs which you recommend to our

lages . . . in a Letter to the Reverend Dr. Benjamin Colman," was printed in London in 1737, with a preface signed by Dr. Watts and Dr. Guyse. A copy of the third edition, printed at Boston in 1738, is in the library of the Historical Society.

¹ Rev. Edward Holyoke succeeded Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth as President of Harvard College Sept. 28, 1737.

notice. But I fear our Court will construe all these things as arising from a seditious & ungovernable spirit in the whole people. God teach them to make better inferences & teach New England to behave wisely under such tumultuous practices of a mob.

I have your representation of M^r Hooper's congregation & his establishment in it.¹ There must be some differences among Christians to make y^e proper trialls of our love & forbearance & every other of y^e Christian graces that carry meekness & humility in them.

As for M^r More-head, I knew nothing of his character till you inform'd me, & therefore I wrote with caution; but I think his last letter to me has not given me much encouragem^t to continue my correspondence. I find he is a warm man.

Here is an unhappy accident y^t has fallen out last week among us, which makes it difficult for some of us to know how to act between two friends who are both dear to many of us. D^r Philip Doddridge, pastor of y^e church at Northampton, a most ingenious, pious, & excellent man, who is our tutor to near 40 pupills, & well qualify'd for it, has been severall years writing a paraphrase with notes upon y^e 4 Gospels, & publisht an advertisement of it in a sermon printed above a year ago. He calls it the Family Expositor; it has been seen by many of us in London, both Presby^{ans} & Indep^{ts}, & is greatly approv'd by us; he design'd to publish y^e first part of it this winter or next spring, but had not then printed any proposalls. D^r Guyse, who is also an excellent man & my good friend, published an advertisem^t about y^e end of Sep^r, & a few days after (viz.) Oct^r 4, published proposalls of a work of his of very neer y^e same kind. The chief difference lies in y^e quantity of criticall notes, of which D^r Guyse will have very few, D^r Doddridge very many. The other differences you must judge as well as you can by the specimens annexed. D^r Guyse owns to me that he did read D^r Doddridge's advertisem^t a 12 m^o ago, but thought it had been postponed, & not transcribed for y^e press, nor likely to appear some years yet; but of his own work he assures me it was promised to some friends 4 or 5 years ago, y^t he has been ever since engaged in it, tho he owns it was kept secret. D^r Guyse's first advertisem^t alarm'd D^r D. so sensibly that he published his proposalls y^e very day y^t D^r G^{'s} were publisht, & y^e bookseller or the D^r dated it 3 days before, w^{ch} probably was y^e very day twas written at Northampton. There are many who will subscribe for both; some for each according to their esteem of y^e writers. But it will be a very great hindrance to y^e encouragem^t of both; & their 2 booksellers are in great contest, each to promote his author. May y^e good providence of God over-rule all these things to y^e further diffusion of divine light thro y^e world.

¹ The West Church in Boston. Its first minister, Rev. William Hooper, was ordained May 18, 1787.

The serious & affecting sermons preached lately to y^e people, & also to y^e ruling powers by yourself & M^r Loring, &c., wou'd make me hope God has kindness in reserve for New England, if you could but see these sermons stamped upon y^e hearts of men. But this is God's work. Grace & peace be ever wth you, my dear friend.

Yo's affectionately.

I. WATTS.

P. S. I had forgot to say that M^r Tyler came to see me at Newington wth M^r Wilks, your Agent, about 6 weeks ago. Excuse me to my other correspondents in N. E. I had not time to write now.

NEWINGTON, near LOND., May 31st. 1738.

DEAR SIR, — The writing of so many letters which Providence calls me to every week is grown so painfull to me that my friends must excuse me if my long letters are written by the same amanuensis who writes my printed books from my mouth. Three of your last letters are before me, and it is only the excessive and unusual delay of the printer in finishing the little book which I now send you which has so long delay'd my answer.

Your orders and your money I received by Coll. Quincy.¹ I have subscribed for yourself, and lately for M^r Cooper (whose money also I received a fortnight ago) and I paid the whole subscription (*viz*th) sixteen shillings for D^r Doddridge's two volumes, and twelve shillings for D^r Guyse's, complete in sheets, which amounts to twenty-eight shillings apiece for you and M^r Cooper. The receipts will be found among my papers if I dye, and will claim the books complete for you. I have laid out the rest as you order'd in M^{rs} Rowe's Devotions, reserveing enough to pay for the binding and lettering of yours as you desired me, but since I have no orders what to do with the residue of M^r Cooper's money, which I suppose will be more than enough by two shillings to bind and letter them, I desire you to give M^r Cooper my humble service, & let him know I bought one of M^{rs} Rowe's books for him.

Poor, unhappy Coll. Quincy! whose conversation I had the honor to enjoy but twice. He scarce would have been advised by any friends in England to go thro' so hazardous an experiment in his advanced years of life; and yet I would not discourage him for fear of sinking his spirits, since he seem'd to be fully determin'd. By what I saw of that gentleman, I am well assured New England must have sustain'd a very considerable loss by his death.

¹ Edmund Quincy. He had been sent to England as one of the Agents of Massachusetts for the settlement of the disputed boundary line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He was inoculated for the small-pox, and died in London, Feb. 23, 1737-8, from its effects.

D^r Harris, D^r Guyse, M^r Neal, and myself agreed (as we think) upon just reasons not to print the Defence of the Ministers of New England against that impudent falsehood in the newspaper. We were afraid it would but renew the scandal; and Coll. Quincy gave his free sentiments intirely on our side, tho we have made it our business, so far as our conversation reached, to vindicate you all from that scandal, & I think it has been long dead.

M^r Edwards's Narrative comes next into sight. The blunder which was made in not distinguishing the Province of New Hampshire from the County of Hampshire I take entirely to myself, and I beg your pardon, and the pardon of every one concern'd, for it; but as your letter was not just at hand, wherein you gave me warning of something of this kind, and I have a map hanging always before me wherein New Hampshire is printed in large letters, and many of the towns wherein this work of God was wrought lying under it along the Connecticut River, without so much as the name of the County of Hampshire anywhere in the map, this unhappily led me astray, and we can now do no more than as you direct, blott out the word *New* in the title and in the book. As for other mistakes which D^r Guyse has informed me off, and which I talked over with him but yesterday, I desire you to take this account of them. M^r Edward's Narrative was written in so small a hand and so hard to be read, that if a word or two was mistaken by the printer or by us, I do not wonder at it; for I am sure I was forced to gless at several words in it. As for the alterations we made, we were afraid to leave out very much, lest we should fall under the same censure that D^r Colman did in his accurate and judicious abridgement; but we both agree that there was not one alteration made which we did not think perfectly agreeable to the sentiments of the writer. It was necessary to make some alterations of the language, lest we together with the book should have been exposed to much more contempt and ridicule on this account, tho I may tell my friend that tis not a little of that kind we have both met with. And if M^r Edwards should be so unwise as to make much talk of any mistakes he supposes we have made, he will do unknown injury to the Narrative itself, whose honor we support in the best manner we can, since we believe it true. We knew and felt it a point of self-denial when we printed it; and therefore we would have been glad that our subscription of £5 toward the printing of it in Boston had reached you before the Narrative came to us; and we took it for granted that the Narrative when it came was desired to be printed, partly from the representations which you made of M^r Edward's reasons for sending it to us, and partly from the publick advertisement or proposal for the printing of it in Boston at the end of your abridgement. So that we are not conscious we have done anything, nor written or printed one line or word contrary to the meaning of the orders

we received. And as it is a most signal account of a wonderfull work of God for the conversion of men, we can bear with satisfaction all the reproaches we sustain here, both in conversation and in newspapers, but we hope we shall receive no addition from New England of anything that should make us uneasy. Upon the whole I may tell you, Sir, we are called upon from Scotland, and from many of our friends in England, to know if we can give any further attestations of this work by private letters; but I do not know anything that could do it so effectually as if some other minister in New England, who was eye and ear witness to some of these numerous conversions in the other towns thereabout, would draw up a prudent & judicious account in brief of the work of God in some of those other towns at that time, and publish it under the correction of D^r Colman, whose abridgement is so well perform'd that had it been but twice as long as it is we would never have printed M^r Edwards's. I sent one of these Narratives as you order'd to M^r Holden as from yourself, tho I question whether his sentiments would greatly correspond therewith.

The next thing that occurs in your letters relates to the memoirs of M^{rs} Rowe's life, which were put by M^r Theop. Rowe into the hands of M^r Grove of Taunton, who to our very great loss was taken from the world about three months ago. There will be some delay on this account, for the papers must now be finish'd by M^r Rowe himself; but they are not to be printed by any subscription. The world, I suppose, will receive them without it. I am glad that my Preface to M^{rs} Rowe's Devotions was so acceptable to you, who formerly enjoy'd the favor of her personal acquaintance. I cannot but say 't was a peece of nice and dangerous work put into my hands to recommend a book to the world wherein I knew some expressions would awaken the ridicule of the age; and the lady to whom I inscribed it without a name was so sensible of it that after many letters passing between us she could not be prevail'd with to have her name mention'd. 'Twas the same person to whom I dedicated my Miscellaneous Thoughts, (viz^t) the Countess of Hartford, with whom she maintain'd the most intimate friendship, and who is the Eusebia in some of my writings.

I am glad to hear that M^r Sergeant goes on so prosperously in his mission; but I am still of the mind very little will be done towards the conversion of the wild and savage heathens, as well as of the polite, without some grand effusion of the spirit of God, which perhaps may restore the gift of miracles & tongues.

M^r Sparhawk was with me this spring, and I think he told me he was just going over to Holland.

I have sent a box of books at M^r Elisha Williams' request for Yale College, directed to you at Boston, & desire you will please to take care of their conveyance to him. As I know no cap^t of ships, &

am very little at London, perhaps I may not always happen upon the best method of conveyance. I give my packets to M^r George Streatfield, a merchant in Princes street, near the Exchange, when I have writt & seald them, & he takes the first opportunity for shipping them. T is the same gentleman to whom I desire any packets for me shou'd be directed.

I have sent inclosed an account of y^e moneys I received frō yourself & M^r Cooper, & the laying of it out according to order, & in the cheapest manner, tho I think M^{rs} Rowe's books are something dear, but I find they cannot alter the price. I have made my bookseller set some books down 3^d P ps & some 6^d cheaper than they sell them for in the shop.

I entreat you, S^r, to distribute these little books wth have occasiond my long delay of answering your letters by the unusuall & unexpected slowness of y^e printer. I have again consigned all my small packets to y^e hand of your honorable Governor, whose goodness & civilities demand my acknowledgments & esteem. Wth hearty prayers for your continu'd life & usefulness, I am, Sir,

Your affec^{te} brother & humble serv^t

I. WATTS.

P. S. June 7th. Yesterday D^r Guyse & I talkd over y^e affairs of y^e New Engl^d. conversions. He shewd me w^t he wrote to you, & I shewd him w^t I have here written on that subj^t. We mutually approve w^t each has writ. But I find D^r Guyse, who has more health & strength to write than I, has softend & soothed wth more gentle expressions the same things w^{ch} I have spoken in more brief and plain language.

NEWINGTON, Sep^r 22^d, 1738.

R^e & DEAR SIR, — Yours of June 8th is before me. I hope long ere now you have received what packet I sent by Cap^t Bonner and a square box with severall folios in it, directed to your hand to be conveyd to M^r Williams for Yale College, also y^t y^e Governor (whom I salute wth sincere respect & honor) has receiv'd y^t w^{ch} which was directed to him & gave him the trouble of distribution.

I thank you for M^r Hancock's sermon on Coll. Quincy's death.¹ I believe tis a just elogium on y^e gentleman deceased. I saw him y^e last time when y^e small pox were neer their appearance. His end was peace, tho the means unhappy.

I suppose I told you in my last y^t M^{rs} Rowe's Remains would be retarded by M^r Grove's death. Her bro^r in law, M^r Theophilus Rowe will finish 'em in time.

¹ "The Instability of Humane Greatness, Illustrated and Exemplified in a Funeral Discourse at Braintree, April 23, 1738. Upon the much lamented Death of the Honourable Edmund Quincy, Esq. . . . By John Hancock, A.M., and Pastor of the first Church in Braintree."

Mr Mather's book I have read, & approve of almost every thing in it.¹ Mr Holden whom I saw 3 weeks ago told me he approv'd it well, tho he almost forbid the dedication. I can read Mr Mather's turn of thought & temper in his writings. But y^o is a sensible improvem^t in him since he wrote his father's Life. The egotisms are less frequent, &c.

I am glad to hear of young branches springing up among you to produce evangelick fruit. God grant that there may be abundance of such fruit produced in N. E. As for Old Eng^d I have no comfortable things to say of that kind. I fear we are growing still toward heathenism.

Tho here & there a missionary's labor succeeds among the Indians, yet I do not wonder to hear of others without success. It seems to me to require a miraculous power to spread y^e Gospel thro savage nations; & tho I wish success heartily to every effort that way, both in y^e East & West Indies, yet my hope runs but low, till God send such a spirit of conversion forth as appeard in Northampton lately & y^e other towns about it.

I thank you for y^e notice you give to Dr Guyse & me of y^e approbation of Mr Edwards's Narrative in your country. I hope w^t mistakes we have made will not be prejudiciall to the truth & power of y^e Gospel as exhibited in that Narrative. But if you have receiv'd my packet you have my thoughts about it.

Your opinion about y^e education of girls is very rationall & just in order to spread religion thro a carnall & ignorant world. May grace & peace be ever wth you, & wth all your brethren in New Eng^d, from God our Father & our L^d J. C^t. Amen.

Yours affectionately.

I. WATTS.

I had forgot in my letter to mention that Mr Brackstone, for whom these books are printed, is my nephew, the son of my only sister, who set up his trade last year next door to y^e Royall Exchange.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — As I have received several letters from you since I wrote last, it will occasion my answer to consist of many particulars. I presume by this time you have received a small square box with two of Dr Guyse's Paraphrases bound in rough calf, at twelve shill^{rs} & 7 p^{eece} subscription and two shill^{rs} a p^{eece} binding; Doddridge, but one volume yet published, for Mr Cooper and yourself at eight shill^{rs} a p^{eece} subscription and two shill^{rs} a p^{eece} binding, whereby I have four shill^{rs} in my hand besides the four shill^{rs} which will pay for the binding of Doddridge's second volume. All the subscription you have

¹ "An Apology for the Liberties of the Churches in New England: To which is prefix'd a Discourse concerning Congregational Churches," by Rev. Samuel Mather. The dedication to the Hon. Mr. Holden bears date March 1, 1738.

paid already, by which means I have four shill^{rs} left in my hand, except the box, one shill^{rs}, w^{ch} reduces it to three.

You have spoke so much of M^r Rowe's Works that without express order I have sent you two setts of them at nine shillings a peice, together with two of her pictures in one of the Paraphrases, all which my letter which attended the box by Capt. Homan manifesteth, and I wrote this only lest that should not come to your hand.

The letter which you sent subscribed by several country ministers in N. E. is very agreeable to D^r Guyse and myself. But our bookseller could not tell how to publish it, because there were so few remaining of the Narrative, and no new edition is demanded. As soon as anything of this nature shall appear we shall publish the Ministers' Testimony to M^r Edwards's Narrative.

I thank you much for the account you have given me of Rhode Island by M^r Calender,¹ as well as the guards you set upon it by your own letter. I think it is the only place wherein I know perfect toleration exemplify'd. I have sent you therefore a new essay on *Civil Power in Things Sacred*, very much agreeing with their practise, and would be glad to know your opinion of it. I believe it is generally the sense of our Dissenters in England, tho the author does not desire his name to be publick yet. I have also added a small pamphlet on *Self-Love and Vertue reconciled only by Religion*. Both these books represent my scheme of thinking on these subjects better than any I have read.

M^r Mason and M^r Hilhouse have been both with me, but I was then very imperfectly recover'd from a paralytic shock on one side, which hath withheld me from the pulpit these ten weeks. I hope God is raising my strength by degrees towards further service. M^r Mason said very little to me besides that their affair is not fully determined. M^r Hilhouse said nothing of his personal affairs & his contention with his people,² but spoke of coming to see me again, and I am much of your mind that he will find little relief here.

As for the library which you speak is agoing to be erected in Connecticut, I can assist very little in it, partly because of my age and weakness, & living three miles from the town, and chiefly because I never made

¹ Rev. John Callender's "Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation," was first published in 1789.

² Rev. James Hillhouse, minister of the North Parish, in New London, Conn., had become involved in an unhappy controversy with his people. See Miss Caulkins's History of New London, p. 433. Subsequently Rev. John Moorhead, of the Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, of the French Protestant Church, in Boston, were drawn into the dispute. See an anonymous pamphlet by the latter, in the library of the Historical Society, entitled "Remarks on the Preface of a Pamphlet published by John Presbyter, in order to vindicate Mr. James Hillhouse." See also *post*, pp. 372, 373.

the knowledge of books and librarys so much my study as I have labor'd to read a few books well and to spend a great deal of my time in thinking.

I thank you much for your long account of the effort of some of your people to bring some new psalms into publick worship. As for Tate & Brady, if I had had a good opinion of them I would never have taken the pains to write a book myself. I do not think that the spiritual and devout ideas of y^e psalmist are maintain'd in their version. I have read also the newspapers you sent, and I see the sense of the people of New England, how necessary it is to keep near to the original, *i. e.*, in my opinion how necessary it is to sing something Jewish & something personall belonging to David in y^e general assemblys of Christians; and therefore I have no concern in that controversy. But I repeat these words out of my preface to the large edition of my Imitation of the Psalms (*viz*'), "Still I am bold to maintain the great principle on which my present work is founded, and that is, that if the brightest genius on earth or an angel from heaven should translate David, and keep close to the sense and style of the inspired author we should only obtain thereby a bright or heavenly copy of the devotion of the *Jewish King*, but it could never make the fittest psalm-book for a Christian people." Now, he that will effectually answer what I have said in that Preface, and in the Preface to my Hymns, on this subject, will give me great light and edification. And I must say that I imitated David's psalms, not as the fittest book that could be made for Christian worship, but as the best which the churches would yet hearken to, till they are arrived nearer to the light of the latter day & the evangelical glory thereof. Then shall new songs be sung, of glory to the Lamb that was slain. Rev. 5.

I give you thanks, Sir, that you inform me of your zeal for my Imitation of David's Psalms. I thank your church also for doing me the honor of voting a collection to be made of New Testament hymns out of my writings, and am glad you have such a man as M^r Cooper amongst you who is able to write in verse evangelically in imitation or by way of translation of David's psalms so as to please your people. I shall be glad to see a book so valuable on that head as to obscure mine forever.¹

I thank you, Sir, for the sermon you last sent me. I have distributed every thing else according to your order, and desire your acceptance of

¹ Dr. Colman's answer to this letter bears date Aug. 13, 1739, and is among the manuscripts belonging to the Historical Society. In it he writes: "The motion in our congregation about using a new version of y^e Psalms seems over. We found our peace would be endangered, so we keep on as we were. M^r Cooper has not turned 20 psalms that I hear of." On August 20 Dr. Colman wrote again to Dr. Watts. This later letter, which in many places is merely a duplicate of the letter of August 13, is printed by Milner, pp. 640-645.

a new labor of my pen, such as it is, and intreat the favor of you to distribute what are tyed in your packett. I have given the Governor y^e trouble of the rest. With many and sincere and affectionate desires of divine grace to attend you, your labors, and all your churches, I am, dear Sir,

Your very humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

NEWINGTON, June 6th, 1739.

Indorsed: "Answ^d Aug. 18."

NEWINGTON, Sept^r 17th, 1739.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I have had three letters lately from you, together with a packet, whose contents I have distributed according to your order. I received also the half ounce of gold which you sent me, & it comes exactly (as my goldsmith tells me) to £1. 17^s. 6^d, according to the present price of gold. I have paid myself the 15^s due upon my last bill, and have two shill^{6s} a peece still by me to pay for binding D^r Doddridge's 2^d vol. for yourself and M^r Cooper. The remaining sum I have laid out according to this account (viz.)

Sent in gold	£1.17.6
Due to me by a former acco ^t .	15.0
Bought Thompson's Works, 1 st vol.	5.0
Young's Satires.	3.6
— Paraphrase on Job.	1.0
— Last Day.	1.0
Law's Christian Perfection.	2.6
— Call to Devout Life.	2.6
Philomela's Early Poems, Joseph, &c.	6.0
Somerville's Chace.	2.6
	1.19.0
Due to balance	1.6

You see, Sir, the balance is but one shill^{6s} and six pence, which my exec^r shall never demand of you.

I would give you also some short account of these books. Some of them you may think dear, but I have paid as much for y^m myself for my own study. Of Thompson's Works I have sent only y^e first volume, because it is much the best and in my opinion Thompson's blank verse is too obscure, partly from want of grammatical connexive particles, partly from great transpositions, and I think an affected darkness which I cannot call the grandeur of style tho some people have done it. I have sent you Somerville's Chace, who I think is a much better writer in blank verse. Young's Satires are his most celebrated peece. His

Paraphrase on Job contains the best descriptive poesy I ever read. Philomela's Early Poems I have also bought myself long ago, and bound them together, which makes them so dear. They contain many which are not in the two volumes of her Works. M^r Law's Devout Peices are excellent in some parts of y^m, but in other places things are strained much too high. You will forgive me if I say I finish & send these matters before I have read your sermons, for which I thank you, because I am just going into y^e country, and would leave your packett ready for a ship.

And now, Sir, give me leave to thank you for y^e pains you have taken to give so large and full an account of that early and beautifull story of M^{rs} Rowe's recovery and her sister's death. I have got it transcribed, and sent it to M^r Theo. Rowe with all the proofs you give of the truth of it, but I have not had an answer from him yet. I have sent it also to the Lady Hartford, who acknowledges she never heard it before, so cautious was M^{rs} Rowe of speaking of her own family, and yet she firmly believes it because of the credibility I have given it by my knowledge of you these twenty years. And with regard to myself I suppose you are fully perswaded that I believe it all from end to end, and if I live shall converse with M^r Rowe by letter in order to the publishing it if ever a 2^d edition of her Works appear.

I thank you, Sir, for the pains you have taken to give me an account of the progress of M^r Sergeant among the Indians and rejoice therein. I have seen M^r Winthrop also, and had for a short time the pleasure of his conversation, because my head would not bear more. Since my last shock of the paralytic kind in March I have never preached but three times, and that was too much for me, so that I have lain still now ten or eleven weeks, and know not when God will favor me to enter into the pulpit again. This is the reason I write everything short, and write by the hand of an amanuensis.

Dear Sir, my own hand concludes this, & lets you know I have receivd a letter also from M^r Mather, M^r Byles, & M^r Prince, but cannot answer them now. I hope long ere this you have receivd my books of y^e *World to come*. I wait on God daily for further strength in my head, w^{ch} is sensibly weakend by y^e late stroke. May His hand remove your late disorders & render you more & more a burning & shining light in his church.

Yours affectionately.

I. WATTS.

Indorsed: "Answered Jan^y 16."

NEWINGTON, Oct^r 12th. 1739.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — Tis about three weeks ago or more that I sent you a letter with the packett of books which you desired, & which I bought with the gold you sent me, as far as it would go. I hope you

will have received them before this comes to your hand; but how far the present war with Spain will make delays necessary for convoys I know not, for I live not in London, nor have any acquaintance with the captains of ships.

I was address'd by your letter in the name of several people or ministers in Connecticut about the encouragement of a library which is there to be erected for the use of the ministers round about that country. This week I was again apply'd to by M^r Cox, the bookseller, for the same purpose. He tells me he keeps a bookseller's shop in Boston, and that he was just then sending some books over to New England. Accordingly in compliance with your request I searched what books of my publication lay by me that I might send to the ministers of Connecticut a token of my respect and great approbation of their design, viz!

8vo.	12mo.	12mo.
Watts's World to come.	Watts's Guide to Prayer.	Watts. Redeemer & Sanctifier.
— Logick.	— Prayers for Children.	— Art of reading and
— Astronomy.	— Doctrine of y ^e Passions.	— writing English.
— Humility.	— Scripture History.	— Catechisms and
Rowe's Devotions, published	— Psalms.	— Discourses on them.
by Dr Watts.	— Poems.	— Holiness of Times, Places
	— Miscellaneous Thoughts.	& People.

These were tyed up in a packett and sealed. I hope they will receive in a little time from M^r Cox.

The books are not all of one binding, nor is there any necessity they should, being design'd for a library, as I suppose, from which books are continually to be lent to the neighboring ministers; and for the same reason I was not solicitous to enquire whether they had any of these books before, for it is no inconvenience to such a library to have three or four of a sort to lend at the same time, whereas if a library be fixed only for one place nobody can have the use of it but those who come thither, which I conceive is the case of the library at Harvard College, and for that one book of a sort may be sufficient. But to set up such a sort of fixed library for ministers so scatterd thro the country, I conceive would be to very little purpose if they might not borrow y^m. There is a library set up at Salisbury or Sarum by M^r Fancourt, a Dissenting minister there, which has been now maintained severall years, and is of great advantage to the country ministers and gentlemen round about, and happening to have the rules of that library by me, I take the freedom to send them to you, to see if there be anything in them that may assist the gentlemen in Connecticut towards such a usefull design.

When I wrote you my last letter I was in some haste, having travelled much this summer to distant places, and perhaps I might too slightly mention some things relating to your former letters.

I thank you, Sir, for the good opinion you have conceived of my Imitation of the Psalms of David, but I a little wonder that there should

be so much exception taken against it for y^e omission of several psalms there, since I have made an apology for it in the Preface, that I take but the same liberty every parish clerk does to chuse which psalms he thinks fittest for present worship, and I cannot but a little wonder that any person should be zealous for Hopkins & Sternhold, as well as that there should be so many persons of a pious and spiritual mind voting for the use of Tate and Brady to assist their most elevated and Christian devotions. If your worthy colleague, M^r Cooper, succeed in his design, I shall be glad to see a performance so well done as justly to render mine useless to the world. I have had many a design these twenty years to publish some discourses that lye by me on the ordinance of singing and y^e manner of forming spiritual songs for Christian worship, but hitherto my want of health as well as other businesses have prevented me, and now my health is at so low an ebb that I much question whether I shall ever do it.

M^r Mason of your country was with me severall weeks ago to talk over y^e affairs of M^r Hilhouse, but I shewed him the absurdity of expecting any persons in England to meddle with his cause, & much less ever to hope that y^e ministers here would be on his side; for in England we have no notion of any other minister or any body of ministers determining y^e affairs of any single congregation, whatsoever they may do in Scotland or Ireland.

By a letter I lately received from M^r Theo. Rowe of Hampstead, he owns that he is convinced by the transcript I sent him, and acknowledges the truth of your story about M^{rs} Rowe's recovery and her sister's death, and as he thinks it necessary in any other edition when it comes to alter M^r Grove's account of that matter, so he is not perfectly determined whether to insert your whole account till he has conversed more about it with the friends of Philomela.

And now, good Sir, at the end of my letter give me leave to ask a question which I know not how to answer, (viz.) that since there are so many complaints from New England of the distress you are under by reason of paper money, how it comes to pass that you use so much of the metals of gold and silver in funeral rings or in common plate. Would not a public self-denyal in these instances bring more coin into your nation?¹ But I beg pardon for talking out of my own sphere, and perhaps with impertinence.

¹ In Dr. Colman's answer to this letter, which is printed by Milner, pp. 651-655, he writes: "And as to your question, why we give rings at funerals, and have plate in our houses, when we have no silver and gold currency among us as a medium of trade. I must first own, that Boston has always been too expensive in funerals, and also in vessels of plate in the house. A-la-mode and luteatring scarfs were our mourning twenty years ago; we reformed to rings which were about half the expense. Our people expect a great deal of labor from their ministers when their families are sick, and have it; and the richer in return give

I have read your sermon on Mr Thacher's death,¹ & I think you have made an excellent improvement of the name of angell given to ministers. Thank you also for Mr Smith's sermon on the death of Mr Basset,² who by his writings has raised in me a very considerable idea of his pious & learned character. I wish we may ever be able to send a man amongst them of equal worth; but as I think I told you before, and I told some gentlemen of Carolina but yesterday, they might much more reasonably expect a supply for their edification from Harvard College than ever they can from London, there are so many amongst us gone off into sentiments at a wide distance from the Assembly's Catechism. I thank you also for your discourse on the wither'd hand, which very much expresses my idea of the moral impotence of our souls to that which is good and the way of our recovery by Jesus Christ & y^e Gospell. May it awaken the zealous endeavors of many to work out their own salvation with dependance upon that grace which must work in them both to will and to do.

And now, Sir, you will forgive me if I tell you that I write very few letters myself; my health has been so far impair'd this half year that I have preached but three times. My head is not yet capable of preaching, tho every week I hope for a recovery, and it is so very little that I can read or write that I am forced to put all y^e writing that I can into the hand of an amanuensis. Yet with my own hand I cannot but say I wish you a much better state of health than some of your letters this year describe, that souls may receive the benefit & God the glory. Amen. I am, Sir, with much esteem

Your affect^{io} bro^r & humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

Indorsed: "Rec^d Jan^{ry} 10, 1740, & wrote y^e contents to Mr Williams of Lebanon. Answ^d Jan^{ry} 16, 1740."

NEWINGTON, NOV^r 13th, 1739.

REV^d AND DEAR BROTHER, — Within these two months past I have sent you a packet of the books you order'd, and about three weeks ago a letter wherein I acknowledged the receipt of the letters and packet and

us a ring. The gold the meanwhile is only matter of trade and merchandise in the goldsmith's shop among us, like other goods; and as to the silver it is bought up by the merchants to make returns to you, to pay debts or buy more goods from you; and if one or two hundred thousand pounds in silver or gold were brought in among us to-morrow, we owe it to you, and ought to remit it presently; or to make gain of it, or purchase what we need from you, we send it to you. It is true, Sir, as you say, a public self-denial in these instances would soon mend the matter with us, that is, in half a century it would do it, for so long the want of it has been bringing us into these circumstances, and as long there have not been wanting public and private warnings of the wrong and injurious step."

¹ Rev. Peter Thacher, minister of the New North Church, Boston, died March 1, 1738-9.

² Rev. Nathan Bassett, of Charleston, S. C., died June 26, 1738.

gold which you sent me, and which I have laid out according to your order, and I hope the packet is with you before this time. I am sorry I was so ill that I could not encourage M^r Winthrop to join with our publick ministrations, for tho I am in some measure recover'd, yet I have been able to preach but four times these seven months. God keeps me still waiting, but my head is so weak that I can read and study but little and preach less. Yet I am daily hoping for an admission to the pulpit again.

Blessed be God who is pleased to make any of my labors acceptable and usefull to the souls of his people. I have nothing to do in this world but to serve y^e interests of religion and to promote y^e honor of God and my Savior. You will please to help me with your prayers, as I earnestly desire your long continuance in y^e labors of y^e Lord.

I am sorry to hear of M^r Mather's illness, but you tell me he is on his recovery. I am grieved to think that M^r President Williams should be yet laid aside from his work, or constrain'd to depart from that province which he so honorably fulfils. Tho I have had news from you of the receipt of the box of folio books which I sent him, yet I have not hitherto received any tidings thereof from him. I hope they are arrived safe to his hands.

I have nothing to say, Sir, against your reprinting of such little books of mine as may be usefull in N. E., but I bless God who gives them acceptance in any place. This, I suppose, you know that they must not be sent to England, nor sold there, because my booksellers would think it a great injury to them, as, indeed, it would be, and they would complain of me if I ever so much as connived at it.

I have herewith sent you two of those little books concerning *Preaching of Christ*, which I wonder you have not seen yet in Boston. You may give one of them, if you please, to the library of Harvard College, for I think it a very usefull book for students, and wish they were more dispersed.

Your remarks, Sir, upon the little book about *Civil Power in Things Sacred* are so just, & y^e inferences which you make from some parts of it are so unhappy, and yet so reasonable, & so likely to come to pass, that I own with you I am affraid to admitt them; and yet I am ready to think the author of that book did not well know how to avoid them with a perfect security to the libertys of mankind. We would surely be glad to have Christian towns & Christian cities, and y^e provinces should have Christian government in them, but if a few heathens or Mahometans are found amongst y^m, must they be banished and excluded from the publick protection? Suppose old Rome or Corinth had nine tenths of their inhabitants converted to Christianity, and the Governors amongst them all Christians, should they banish y^e remaining heathens thence? The design of that treatise seems to be an endeavor to try

how far it is possible to bring in a national or establish'd religion, and the author seems to think it can hardly go further than he has brought it. For my part I am in suspence and doubt, & would be glad to see things made more clear and practicable on every side for the safety of true religion, and yet I know not how to admitt y^e union & mixture of sacred and civil powers, knowing what eternal mischiefs it has wrought thro all Europe in all ages, and is every day working throughout y^e world. Yet after all I think the magistrates may appoint & authorize one day in a week to be kept sacred for religion by forbidding publick trades & sports & I am of opinion wth you that the general neglect of the Lord's day threatens the ruin of religion wheresoever it is found, & therfore in Christian states it ought to be supported. But, Sir, I beg leave to differ widely from you in this point, that we are in a national sence the people or church of God as much as the Jews were, for He was the King of Israel, their peculiar, political head, and all y^e^r judges, magistrates and kings were but his deputys, & he never assumed such a political government over any other nation besides Israel, & therefore the glorious titles that are given to y^e Jews as a *holy nation* belong to no other people or nation upon earth, but to such persous only as make a credible profession of true Christianity. But this is too long a debate to enter upon in letters. My last discourse in y^e book of y^e Holiness of Times, Places, &c., has something relating to this subject.

Your fears concerning y^e war with Spain are the same with multitudes of pious and thinking persons amongst us. I pray God not to suffer the publick immoralities of the nation and y^e neglect of religion amongst us to drive Him and His blessings away from our fleets and armies & nation.

With regard to your condition at N. E. & the fortification of its boundaries by sea or land, the raising of money for that purpose, or the indulgence of our Court if money should be raised, I can say nothing at all, for I have all my life been a willing stranger to Courts, and therefore I can only grieve when any danger arises to such multitudes of my Christian brethren as are found in N. E., but I have neither skill nor power to help but by prayer to Him that governs all things.

Yesterday M^r Hillhouse who is arrived from Ireland came to make a second visit to me. I believe he has met but with very cold encouragement everywhere. He doubts whether he shall return to Boston this year, & desires to be recommended to preach up and down that he may have some supplys for his support. But I must & do say, I do not find a great deal of encouragement to recommend him from his own representation of his case, & much less from a little pamphlet he put into my hand of y^e *Observations* made upon the result of a Council in June, 1737.¹ I told him there were not two ministers in London or round

¹ Mr. Moorhead's pamphlet. See *ante*, p. 364, note.

about it (except they were Scotchmen) that would undertake to determine anything in such a controversy between him and his people. But when he represented to me that he had preached there generally till this year, and that they were many years behindhand in his salary, I thought they ought to have given him some notice as a church or as an assembly of Christians that they did desire him to be their preacher no longer, and if such notice from the majority of the people had no way been given him, I thought it was but reasonable his salary should be paid. But when I talked further with him, and especially since I have read his paper, I begin to suspect y^e man has not dealt fairly in representing y^e case to me. He told me also that he was advised by some lawyers (not ministers) to sue the members of that Council at law in New England for defamation, & if he could not carry his point there, then to remove it to our King & Council. I enquired of him whether the defamation was for drunkenness or swearing or immorality? No, nothing of this, but other things relating to disobedience to a Council, &c. I told him this would make only matter of jest & ridicule for the Lords & men in high places. Besides that I thought 'twas no Christian way of vindicating himself or punishing his opposers; and I by all means advised him against it; and at last I said to him that I would freely send you my opinion thus far, that if there has been no publick agreement of y^e majority, and sufficient notice given him from y^e majority of y^e people that he should desist his ministry among them, he should be consider'd for his labors these five or six years past, at least by a composition or payment in part instead of the whole. But as I hinted before, I suspect his representation of things, & therefore I can form no just opinion upon y^e matter. I can never perswade myself that his congregation and two successive Councils could act so unreasonably & so injuriously to him as he would fain make me believe, nor is there anything of a spirit of true piety that I could observe in his printed paper. This I find by his paper, that they have constituted a sort of a Scotch, Irish Presbytery secretly in Boston, of which M^r Moorhead is the moderator, & into which he was received in y^e year 1736; I believe on purpose to have something to say to avoid all submission to any of your Councils or Synods, and I told him my opinion plainly that neither y^e one nor the other sort of synods, *i. e.* neither New English nor Scotch carried divine authority in them any further than advice.

Farewell, dear Sir. May God bring this safe to your hands, & establish your health and enlarge your power for service. I am, with much affection & esteem

Your brother and serv^t.

I. WATTS.

P. S. You are pleased to intimate to me in y^e end of your letter your beginning a collection something like our fund in London for the support of ministers in y^e country. I just mention'd it three days ago

to M^r Neal, who complains he has not received a letter from you a long time, nor an account of books he sent to New England, &c. But for us to send you our rules of conduct in this matter would take up more time than I can possibly spend at present before the ship goes, and tis fit also that we should consult together upon it.

Indorsed: "Rec^d Feb^r 1739/40. Answered March 17, 1740."

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I received a letter from you in y^e winter, wherein I read the performance of M^r N. Gardener¹ who has well imitated my poem to S^r Jn^o Hartopp, and you will please to pay him thanks for the honor he has done me, and wish him success in his superior studys. My acknowledgements are also due to M^r Lovel who has transmitted these verses to you.

Tis near a month ago since I received yours dated Jan^r 16, 1740, which brought me a full account of your receipt of the several packets which I sent last year, and a sufficient quantity of thanks for my care of them. I heartily desire success for the new impression of your sermon on the *Wither'd Hand*, because it speaks so much y^e sense of my heart. And I doubt not your discourses of the Incomprehensibleness of God will be very agreeable to me when I shall have the happiness of seeing them.

I find, Sir, you are not willing to let the debt of a shilling or two remain upon you, and therefore you have remitted to me two of my books printed in Boston, and I perfectly agree with you that they make a very good figure in this publication, and am bound to repeat my many thanks to the God and Father of all Grace who is pleased to make my writings usefull on both sides of the great ocean.

M^r Whitefield has been several times to see me, and that you may judge my sentiments of him, I will tell you part of the last conversation I had with him just before he went to Georgia last year. He owns that he can give me no sufficient proof of his being called to any extraordinary ministrations, nor of the propheticall speeches that are sometimes found in his diaries, but he tells me that he has some inward sensations of particular impulses which have been so often fulfilled to him that he knows they are divine, but he owns these are such evidences that will not convince another person. I freely told him that I believed him to be a man of serious piety and uncommon zeal for the Gospel of Christ, that God has blessed his labors and ministrations in y^e fields when he was shut out of the churches, and that in y^e main the Gospel which he preached and his desire for the conversion of souls and the edification of Christians upon evangelical principles was the same that he would find in many of our dissenting churches if he could hear them,

¹ Perhaps Nathaniel Gardner, a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1739.

and therefore tho he was followed by several of our Dissenters, yet his chief crouds & most zealous admirers were of the Church of England who are not used to hear such evangelical nor such affectionate discourses, & stood most in need of them. I told him also that there was something that lookd uncommon and extraordinary that a man of no strong constitution should be able to preach, expound, exhort & pray five or six hours in a day for many days together, and not destroy his nature by it; so that his very continuance in life under such labors was the most divine, sensible evidence of an extraordinary call that I could find; but since God has done great service in awakening many people by his labors and (I hope) in y^e real conversion of several, I could not but say, *Go on and prosper*, and if S^t Paul rejoiced when the name of Christ was preached, tho it were out of strife and envy, Phil. i. 18, I had much more reason to rejoice at his success, and wish'd him the presence of God wheresoever he went with this pious and zealous spirit, and I heartily recommended to him such caution & prudence that his good might not be evil spoken of.

I think M^r Arnold plays but y^e same part among you as multitudes of his fellows of the Church of England practice among us, but I conceive also that the complements to M^r Whitfield in your newspapers are something extravagant. If the great God has more glorious designs for him yet to perform, He will support him for His own work, tho he be cast out by many of his brethren.

There are here and there some appearances in y^e world of some glimmerings and dawns of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. Several of these young men who are called Methodists at Oxford have done great service for God and souls in their private ministrations, exhortations, and prayers, as well as in their publick labors in y^e churches, tho none so remarkably as M^r Whitfield. The two M^r Wesleys are his successors here in London, but they differ more from the articles of the Church of England in some particular sentiments (viz.), against the perseverance of the saints, against y^e doctrine of election, &c., as well as in preaching up the necessity of sensible feelings of our regeneration, and in y^e doctrine of Christian perfection, and they have comparatively but few converts or followers to what M^r Whitfield has experienced.

There is also a work for God carrying on in Wales by the means of some Charity Schools set up in that ignorant country for the instruction of persons of thirty, forty, fifty, & sixty years of age, as well as children, in a way of catechizing and teaching them to read Welsh. I have here sent you a pamphlet lately printed on this subject which is very ingeniously written, and whereby you may enquire whether your missionaries may not make much swifter progress in y^e conversion of souls by their learning the Indian language than by teaching the Indians to learn English.

Our good friend M^r Holden was seized a fortnight ago with a great disorder which they call the cholick. I have been once admitted to see him. His life is in a lingering way, and so far as I can find physicians are yet doubtfull whether he will live or dye.

I spoke to M^r Cox, the bookseller, about y^e dilatory conduct of himself or his shopkeeper with regard to some books that were orderd for you. He tells me he believes they are arrived before now.

You were pleased to give me such a good account of the affairs relating to silver and gold, trade, merchandize, and money among you that I have nothing to add upon that head. I hope the great God will give us success in y^e present war notwithstanding the infinite iniquities and crying provocations and infidelity of those who are engaged in it.

I have ventur'd to put into your hands a new book published amongst us about six weeks ago on the *Ruin and Recovery of Man*. I cannot but much approve of the greatest part of the author's opinions, & therefore I have sent one to be transmitted by you for Yale College to M^r President Williams, & another to be perused by M^r Holyoak and to be given to Harvard College, if yourself and M^r Holyoak shall agree that there is no such heresie in them as to forbid them a place among my writings in those two Colleges.

May the God of nature and grace strengthen you in soul and body for many further services in this world, and prepare you more for all the enjoyments of a better. I am, Sir, with all esteem and affection,

Your most humble serv^t and brother,

I. WATTS.

NEWINGTON, near LONDON, May 23^d, 1740.

P. S. I had forgot to say anything of my own health. I thank God I have got into y^e pulpit, & continued it from last Nov^r to this day. But one side is much colder & more chilly than the other. This long course of east winds in the spring do me more hurt than y^e most severe frost of Dec^r, Jan., & Feb.

I have not yet heard from M^r President Williams of my box of folios wth you have receivd & transmitted.

D^r Doddridge's 2^d part is not publisht. As soon as it appears, I will send it to you, & M^r Cooper, being paid for it already.

Indorsed: "Rec^d & answered Nov. 1."

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I had just written a long letter to you, and before I sealed it I received one from you dated March, 1740; as I some time before that received your acknowledgment of the books I sent you, and of the gold I received to pay for them, and balanced all accounts within a shilling or two, which you were pleased to twice repay by my *Hymns* you sent me and my *Guide to Prayer, &c.*, so that I only now repeat the settlement of our accounts.

We are daily waiting for more news from Admiral Vernon, and what he has done we know not.

I find all the affairs of Mr Hillhouse are agreed between us by mutual approbation, and to the great satisfaction of you and me. Nor do I know what to say about their setting up such a little Presbytery, but that I assured him we had no such opinion of Presbyterys in England, unless in the very north countys which border upon Scotland. Nor can we here by any means approve of their conduct amongst you.

The inclosed letter of Mr. Solomon Williams (to which the last paragraph of yours refers) gives me an account of such a mistake as I am willing to rectify by the repetition of several of the same books as a gift to one of their librarys. But I desire entirely that you would take upon you to determine the disposall of them. The books I now send are as follows, viz^t

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|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Watts's sermons, 2 vols. | 12. Miscellany. |
| 2. Death and Heaven. | 13. Prayers for Children. |
| 3. Psalms, large edition. | 14. Strength & Weakness of Human Reason. |
| 4. Psalms, little edition. | 15. Doctrine of the Passions. |
| 5. Astronomy. | 16. Art of Reading & Writing. |
| 6. Redeemer & Sanctifier. | 17. Divine Songs. |
| 7. Poems. | 18. World to come. |
| 8. Catechisms. | 19. Humility. |
| 9. Holiness of Times, Places, &c. | 20. Self-Love & Vertue reconciled only by Religion. |
| 10. Logic. | |
| 11. Scripture History. | |

Now, Sir, I beg the favor of you to open y^e packett and take out every book and write in the title-page of it the particular library to which it is given, because I have directed the others only to the new library in Connecticut, that there may be no more mistake; and as I have made my cupbord thin by this last gift, so I do not give y^e least room for any other library to expect the same.

You are pleased to enquire again, Sir, in what manner we ministers at London supply the churches in y^e country. Our method in short is this: once a year in y^e properest season every one of the chief churches in London make a collection for the support of the poor ministers in the country, of which notice is given with a suitable exhortation the Lord's day before that every well-disposed person may come prepar'd with as much silver or gold as they think proper to bestow. Then this pastor or pastors with two messengers from every one of these churches meet together every Monday after the first Lord's day in each month (except July, August, and Septemb^r when we meet not), there we go over alphabetically the names of the countys in England, and before this whole assembly propose names and character of every minister on whom

we bestow any thing. We enquire then what he receives ³ ann. from his people, what family he has, & whether he be orthodox in his sentiments according to the Assembly's Catechism, especially in the great articles of the Trinity, Election, Justification, Sanctification, &c. Nor has any man any thing given him but by a vote of the major part of y^e assembly every year. Every member of this assembly is free to propose any person to this bounty, or to make objection against any person propos'd (viz), if he be rich; if the congregation well supply him; if his doctrines vary much from our rules; if he be negligent in his ministry; or of doubtfull or evill character in his life; & accordingly we give or withhold. Every vote is written down in a book kept for that purpose. Another book keeps the character of the ministers, vouched and attested by some minister or member of the bord; and in a third book we keep the receipts of all payments. The utmost sum that we ever give a person upon y^e highest occasion is £10 a year, and between £3 and £10 all the intermediate sums are proportion'd according to the necessity of the minister. Every meeting begins with a prayer of ten minutes which every minister performs in his turn, and is made chairman for that meeting. We seldom sit above two hours at a time, which enables us to dispatch all the business, and when y^e money is voted it is remitted by a treasurer to those who call upon him for it by writing or some good assurance or knowledge, as deputed to receive it by the minister of the place. I had forgot to tell you that each of our three denominations, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, keep their collections and their assemblys for distribution of this money quite distinct from each other, and 'tis but seldom that we allow any man to receive anything from two denominations. May the great God direct and bless you abundantly in this pious design, as He has done us in England, and may His grace be forever with you. Amen. I am

Yours affectionately.

I. WATTS.

NEWINGTON, NEAR LONDON, May 29th, 1740.

P. S. It has pleased God this month to remove 9 or 10 of my acquaintance from this world, among whom 3 are ministers, & y^e Rev^d Dr Harris, our common friend, is one. He dyed last Saturday or L^{ast} day morning. The northeast winds have continued for 3 or 4 months or more, & made y^e weather very unseasonable & pernicious to all animal & vegetable nature. God grant we may be ready prepar'd for y^e awfull summons.

Our friend, Mr Holden, is at last able to remove into his country seat two days ago; yet he is not refresht by it, but in a languishing way, doubtfull & dangerous. If he dye his gain will be great, & our loss exceeding mournfull.

Indorsed: "Rec^d & Answered Nov. 1, 40."

NEWINGTON, near LONDON, July 16th, 1740.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR,—It is now about five or six weeks ago that I sent you a large packett of books in brown paper, the chief part of which were designed for one of those two new erected librarys which you told me were ready to contend for my first parcel, and they are left intirely to your judgement and distribution, as I told you in the letter. Mr. Streatfield, the merchant to whose hands I committed them, being gone out of town I cannot inform you of the captain's name by whom they were sent.

The occasion of my present writing is this. M^r S. Holden, being dead, there are some charitys to be distributed by his will, and I am desired to enquire of you what kind of charitys were those with which he favor'd New England by your hands, and to what value they might arise in one year, supposing there is some thing of the same kind design'd for New England again. Your speediest answer is desired.

D^r Doddridge's second volume will be published in about five weeks time, and then I will send that for yourself and for M^r Cooper, for which you have already paid me.

I refer every thing that relates to M^r Whitefield and other affairs to the letter which I hope you will receive safe with my former packett. I have only this to add, that I am sorry to find by some of his letters printed in America that he thinks himself bound to defend such an unadvised sentence as that *Archbishop Tillotson knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet*. I cannot but say I have a great love for the man, and he seems to have been raised up, like Luther in the Reformation from Popery, to rouse the generality of the Church of England from its formalitys in religion and from some of the growing errors of the times; but I fear he has done himself and his ministry unspeakable hurt by these letters which are now publish'd in our English newspapers by his friends. I grant there are many things in B^p Tillotson's writings which I very much disapprove, and wish they had been omitted, for they do not well agree with the spirit of Christianity & the doctrines of justification and sanctification taught us by S^t Paul. But for a man who has written so many good sermons, and especially upon the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ, & other parts of our religion, to have his works censured & reproached by wholesale, as being fit to be treated like the books of curious arts among the Ephesians, Acts 19, and to be called as *great poyson as they*, which M^r Whitefield has done in a third letter to his friends in England just now printed; this conduct, I say, must fall under the charge of great imprudence, & I fear will have a very unhappy effect.

I pray God keep good M^r Whitefield from any more such imprudencys & preserve you and me and all y^e ministers of Christ amongst us from such indiscretions of zeal & such extreams which will make

our good be evill spoken off in y^e world & disgust many a pious Christian. and lay a stumbling block before the weak in Christianity who declare they know not which way to chuse, nor whom to follow for their guide, when M^r Whitefield and B^p Tillotson are at such odds with each other. I am, Sir, with hearty wishes for your continued health and life.

Your very humble serv^t & affectionate bro^r.

I. WATTS.

Indorsed: "Answ^d twice, Nov. 8 & 21."

NEWINGTON, near LONDON, March 18th, 1740/1.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I have now by two or three ships received several letters and packetts from you which not only inform me of the arrival of almost all my letters and packetts, but have given me occasion also to acknowledge your goodness in sending me your own writings, which I sincerely value and thank you for. The use that you have made of my writings and M^r Jennings's by reprinting them at Boston¹ demands also my acknowledgem^t. I fear, dear Sir, you sett my character and my services too high in your preface to the discourses of *Preaching Christ*. I wish New England may find thro the grace of God all that advantage by my labors which you represent, and may y^e name of our great Redeemer which grows into much disesteem among multitudes be so much the more published and honor'd by us. His kingdom will come, and when his glory appears the emptiness and insufficiency of every thing without him will be evidently manifest.

Your sermons of the *Incomprehensibility of God* have again entertain'd and delighted me, and I cannot but think that such sort of discourses are sometimes very usefull to awaken and exalt our ideas of a God and a Savior. May this be the happy fruit of the republication of them. Your funeral sermon on M^r Holden was very agreeable to me, and I know those peeces of his letters which you inserted to be the copy of the man's heart. But I am sorry that M^r Holden and the young ladys her daughters do so much disapprove of the publication of them.² I believe some of their politer acquaintance in this great city may have made them uneasy to hear so many religious sentiments coming out of their family and relating to themselves made publick to the world in an age wherein religion is not very modish. But tis probable

¹ "Two Discourses, on preaching Christ, and of Particular and Experimental Preaching," by John Jennings, and Watts's "The End of Time," were reprinted in Boston in 1740.

² In his sermon on the death of Samuel Holden, preached before the Governor, the Council, and the Representatives of Massachusetts, Dr. Colman filled several pages with extracts from Holden's letters to him, mainly of religious reflections.

that M^{rs} Holden in her letters to you, and particularly in one which comes from her with this my packet, & I suppose has her 2^d bill of exch. in it, has signify'd her sense of things to you. However, I have endeavor'd to vindicate your conduct, at least according to the custom of your country where these things are common; and many of M^r Holden's friends in London are glad to see his character shine so bright in the funeral honors you have paid him. These peeces of letters have been reprinted by a bookseller here in a single sheet, and many hundreds of them are dispersed, but M^{rs} Holden suppress'd them as soon as she knew it. M^{rs} Holden has also sent by me the two latter volumes of D^r Doddridge's Exposition for you, unbound; and indeed, Sir, those two latter volumes bound in rough calf for M^r Cooper and yourself which I sent many months ago, & for which I am already paid, is the only packet of which I have heard no tydings from you. Whether y^e Spaniards have got them I know not.

I thank you much for your several and very particular accounts relating to M^r Whitefield, and I am glad that you intirely acquiesce in my opinion of him and the conversation which I had with him. I rejoice to hear that God has made his labors so very successful in America by tydings from M^r Josiah Smith of Carolina, as well as from yourself. This week he is arrived in London, and goes on to preach in the fields as heretofore. And I must say again, it seems to me as tho there was some divine power attending him to preserve him alive thro such endless fatigues. He brought me a packet from Carolina, and I suppose I shall see him in a little time when his warmer friends are visited. May God preserve him from all youthfull imprudencys and make him an instrument of His glory again amongst us, as well as amongst you. Whether he will propose himself to us, the Protestant Dissenters, in any form I cannot yet find, and I question whether he himself be yet come to a determination.

I thank you also for your account of the success of M^r Sergeant. May the Gospell of our Lord have free course and be glorify'd among heathens and Christians.

Perhaps, Sir, you may have heard that there has been a considerable legacy left by one M^r Coward towards the education of Dissenting ministers, and he has sett D^r Guyse, M^r Neal, and myself at the head of it. We do what we can (after more than two years contest at law) under our circumstances to promote y^e work on the plan which he fixed in London under M^r Eames, and in Northampton under D^r Doddridge. This put me upon drawing up a few questions this winter for the service of young students and young Christians, which I here take the freedom to transmitt to you. You will please to bestow them as directed.

I agree & grieve with you that some of the Methodists are gone into

some odd opinions, and I think among the Moravian brethren there are also some darkneses in respect of doctrine. This present state is a mixture of light and cloud, truth & mistake. We are still working onwards thro many darkneses to everlasting day. May God keep our hearts under the power of His divine & undoubted truths.

Tis no wonder you are in fear for y^e American provinces if a French war should arise, which is supposed to be very near, but God can scatter every gathering mist; and yet perhaps it is by the convulsion of nations that Antichrist must be destroy'd, and the glorious kingdom of Christ appear. May the blessed God prepare you and us for all new appearances of things.

I am well pleased to hear that this last year has been more favorable to your health than the foregoing. May such years be repeated yet further in many rounds. I sympathize with you who have so much happiness in your eldest daughter that the younger should not marry to your satisfaction, but this M^r Albert Denny has never visited me, nor have I heard a word of him but from your letters.

By your account of time I find I am but a little behind you in life. Our friends dye away apace. You mention M^r Standen as your only surviving acquaintance in England, but he being gone quite away into the Church of England, and fixed many miles in y^e country, I have not heard these many years whether he be living or dead. I look on myself as on the very borders of eternity, tho I am hitherto held up to do half an hour's work every week in the pulpit, but very little in my study. Grace and peace be ever with you. Amen. I am, Sir,

Your affectionate brother and humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

P. S. Among many things I forgot to say y^t M^r Hutchinson¹ has communicated with our church since he has been in London. We Dissenters have no power among great folks, & cannot assist him tho we would be glad to do it.

I have also sent you a couple of pamphlets which are just come out, & which I think are well written.

Indorsed: "Answ^d June 4, 1741."

NEWINGTON, near LONDON, May 18th, 1741.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I am glad to hear that you are yet living thro the rigors of the winter. May God continue so valuable a life yet many years. Your last letter brought me an account of the arrival of D^r Doddridge's two volumes that I sent you and M^r Cooper bound like

¹ Thomas Hutchinson, afterward Governor of Massachusetts. See 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii. *passim*.

the former, so that I have now had a full account of every packet I sent you last year, and I thank God y^e Spaniards have intercepted none of them. We are here rejoicing greatly this week for the taking of Cartagena, and I hope our enemies will not be in a condition to molest your coasts, since the French fleet are lately come home under great distress and disadvantages.

I am very sorry to hear by M^r Hutchinson, whom I met a fortnight since at M^{rs} Holden's house, that my honor'd & excellent friend M^r Belcher is removed from your government, and 'tis now in our newspapers. I pray God always to overrule everything for the good of your Province, where I am perswaded He has a very large share of precious souls among your churches, and I wish that the successor may be as wise and as usefull as Governor Belcher has been, tho I cannot reasonably expect it.

With regard to your request to S^r Rich^d Ellis,¹ we here are of opinion that a letter from you will do more than from all of us. We have some small acquaintance with that gentleman, but no intimacy nor influence. I know he is solicitous how to dispose of his great library, but perhaps our directing him might prevent y^e benefit of New England, rather than promote it. What you say from M^r Newman² I believe is true, that it will do more service in New England than in London, and I am glad to hear that M^r Newman who appears zealous for the Church of England has any remaining kind concern for the churches of New England as you intimate.

Since my last to you M^r Whitefield has been to visit me; that is about 6 weeks ago. I rejoice to hear from you so many happy effects of his ministry among you in your several letters, and that they are not vanishing, but thro the grace of God continue and abound. My friends D^r Guyse and M^r Neal rejoice in this work in New England, and join with me in their congratulations. M^r Whitfield told me he had so great & tender a regard for M^r Wesley that he design'd not to have opposed him here in London, till he found so many of the souls who were awaken'd by his ministry perverted to strange unscriptural & enthusiastical notions. The Wesleys do more and more grow into disesteem among the better sort of people in London. M^r Whitefield is gone a month ago to Bristol, and preaches up & down thereabouts, but

¹ Sir Richard Ellis, or Ellys, as the name is commonly spelled, is supposed to have been born in 1688; he died in 1742. He was a great-grandson of John Hampden, and was three times elected to represent Boston, in Parliament. He acquired considerable reputation as a theological scholar, and owned a fine library. He was a Dissenter, and from the letters of Dr. Watts it would seem that some attempt was made to secure the library for New England, perhaps for Harvard College. See Dictionary of National Biography, vol. xvii. pp. 307, 308.

² Henry Newman, who was then living in England, where he died. He had been librarian of Harvard College.

we hear nothing yet from him of any proposals or offers to join with the Dissenters. We think it will be to his disadvantage, and I shall be glad when I see him again if I can persuade him to retract his censure of Archb^p Tillotson, &c. May the church of Christ encrease by all providential methods & sacred influences. This is my prayer and shall be my joy.

'Tis a pleasure to me, Sir, to find that y^e things I publish, even in my advancing years, are acceptable amongst you. I have nothing to do in y^e world but to serve the interest of religion and Christianity while God is pleased to continue me capable either of preaching or writing. I have here sent you & some other friends at N. E. the last fruits of the press, & while I live I shall be ever communicating to the world some of my former labors. I pray God make y^m usefull to the propagation of truth, wisdom, and godliness. You will please to favor me with the distribution of the packetts that come from me.

In this time of war I was affraid lest some of my letters or packetts should be intercepted and therefore I have here inclosed a copy of the last letter I sent you dated Mar. 18th last, which I hope is come to your hand with Doddridge's two vol^s sent by M^r Holden, & transmitted by Capt. Shepherdson.

I should add at the end that I have received both your sermon at y^e opening of the evening lecture and M^r Byles's at the Thursday lecture, from M^r Boylston, tho by some disappointment I have not yet been so happy as to see him. I wish with all my soul that we could see your most agreeable discourse copy'd out by the flocking of souls to the ministry of the word in London. I do not remember that I have anything else to add unless that I received a letter from M^r Sol. Williams in the name of the ministers about Lebanon, and I return my hearty salutations to them and sincere desires of the edification of souls in knowledge and religion by all the books that I have wrote or sent amongst them. Nor do I remember that I have received anything from M^r Parsons of Lyme hitherto, but I chearfully accept their thankfulness as testify'd by you.

With repeated desires of the presence of God with you in your remnant of life, and request of your prayers for me in my sensible decline of powers and capacitys for service, I am, Sir,

Your very affectionate brother and humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

May 30th, 1741. P. S. I had forget to mention to you before that I have received the long account of M^r Hillhouse from M^r Eliphalet Adams of New London, & am perfectly satisfy'd therewith, so that M^r Hillhouse, as he hath hitherto received no countenance in his affairs from any of us that I know of, neither will he receive any from me for

time to come. My health is so broken that I can scarce keep up common correspondencys. M^r Adams will therefore please to accept of my great thanks & salutations by your hand.

Indorsed: "Answer^d Sept. 15."

DEAR SIR,—I know not whether you may have seen this book or no. Scougall,¹ the author, was a Scotch Episcopall divine 3 or 4 score years ago, a man of uncommon piety. The book was new to me 2 years ago, & upon reading it I have bought many & given y^m away, for tis an excellent peece. The prayers are not quite so evangelicall as I could wish, nor do I know who wrote them. These books are printed only in Scotland, whence I had mine. I thought it might not be unacceptable to send you a couple of y^m, & may they be usefull according to their worth.

Yo^{rs}.

I. WATTS.

June 2^d, 1741.

NEWINGTON, near LONDON, July 14th, 1741.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR,—I hope you have received a large packett I sent you three or four weeks ago, with a book of mine concerning the Improvement of the Mind, to be distributed to many persons among you, but I had forgot to answer one thing you requested (viz), to send you the late D^r Harris's funeral sermon which accompanys this letter. I have also procured a picture of the late Rev^d D^r Harris, which has a great deal of his countenance, & I thought would be very acceptable to D^r Colman.

My health is but in a feeble state this spring. I have preached but once these eight or nine weeks, but I hope when the sultry weather is gone, I may be restored to the pulpit.

I desire you, Sir, to send me 20 or 2 dozen of the 2^d edition of y^e *Wither'd Hand*, y^t I may disperse so good a book among my friends, & let them see how happily grace & duty are connected. I will be accountable to you for a like order from London of any thing you want.

Grace & peace be ever with you, & may great success attend all your labors & mine in y^e verge of life. I am, Sir,

Your affectionate brother and fellow serv^t.

I. WATTS.

Indorsed: "Answered Sept. 14, & sent 3 doz. sermons."

¹ Rev. Henry Scougall. His "Life of God in the Soul of Man" has been often reprinted.

Epsom, Aug^t 19^h, 1741.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — Lately I received a letter from you directed to D^r Guyse, M^r Neal and myself, which I have left in their hands, that they may take part in the pleasure of hearing the success of the Gospell in New England, partly as the work of God among you has been revived by M^r Whitefield's ministry, and since it has been carried on by M^r Tenant.¹ I rejoice in every appearance of providence that has a tendency towards the introduction of y^e kingdom of Christ among men in its more glorious forms.

We three have been left (as probably you have heard) trustees of a large estate which one M^r Coward, an old gentleman of our acquaintance, has bequeathed to the breeding up of ministers amongst the Dissenters, distributing £18 yearly to each student, but annexing no salary to the tutors, who must therefore be paid by each student out of his allowance. We have been now near three years embarrass'd in chancery & the bishops' courts, and at last have gotten possession of the estate. There is also an overplus of some hundreds a year to be laid out among Protestant Dissenters in England to religious purposes, the chief part of which we have agreed to employ in setting up catechizing lectures in poor places in y^e country, which I acquainted M^r Hutchinson with when he came to take his leave of me last Monday; and tho the charities themselves are confined to Protestant Dissenters in England, so that we cannot go so far as Scotland with it, much less so far as New England, yet I thought it might not be disagreeable to you to know some of our methods of proceeding, & have sent you by M^r Hutchinson one of our letters to the catechists. This good gentleman seems to possess all the valuable characters w^{ch} both yourself and M^r Mather have given of him, and I am sorry that we y^e Protestant Dissenters, who are merely a tolerated body, have had no power to serve him, and he has found it very tiresome work to attend upon a British Court. During his abode here he has chiefly attended upon y^e ministry of our congregation, tho I have been cut off from the pulpit these three months by the weakness of my nerves and indispositions of my head, but have hope given me that at the end of the dog-days, and when the cold weather returns, I shall be again restor'd to my delightfull work.

I am now at Epsom, a village 15 miles from London, and having not your last letter with me I fear I may omitt something proper to be said, but I have told you in a former letter that I have received from your hand an account of all the packets of books which I have sent you, except the two last, one of which contain'd several cyps of a new book I have printed touching the *Improvement of the Mind*, to be distributed by you among my friends, and the other was like a roll of paper wherein

¹ Rev. Gilbert Tennent, one of the most effective of the Revivalist preachers at this time. See Allen's Biographical Dictionary, pp. 782, 783.

is contain'd the picture of our late honored friend, Dr W^m Harris. I think they went both by Capt. Fones, as a foregoing packett went (if I mistake not) by Capt. Shepherdson.

May the great pastor of his church still preserve your usefull and valuable life for great service in New England. Much grace & peace be ever with you. My salutations attend all my friends. I am, dear Sir,

Yours in many bonds.

I. WATTS.

P. S. I have seen Mr Whitefield twice since he came into England. I hoped that I could have perswaded him to retract his severe censure of Br Tillotson, but I begin to doubt. He has been severall months in London; he has been also at Bristol, and he is travelling to several parts of the nation, preaching in the same manner as amongst you, but intirely as a minister of the Church of England, of which I am very glad; for tho I think God has succeeded his ministry greatly, yet his joining himself to us would be no advantage to y^e success of his work.

I am very sorry that your honor'd and excellent Governor, Mr Belcher, is dismiss'd from his great & usefull post in New England. I pray God to secure your libertys & guard your best interests in church and state among all those who may succeed him.

Indorsed: "Recd. Dec. 1, 1741. Answ^d 3^d."

NEWINGTON, NOV^r 11, 1741.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — Yours dated June 3^d is with me. What was the design of those volumes of Dr Doddridge's that came from Mr Holden I knew not, nor had opportunity of enquiring, but I sent them as they were put into my hands. I am glad you have received all my packetts except my last two, which I have not heard off, one of my new book of the *Improvement of the Mind*, another Dr Harris's picture in a small roll of paper by Capt. Shepherdson or by Capt. Fones, together with his funerall sermon.

I perfectly approve of the use you make of Mr Holden's letters, tho it has not met with y^e approbation of the family, and therefore I have done everything to vindicate or excuse it. But they now spend the summer half-year in the country, twelve miles distant from Newington. I hope to see them again in the winter, which they will spend in London.

I am glad to hear of such a spirit of religion raised and spread thro your country. I wish we could find it amongst us. Mr Whitfield has been a great while in Scotland, so that at present I know not much about him. I am told he has collected money enough in Scotland to defray his debt at the orphan house at Georgia, but I should a little suspect it. Scotland is not rich.

I am sorry to hear you meet with so many difficultys for want of a regular and settled medium of commerce, and the contentions that have arisen thence. But there is one line in your letter surprizes me (*viz.*) *If the Church gentlemen had not invaded our church at that instance (i. e. M^cSparran) a gentleman of their Church, viz. M^r Shirley had been at this day in the chair over us.* Now, Sir, I have been informed so often here by the publick newspapers, by friends, & particularly by good M^r Hutchinson seven or eight months ago, that M^r Shirley is made your Governor,¹ so that I have acted all along upon that supposition, and I have reason to fear I have greatly offended my worthy and honorable friend, Governor Belcher, by supposing him to be displaced. I should be very glad to find that he keeps his post. It would be to my surprize and joy.

You complain, dear Sir, that your time of service to your country is near over in the course of nature. I thank God who has made you so long usefull to the world and the church, and I pray God to raise up successors more abundant in every vertue and grace which you have so honorably manifested in your day. May God support you under the afflictions and y^e infirmatys of age. As for myself God has been pleased to exclude me from the pulpit, from my study, from writing, reading, and much conversation by a weakness in my head which they tell me is the effect of over much labor in former years. I walk and ride every day, and am in the constant use of medicine. But if nothing can cure a nature so much worn out as mine is at sixty-seven years of age, I would submit to the will of God, and wait His appointed season for my removal hence, and pray God my hope may not disappoint me, and my views of eternal things be enlarged and brighten'd as I grow nearer to them.

With all salutations to my friends, particularly to M^r Hutchinson by whō I sent two or three letters, I am, Sir,

Your affectionate brother and humble serv^t. I. WATTS.

S^r, — You will easily believe my powers of study are much weakened when I tell you tis a good half day's work for me to dictate this letter at present. Yet I do not despair of a revivall, tho my hope run low.²

Indorsed: "Recd. Feb. 20, 1741/2. Answered Feb. 22, 44."

NEWINGTON, Feby 24, 1741/2.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I have received so many favors from you this last autumn and winter, and with some special instances of friendship and great respect, that I cannot but wish sincerely that all the

¹ Shirley's commission as Governor of Massachusetts was not published in Boston till Aug. 14, 1741; but there had been rumors of his appointment, both in London and Boston, several months before that time.

² The postscript and a few words in other places are in the handwriting of Dr. Watts.

good qualifications which you suppose concerning me may be doubled on your own spirit, and may all your labors be render'd as successful and extensive as you imagine mine have been or wish them to be. And may the God of power and all grace say, Amen.

I have five of your letters now in my hand, dated Sept^r 15, Oct^r 13, Nov^r 23^d, Dec^r 3^d, & Dec^r 23^d, and the packetts that came with them, or to which they refer, have been received by me & transmitted to your friends according to your order. Your two little parcell's of gold and silver are committed to M^r Brackston's hands, with order for the books you appoint. The sermons, with M^r Dickenson's larger book,¹ & M^r Edwards's lesser,² I have not yet been able to take a full survey of them, but only at different times in a transient manner as my feeble and low state of health would permitt me. However, thus much I can say, that M^r Edwards's account of the marks of a divine spirit I think are good and just, and y^e many errors, mistakes, follies, and seeming irregularitys which may attend y^e divine operation in different persons will never prove that a sanctifying work is not divine. I have no fault to find with that book as yet but what you mention (both in the book and the preface) of their being both exceptionable to many persons in y^e solemn cautions of sinning against the Holy Spirit by despising this glorious work in New England; and yet I think there should be cautions of that kind. Tho where miracles are not, there cannot be the same guilt or danger.

M^r Dickenson's essay on Original Sin, I think, does not undertake to relieve so many of y^e hard consequences which that doctrine is loaded with as y^e Ruin & Recovery of Man has done. I am, I must confess, in y^e main for y^e good old doctrines of y^e Reformation, yet if I mistake not, that book of y^e Ruin, &c., gives many softenings & allays to the harsher and more obnoxious censures which attend severall of those doctrines. I perswade myself that your sentiments & mine do not much differ about M^r Edwards's book or M^r Dickenson. I think them both well wrote on y^e different subjects.

I rejoice that you give me so good an account of the new Governor Shirley, and that he would encourage and approve your suitable and pious address to him, both in your sermon and that annexed to it, and that you have a prospect of any comfortable days to New England under his government. May God fulfill your wishes and mine.

¹ Jonathan Dickinson's "True Scripture Doctrine concerning some important Points of Christian Faith; particularly Eternal Election, Original Sin, Grace in Conversion, Justification by Faith, and Perseverance of Saints. In Five Discourses."

² Edwards's "Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God applied to that uncommon operation that has lately appeared in the minds of many of the People of this Land. . . . Published at the earnest Desire of many Ministers and other Gentlemen."

I might also inform you, Sir, that your packetts & letters did not arrive at my hand just in y^e order you might expect y^m, so that I received the largest books last, & the others not so early by a month or two, as I received hints of y^m from your letters, which y^e captains of ships generally put into y^e post house at y^e port where they first arrive. If you will give me leave to conjecture at any reasons of y^e delay, I fear this is one (viz) that you are pleased to desire these packetts to be deliver'd by the person's own hand, whereas I live three miles out of London. I cannot converse above half an hour when friends visit me; I spend but two or three hours in a week in London, & they have no opportunity to see me, unless they do as good M^r Hutchinson did, give me notice by a letter to Newington to appoint a time and place where I may meet them, for I have not seen one person of New England since M^r Hutchinson.

Would it be improper also, Sir, to acquaint you that together with their letters which y^e captains of ships throw into y^e post at y^e first port they arrive at they sometimes transmitt books and packetts that way also. I have had several such packetts come to me from my friends beyond sea which the post house has charged at two & three shill^{rs}, another at five shill^{rs}, another at six shill^{rs} & ten pence in former times; and y^e book of M^r Dickenson's which you sent me last being put into y^e post by, I think, Capt. Gayter was charged 10^s 4^d, yet on y^e outside you had written to be left at M^r Streatfield's for me, and it was also superscribed, I think, by your own pen. However, my good friend M^r Streatfield, being well known at the post office, thought proper to refuse the packett at that price, & has obtain'd y^e book for me, with y^e inclosed money & letter, for y^e single price of 4^d which y^e letter alone would cost.

I thank you, Sir, for y^e respect you shew to my nephew, M^r Brackstone who is set up in a small shop next door to y^e Exchange, which is y^e highest place of trade in y^e city. I hope he will approve himself in every thing to your satisfaction; and I think if you please to direct letters and packetts for the future to me at M^r Brackstone's, bookseller at the Globe in Cornhill, without any other addition, it will reach me in y^e soonest and easiest manner.

I thank you, Sir, for the present you make me of so many dozen of y^e Wither'd Hand, & tho you utterly forbid me any payment for them, yet I must require you to accept of the second edition of the Ruin & Recovery of Mankind, when it comes out, wherein there will be two sheets at least of new writing interspersed, as well as a larger index, & two doz. of my sermons of y^e End of Time, printed in London.

I rejoice to hear of my worthy friend Governor Belcher's retirement in so much piety & devotion, & with such a solicitude for himself how

he may behave in private life after so publick a station. My most humble salutations & best wishes attend him in every rank & circumstance where providence appoints his situation.

But methinks I am too long withheld from rejoicing with you in y^e signal instances of divine grace which have appear'd in so eminent a manner in so many towns in New England, and I believe the remark which you make is just and true that those who oppose or frown upon this work experience but little of the same success in y^e congregations; and yet further that these divine operations most sensibly maintain & encourage the doctrines of grace which our first Reformers preached and wrote. I am sorry for what you tell me about M^r Davenport's conduct.¹ But there will be stumbling-blocks, & offenses will come by the folly & weakness of men. May the blessed God make His own work to shine and triumph over them all, and guard every sincere soul from being deceived.

M^r Whitefield has been long absent from London now. I fear for his orphan house as well as you, and I took the freedom once to tell him that by some of his own writings I was convinced that it is a very improper soil & spot to fix such a hospital, and therefore tho I gave him a peice of gold from myself & two from Lady Abney for charity, yet could not with reason give it to support what I thought would never last. I own God may do wonders where we have no expectations. M^r Hillhouse's death is no great matter of grief to me, for I could never find in him a pious and pastoral spirit. This day I find by the newspaper that S^r Rich^d Ellis is dead. How he has bestow'd his great estate & library I know not.

And now, Sir, give me leave to speak one word of the state of my health. Last Aprill my spirits and nerves of my head began to be so feeble that I could not study or preach, and I went on thus without study or preaching with very great uneasiness and self-denyal till the end of November. These two or three winter months I have been able to speak in y^e pulpit four or five times half an hour. But I find my studying work is over, and I fear I shall hardly continue in the pulpit. Yet I thank God I am pretty easy in the animal life for an old man of sixty-seven, if I lay aside all intellectual labors and pleasures. May God bear up my patience under His confinement; and I should be glad if He would employ me in a little more work. But I give Him many thanks for what is past, and I wait on His appointment & grace for all that is to come. May I be ready at His call to remove, when I shall serve Him much better, I trust, in a more enlighten'd and more holy

¹ Rev. James Davenport, of Southold, Long Island, one of Whitefield's most extravagant and ill-balanced followers. His conduct gave great offence, and led to the preaching and printing of Dr. Chauncy's sermon, entitled "Enthusiasm described and caution'd against," and to numerous other publications. See Palfrey's History of New England, vol. v. pp. 15-18.

country. Let us both go on, Sir, by mutual prayers to help forward our ministry and the kingdom of the blessed Jesus. Amen. I am, Sir,

Your affectionate brother in y^e fellowship of y^e Gospell.

I. WATTS.

Indorsed: "R. April, 1742. Answ^d 27th said month."

NEWINGTON, near LONDON, April 16th, 1742.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR,—I think my last to you bears date Feb. 24, 1742, & I suppose it went with the packett of books for you which was sent by my nephew, M^r Brackstone, y^e bookseller. You have entertain'd me with very agreeable tydings in your letters from time to time concerning the great & wonderfull work of God in New England. I have now read over more of the books and papers which you sent me, and return you my repeated thanks for them, particularly for M^r Edwards's Account of the Distinguishing Marks of the Spirit of God, which a near neighbor of mine has borrow'd of me, and has read with so much delight, that by my encouragement & hers tis printed here; but thro the want of foresight in a young bookseller tis printed too close and in too small a character in hopes to gain by selling it cheap, but he has rather injured himself. I wish it had been printed in y^e same form as y^e New England edition. I have added to it some few extracts out of your former letters, besides that large one from M^r Parsons of Lyme, that y^e preface which is made up of narrative may be the better supported. But I long (as M^r Cooper does in y^e end of his preface) to see several narratives collected more regularly and largely representing the original and progress of this surprizing work of God, and expect it put well together from some good writer of New England. I wish we could say we find such instances here that we might not go over the seas to obtain the experience of them. But I hope in God's time this power of the Gospell will be more diffused, since tis the same Gospell we preach, and y^e same risen Savior sits at y^e head of his church.

M^r Whitefield whom I have not seen these nine months came to make me a visit about nine days ago. He preserves his zeal and his good spirit still, and labors daily in preaching, often twice a day, almost beyond the power of mortality, and he has occasional success in a tabernacle of boards which has been erected for him in some fields near London. But he has not yet made any motion towards joining with the Dissenters, which we are much best pleased with, for we fear it would hinder his usefulness among the Church of E. God has greatly honor'd him, and I assured him I could not but honor and esteem him on that account, and pray heartily for his success. He inform'd me that within a very few weeks he is going again to Scotland to make another tour of preaching y^e Gospell there, and then intends the same

thro the kingdom of Ireland. I hope he will bring in many souls to Christ.

M^r Holden paid a visit this week to our family, and having opportunity of talking with her about the designed charitys which M^r Holden left, she informs me that after several thousand pounds which she has already given away she designs to stop her hands, perhaps for several years; but she intends several hundred pounds more for New Eng^d, I suppose before she stops. And I communicate it to you as a secret, that she had thoughts of distributing it as usuall to the poor ministers and people by your hands. But M^r Hutchinson having brought over £400 for the benefit of the publick College with much approbation, I find such a disposition in her that if M^r Hutchinson should again apply, as I suppose he will for some other publick charity, perhaps it would be granted, and diminish that which she had thought to give more privately by your hands. But this must not be mention'd to her directly, because 't was only spoken in conversation.

I am sorry that I must tell you at last that S^r Richard Ellis has left the large and noble library which he had collected to his wife amongst y^e rest of his goods and tis very probable it will be sold.

D^r Guyse is in good health. We see one another almost every week; but M^r Neal is so greatly broken that he and I are upon the last verge of our service. The utmost I hope for is to preach two half hours in a month, & to adminster y^e Lord's supper alternately with my worthy colleague, M^r Samuel Price, who have lived together in joint service to y^e same church very near forty years. But he feeling the advances of age also (tho he be six years younger than I) we have with the agreement of our church chosen, we hope, a very promising assistant between us to supply our absence & incapacitys. His name is Townsend.

Tis also proper I should inform you that two years ago D^r Tho^s Wilson, a person of excellent & ancient piety, who is B^p of Sodor and Man, has written a very good and valuable *Essay towards the Instruction of the Indians*, called the *Knowledge & Practise of Christianity made easy to y^e meanest capacitys*. His son, D^r Tho^s Wilson, rector of Walbrook in London, is my intimate friend, and has with his father's approbation and desire put the book under my reviews and remarks more than once, and I have read it over with care. But the generality of the Church of England have so high an esteem for y^e sacramentall forms as really beneficiall, & are so far gone in the Remonstrant scheme, at least in many parts of it, that tis hard to alter their writings, even tho they are never so serious and pious, to the taste of the people of New England, who are generally Calvinists. I have therefore taken y^e freedom to changé more than forty or fifty passages in it that it might be less offensive to those who profess Calvinism, and I

think it may pass very well with candid readers. I doubt not but you will approve it in y^e main, and I believe there are some hundreds sent to you by D^r Wilson and others to be distributed. I told the Doctor that I durst recommend them to your candor, but I could not say all the ministers of New England would readily comply with them and distribute them, because of some expressions here & y^{ere} which would be less agreeable, tho upon y^e whole I think it is a very good book.

NEWINGTON, April 20th, 1742.

Thus far had I written before I received your last letter which was dated Feb^r 22^d, and came yesterday to my hands. I thank you, Sir, that you are pleased to give me so particular an account of the several packetts you have sent me, whereby I can fully inform you that I have received all your packetts and all your letters. And I wrote every thing needfull to you by a letter dated Feb^r 24th, *i. e.*, about seven or eight weeks ago, and hope you have received mine by this time. I thank you for the notice you give me also how Governor Belcher's power extended three months longer in N. E. than we were told here in London.¹ My most humble services and salutations attend him, with sincere prayers for a peacefull, usefull, & happy remnant of life in a comfortable retirement, & may his successor imitate & exceed.

I am glad the work of God still goes on amongst you; and if M^r Whitefield tells you that the Dissenting ministers are but his *cooler friends*, I believe he speaks the truth, and perhaps this expression is a word I have used concerning y^e behavior of us Dissenters towards him more than once, because his narrow zeal for the Church of England as a party, and some imprudencys, made him less accepted here in y^e beginning of his publick preaching. Besides that I think his services in America have been much more conspicuous and large, and God has now honor'd him to a much greater degree, and therefore several of us honor him more now. But it is not fit to discover it too much, lest we should seem to invite him amongst us which we think will attain no good end. I must confess also there are severall of us who rather despise than honor him: our sentiments about him are different. May God lead us & you into all ways of truth & wisdom. You deserve my sincerest thanks also for your remembrance of us in your days of prayer in N. E., and praises for the revival of religion amongst you. We pray for the same revival, and as we rejoice in your mercys we wish the same blessings were diffused amongst our churches.

I have nothing more to add but my very affectionate and friendly acceptance of your good wishes concerning my health, which indeed is but small, but I must consider that I never had a firm constitution of nature, and tis a wondrous mercy that God has enabled me to work till

¹ Shirley's commission as Governor was not published until Aug. 14, 1741. See 6 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii. p. 412.

I am sixty-seven years of age. I have several things lying by me for the press which have been long written; whether God will enable me to publish them I know not. His will be done. May your powers, natural and acquired, abide long in strength, and be adorn'd with usefulness, even to much elder years than mine, tho I think you exceed me already by one twelvemonth. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble serv^t. I. WATTS.

P. S. I have been forced to delay this letter, y^e inclosed books not coming out of y^e press so soon as was expected, w^{ch} I fear will hinder their arrivall a month by the loss of 2 or 3 days.

Will you be so kind, Sir, as to convey these few letters at your first conveniency, & when you have any packets or letters for me you may direct them to be left for me att M^r Brackstone's, bookseller, at y^e Globe in Cornhill.

Sir, — You will excuse me for adding extracts out of your letters to M^r Edw^d's book of Marks of the Spirit, & also for omitting your larger account a twelvemonth ago of y^e beginning of this work among you. My reasons were these: I omitted that account because y^e letter was written to M^r Neal & D^r Guyse as well as me, and I question'd M^r Neal's approbation, and besides I well knew y^e first appearance of the representation of this great work of God in London would be more offensive to many, and less pleasing to most, by dating the spring of it from M^r Whitefield's name. Those short extracts which were taken from your other letters represent y^e same work of God in Boston as more calm & rational and discover that tis not all a meer flash of imagination and warm passion, but will approve itself to the reason of man and to the word of God, which M^r Edwards has happily attempted even in those instances where passion and imprudence appear.

Yours affectionately.

I. W.

NEWINGTON, Ap^l 22, 1742.

STOKE NEWINGTON, July 3^d, 1742.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I suppose by this time you have received my last, which brought you some of M^r Edward's Discourses of the Distinguishing Marks of the Spirit, which were reprinted here. I do not know of any particular affair that I can inform you of usefully, unless it be to give you an account of a work of God in Scotland, near Glasgow, something like yours at New England, but the extent of it reaches not many miles. I have sent you four of the narratives of it, which was reprinted last week at London, and I hope this divine work goes on amongst you without any of those disorders which seem to be blemishes thereof.

I wait for the appearances of Christ in his kingdom; and if at the end

of my life God favors me to see these approaches of it I do & shall rejoice therein.

Mr Whitefield is lately gone to Scotland, but I hear very little of him at such a distance.

This time twelvemonth there was a pamphlet printed here by Mr Taylor, called the *Supplement* to his Discourse of Original Sin, which is design'd as an answer to the *Ruin and Recovery of Mankind*, and to demolish that doctrine. This made it something necessary that in the second edition of that book there should be some notice taken of it. I have therefore sent this 2^d edition which is just publish'd to your library at Cambridge by your hands, and another for yourself as I promised in lieu of the books you sent me. There is another book also which is called the *Harmony of all the Religions*, &c., in y^e packett. This I have sent to your two librarys, that is to Harvard and Yale, as well as to Mr President Holyoke and yourself. This was written six years ago, for I cannot write books now. I hope it will be very usefull to students tho having no name to it I have but few of them to dispose of.

God has upheld me so far as to go into the pulpit twice in a month since last November. But with the returning hot weather, I feel my strength decline again, and my friends at New England will accept of the apology that I make by your hands, if I am forced to drop many correspondencys, because writing or dictating grows very troublesome to me. May the God of nature & grace confirm your health and prolong your life for great service to the churches. I am, Sir, with due salutations to all my former correspondents,

Your affectionate brother and humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

P. S. My respectfull salutations attend that worthy gentleman Mr Hutchinson, with thanks for the favor of his letter and the civilitys therein express'd, and let him know that as M^{rs} Holden & her family spend their time so much at Roehampton, I have very little opportunity of converse with them in half a year together.

If I have not written my superscription aright to y^e worthy Mr Belcher, your late Governor, I desire you would convey the inclosed to him and excuse it.

Indorsed: "Recd. Sept. 18; ans^d 22."

NEWINGTON, Oct^r 22^d, 1742.

REV^d AND DEAR BROTHER, — Several of your favors lye before me, as well as the pamphlets you were pleased to send me. I have received also very lately from Mr Clap of Yale College some papers and some pamphlets all relating to the irregularitys and the abuses that are crept in among some people who encourage this great work of God in New

England. I find it is everywhere acknowledged, and yet, as I told M^r Clap, it wants also its guards everywhere, and these guards are ready and are practised by him and you at New Haven and Boston.

He was very desirous, and some other ministers with him, to have my sentiments on the present scene of things. I told him that I had received so many letters from you upon these subjects, wherein I saw the turn and temper of your spirit so plainly that I almost allow'd him to receive from you an account of my sentiments about it; for I know not anything wherein I differ from you in these affairs. M^r Turell's writings, who, I suppose, is your worthy son-in-law, and the other papers you sent me, seem to carry the same sense.

You overwhelm me, Sir, with your goodness in finding so many things in my elder & later writings which you accommodate to the profit of your people. I give God thanks for all y^e service He enables me and my writings to do the Church of Christ in any form whatsoever. I thank you also, Sir, for the respect you have ever born to my Imitation of the Psalms of David, and I am satisfy'd the kind things you have occasionally said of them have done much towards bringing them into the acceptance of several places in New England.

As for M^{rs} Holden, she and her family generally spend all the summer in the country. We expect them in town in a few weeks, tho her eldest daughter has been very ill, but is upon the recovery. Yet, still I'm constrain'd to say that her absence nine miles from London makes me a stranger to her affairs & purposes. When I see her I may have opportunity to speak the language of your letter, which I doubt not you have written to herself.

Before M^r Whitefield went to Scotland there was a very sensible work of God begun in some villages near Glasgow of which I have sent you y^e narrative. That work, I hear, goes on still in other villages, but we have no printed accounts ready at hand to send you yet. The M^r Erskines with their separating presbyters are exceeding angry with M^r Whitefield; but perhaps what you write concerning them is true, that they would have encouraged him if he would have stood on their side only. They are a sett of very rigid preachers for the old Scotch forms, leagues, & covenants, &c., and seem to oppose this work of God in these villages as much as they have done M^r Whitefield; and thro their warm conduct, I think, they grow out of credit with the most serious and wisest people in Great Britain.

The Rev. D^r Wilson, the B^p's son, has given me an account with what kindness New England has received his father's books, & sent to me the copy both of your letter to him and of the Governor's which relate to those books, and I am glad to find they have such acceptance, tho I think there is here and there an expression still which may disgust the stricter Calvinists, as I told you, but they are not to be alter'd by any of

the Church of England, as things stand at present. The errors in doctrine concerning inward feelings of all-converting grace, of the necessity of assurance, the evil of following unconverted ministers, & several things of this kind are the very errors and follies into which several of the Methodist party have run amongst us, and I fear it is a degree of leaven which mingled at first in M^r Whitefield's discourses that might be the spring of the same sort of irregularity amongst you.

What odd practices the Moravians will transferr from their clan or church in Count Zinzendorf's country is hard to say; but as you have his sermons by you, I need not tell you how many mistakes you will find there. I believe there is a very great spirit of piety amongst them, but as they do not confine themselves to the literal sense of Scripture as their rule of faith and manners, but to some mystical senses, I know not how we can reason with them.

I am very sensible, dear Sir, amongst this great and glorious work of God, and the many individual confusions that attend it, you have all need of a spirit of wisdom & judgement, zeal and prayer, that these present scenes may turn out to the glory of God, the interest of our Redeemer, y^e establishment of Christians in faith and love, and the salvation of multitudes of souls. May these blessings therefore be plentifully pour'd out upon you, and may this work of God go on and increase and make itself glorious in y^e earth. With much respect and affection, I am, Sir,

Yours intirely.

I. WATTS.

P. S. Sir, the Rev^d M^r Clap, tho he much desired to receive a letter from me, he has given me no instruction how to direct it, and therefore I must be forc'd to transmit it by your hands.

Indorsed: "Rec^d May 1, 1743."

NEWINGTON, Nov^r 15, 1742.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — Your last to me bears date Aug^t 20th. I have received two or three from your hands since that time. As for M^r Davenport I take him to be distracted. I am glad to see M^r Gilbert Tennent's letter to M^r Dickenson, wherein he renounces or disclaims some of those things which are charged upon him or at least which were done by inadvertency, and vindicates himself more than I could have expected. M^r Whitefield is just return'd from his journey to Scotland, but I have not yet seen him. Such warm spirits as Davenport and Crosswell¹ are not fit for manageing so important a work as God has

¹ Rev. Andrew Crosswell, of Groton, Conn., and afterward of Boston. He was frequently engaged in religious controversies, and in 1742 published a "Reply to the Declaration of a Number of the associated Ministers in Boston and Charlestown, with Regard to the Rev. Mr. James Davenport and his Conduct."

begun and carries on amongst you. I hope Georgia has escaped desolation, tho it seem'd to be near it. I shall rejoice to hear that these confusions that mingle themselves with the conversion of souls amongst you are declining and come to an end. I join with your good wishes that Scotland may escape them. I have no further narrative yet to send you from Scotland, which perhaps I may have in a week or two. But I have sent you M^r Webster's Vindication of y^e work of God at Cambuslang and Kilsyth, and I think that no man who reads and believes his Bible can well resist the force of his arguments. My first letter, you see by the date of it, has waited for conveyance some time. But last week together with your letter I had a new little book to thank you for (viz), the familiar dialogue between a minister and one of his congregation, of which I have read a great part, & I believe it speaks the sense of all the true evangelical preachers of y^e Gospell amongst us, at lest of y^e most part of them. As for my health it is very little improved since last year. My capacitys of writing, reading, preaching, or doing any thing that requires attention seem to be beyond the power of medicine to restore to any comfortable degree. I would wait the will of God with faith and patience till He call me to a better state. In the meantime I pray for health and long life for you, and rejoice that you are yet capable of so much service. I am, Sir,

Your affectionate brother and humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

P. S. I am forced, Sir, to trouble you with these packetts to M^r Williams & M^r Clap, for I know not how to send them otherwise. Nor do I know how to superscribe the letter to M^r Williams, being ignorant of his character or title, and hope he will excuse it, till you please to give me some friendly information.

Indorsed: "Recd. May 1. Answ^d May 12."

NEWINGTON, Febr'y. 5. 1742/3.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — Tis a great affliction to me on many accounts that I have been confined these two months by nervous disorders, and amongst the rest the most painfull is want of sleep at nights, which breaks my powers of thinking to a very great degree, and cuts me off from all business; and for this reason I have had but two very short opportunitys of seeing M^r Thacher since he came to England. I hope all your presages concerning him will be made true by the power of divine grace ever attending him. But I am grieved to think that I should not be able to preach, or converse with him since he came more than a few minutes.

I think, Sir, you have very happily found out several things among

the writings of our fathers, M^r Baxter, Flavel, &c., which may be very usefull in your day and circumstances. I hope it will not be in y^e power of all y^e evill agents, either in this or the infernal world, to stop the work of God. I am glad to hear any peacefull tydings concerning this work among you. I hope it increases also in Scotland. I hear [*sic*] send you some memoirs of that kind, but my want of health necessitates me to be very short in my letters. I rejoyce to hear, dear Sir, that you have had better health this twelvemonth past. May it be for more abundant service and success in the sacred work. Amen. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble serv^t and brother.

I. WATTS.

I am glad when you give me notice of your receipt of all my packets and papers.

Indorsed: "Rec^d May 12, 1743." "by M^r Thatcher."

STOKE NEWINGTON, Sept^r 14th, 1743.

REV^d & DEAR SIR,—I am well pleased to hear that the irregularitys which mingled with the work of God in Connecticut are much abated, and I hope throughout all New England, upon the remonstrance that yourself with many other ministers have made against them; but I must say, I never received a book from your hand which made me so uneasy as that little scrip of the Boston newspaper which you fasten'd to the cover of M^r Edwards book which you sent me, and you tell me that D^r Chauncy is writing & publishing this book, which perhaps I am as much grieved for as most people who dwell among you.¹ I could be almost sorry, among other things, that you tell me he is a man of piety, for thereby his writing will carry more esteem & force with it. And I am so well satisfy'd from the many large accounts which I have had from yourself and other ministers from New England of the great work of God which has been wrought there that I cannot suffer myself to doubt of it. Surely they that act directly contrary to these works of God and oppose them because there are some irregularitys among y^e people, they do not know how to pity and overlook the follies, weaknesses, and imperfections of human nature, which will mingle themselves with divine affairs in this present state.

I grant, as well as D^r Chauncy, that these bad things ought not to be allow'd, but we need not oppose nor discourage, nor darken the work of grace because such bad things by the folly of men and the malice of

¹ Rev. Dr. Chauncy's "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England," was published in 1743. He was one of the most energetic and influential of the opponents of the methods pursued by Edwards and Whitefield.

the Devil are ready to mingle with them. Let a man read M^r Cooper's preface to M^r Edwards's book of the Trial of the Spirits, & the book itself; let him read M^r Dickenson's Display of the Grace of God; let him read M^r Webster's Defence of the Work of God at Cambuslang, and see if they can fairly exclude some uncommon, almighty, converting work of the great God from these scenes. For my part I have been the pastor of a church now above forty years, and have all my life conversed with Christians under their various experiences, and if this in New England and in Scotland be not a divine work of the same kind, I know not what the work of God is on the hearts of men, and I am a stranger to the great business of the pastoral office if God and His grace be not found glorious in these histories which I hear from Scotland & New England. May the blessed God increase and enlarge them, and scatter every darkness that hangs about them, and enable you to bear your testimony for God and His grace, while at the same time you discourage all these follies and irregularities.

I am sorry indeed that your last letter, dated June 10th, which I received but yesterday, mentions a spirit of division and contention breaking out or growing among your churches, and suppose the occasion of it should be this great work of God upon the souls of men. This cannot invalidate the work itself, because the sins of men abuse it; nor is the doctrine of our Savior invalidated because he came to bring in the sword, as he says. Together with this last letter I received also from you M^r Dickenson's Treatise of Regeneration and his answer to D^r Waterland, as well as his defence of his own Display of God's Grace. I have read D^r Waterland, and think it but a weak thing. The Church of England, almost all of them, have got into their heads a notion of something real and spiritual that is communicated at baptism, and can hardly be beat off from it. B^p Wilson in his book for the Instruction of the Indians, which I have corrected in a multitude of places, had this doctrine runing thro it, but I think there is not one such place now. D^r Wilson has alter'd them all at my request, tho this is a secret; he is now, I suppose, with his father in y^e Isle of Man, nor can I guess when I shall see him. He has some promotions in the Church of England, of a prebend, &c.

Dear Sir, I am well pleased with what you have done relating to my Hymns, for tho I am satisfy'd in myself that it may be a very lawfull and usefull thing to compose new hymns upon evangelic subjects for the Christian church, yet there are times and seasons when we should abstain from this liberty, *i. e.*, when the case is such as may encourage others to publish their follies, their errors, &c., and dishonor the worship of God.

Lately M^r Whitefield made me a visit, and informs me that he designs to see America the latter end of this year, but how certain his

resolutions are I cannot tell, because I imagine they spring from impulses. I hope he will come such as you desire him. My converse with him is not much, nor am I esteem'd one of his admirers; but I own myself to admire the grace of God in him, and y^e power of God that supports him. I could wish he and those that follow'd him had less of the Moravian ways amongst them. I think M^r Tenent has been too severe upon Count Zinzendorf, and made captious remarks upon little things that will hardly bear them; but in the whole he has made it sufficiently appear that there are many errors in these Moravian principles. The appendix of this book has been reprinted in London by M^r Mason with a preface, as I am told, by M^r Stennet, a worthy Baptist minister amongst us, being encouraged by your preface to it at Boston.

I thank you, Sir, for the poem you sent me on M^{rs} Rowe's writings, but M^r Rowe and I live at such a distance from each other that I have not seen him severall years, tho he lives but 5 miles out of London one way, and I 3 miles another, but we are both valetudinarians. I do not yet hear of his reprinting M^{rs} Rowe's Works, but I will endeavor that your account of that scene of her life in a dangerous sickness shall be inserted in it when I know of its reprinting, according to the account you wrote me long ago.

As for my own health it is much y^e same as when M^r Thacher was here. I have not been able to preach or study at all, nor to write and converse but very little with my friends. Therefore I was forced to send a message to you by M^r Brackstone, that when you sent to desire of me to know how you might lay out thirty shillings usefully, I have not been able to read these eight months, and therefore I can tell you nothing. Nor would I venture to buy any books which you might have already, nor books which I could not recommend upon sufficient authority.

I had almost forgot to mention y^e other books I receiv'd from you. I have look'd over M^r Edwards's large book. I like y^e spirit of it, and the chief part of the book, as well as you. I query whether that one man whom he speaks of *not educated in Northampton*, p. 66, be not himself? because he takes upon him so largely to tell us what passes thro his heart. I think his reasonings about America want force. The angry books that you send me, & speak of, do not move me at all. They shew the spirit of the writers more than the truth of God. Farewell, dear brother. May the grace of God be magnify'd amongst you whether I live or dye, but I shall (I trust) dye waiting and praying for the increase of this great work in New England, and particularly for your success in defending it. I am, Sir,

Your affectionate brother & humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

P. S. I am very sorry that I have a long letter from M^r Mather which is dated Nov^r 19th, 1742, w^{ch} enters so far into all the late affairs of the state of religion in New England as appears to me in plain opposition to the work of God there; and he seems to think there is nothing in it but flocking after sermons, pathetick efforts of mechanall zeal, and a great deal of religious talk, &c., but he declares roundly that the occasion of this great talk has been that some pious persons have been notoriously impos'd upon & deceived, and they have with too much haste & rashness spread their own deceivings in the world. He tells me there was a parrallel case in ancient times, when antinomianism & familism abounded, which made a sad havock in your parts,¹ but I cannot find anything of such a parrallel in D^r Mather's History. Nor do I find when the work of conversion & piety was pretended to spread so thro the country and the churches as at this time & wth such evidence.

P. S. Sept. 25th. I have read D^r Chauncy's sermon of *the New Creature* and I like it very well. I would only ask whether or no there are not a multitude of such new creatures in New England within these two or three years? I think the tydings I have received from yourself and several others give me abundant reason to conclude that it is so; and tho I would not suffer myself to suppose that D^r Chauncy would oppose such a divine work, yet he may darken and discourage it very much by such a book against M^r Edwards as is proposed to the publick, and easily do much more harm than good. See M^r Edwards's last book, pag. 144.

I take the freedom to send you the appendix to M^r Tennent's Treatise on y^e necessity of holding fast y^e truth, because of y^e preface by M^r Stennet, one of our Baptist ministers.

Indorsed: "Rec^d Nov^r 19, 1743. Answ^d December 1."

STOKE NEWINGTON, Febr^y 28th, 1743/4.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I do not remember that I have received a letter from you since that which was dated Sept^r 16th, 1742. I believe I have received all y^e books, pamphlets and letters which you have sent this last year.

Your D^r Chauncey is not y^e son of that D^r Chauncy in London who was my predecessor, but his great nephew, for he left no son. I have received his book and a long letter from him since, and all the rest of the books which you committed to my care are distributed as they were directed. I have read over D^r Chauncy's peece as my health would allow me, and I have written him a very long answer both to his book

¹ Samuel Mather, no doubt, referred to Mrs Hutchinson and the Antinomian troubles. It is somewhat remarkable that Dr. Watts appears to have overlooked Cotton Mather's account of these troubles in the *Magnalia*, book vii. chap. 3.

and his letter, more than my health would well afford. I think you have a right to see that letter, since it was occasion'd by your shewing him one of y^e letters that I wrote to you, which yet I do not disapprove of.

After I had received your account of y^e Convention of Boston in July, M^r Robe of Kilsyth in Scotland, whose name you know amongst y^e ministers who promoted the late conversion of souls near Glasgow, sent a letter to me to desire that book, but when I had enquired among the booksellers in London, & could not get another, truly I would not part with my own; but I chose to publish it here for y^e information of my friends in London and Scotland, & added a preface to it, even since I read D^r Chauncy's book, and I do not repent of it yet. I have sent you here two cōpys of it.¹ I hope the work among you will go on and prosper, tho it may occasion ministers a great deal of trouble to root out the tares which y^e enemy has sown among the wheat. Our Savior himself foretold the successfull preaching of his Gospell should occasion the sword rather than peace, *i. e.*, great contentions & persecutions.

I am sorry M^r Whitefield acts in such a manner as to expose himself to so many reproaches, but I thought he would have went to Georgia last year, which I do not hear any thing of now. He preaches about London. I seldom see him.

If Governor Belcher takes y^e voyage you mention, I shall be very glad to see him, & hope my strength will be then recruited, for I have passed a whole twelvemonth under several doctors without any approach to health, which I hope begins now, but will be very slow in a man of seventy years old, which I shall be if I live till July. I am glad you can preach sometimes twice a day, even to this age of life. May the great God continue His presence with you & support you yet to do much service for His cause. May His spirit direct you in y^e midst of difficulties and make you a healer of y^e bruises in your Israel. I join with you & say, may we pray for each other as long as we live, till God require our attendance in a better world. I am, dear Sir, with much affection,

Your obliged brother and fellow serv^t in the kingdom and patience of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I. WATTS.

I have sent you one of D^r Mather's Lives abridged, & another to M^r S. Mather. I suppose M^r Jennings has sent him more.

¹ "The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New England, at a Meeting in Boston, July 7, 1743, Occasioned by the late Happy Revival of Religion in many Parts of the Land," was printed in Boston in 1743, and was reprinted in London in the following year, "with a recommendation of it by the Revd. Dr. Watts, as the plainest and fullest Attestation to the late Work of Divine Grace in New England." The number of pastors subscribing and attesting to it was one hundred and eleven.

If there be any testimonys and advices of your Convention of July that lye upon your hands, you have my free leave to add my preface to it if you think proper.

Within these few days I received a letter from M^r Elisha Williams which is full of y^e great work of God in N. E., and he is sorry to find any hand in Boston that should discourage it.

My nephew tells me he has received thanks from you for getting the book you sent for.

Indorsed: "Rec^d May 22 (1744). Answ^d May 25."

STOKE NEWINGTON, Aprill 9th, 1744.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — I will not pretend in this letter by M^r Lothrop to answer the long and kind letter I received from you by him, for my circumstances of time as well as of health at present straiten me. For these fifteen months past I have not been able to attend at any place of worship, nor to pursue my studys in the usuall way, but for the most part have kept my chamber. I am glad to hear that God favors you with so much health to preach in an age by one year more advanced than mine. All that I shall say at present is to let you know that I wrote you a long letter about a month ago, and sent it with a packett, but I know not the captain's name, wherein there is my last book of the *Improvement of the Mind* for D^r Chauncey, with a long letter to him as an answer to his book and letter which you have a right to read, because the foundation of it was a letter of mine to you. There was also inclosed to yourself an abridgem^t of D^r Mather's life by M^r Jennings, and two of the testimonys of the Assembly at Boston, with my preface to them, after I had read D^r Chauncey's book. As for publick news I doubt not but that you hear war is proclaimed both by us and by y^e French. God grant us victory and success! I intreat the favor of you to distribute the things in y^e packett as directed. M^r Lothrop has given me a wonderfull account of a woman in Plainfield, drawn up by M^r Lord, on whom a miracle was wrought. But I must leave all other things to my next opportunity, and am, Sir,

Your humble serv^t & affectionate brother.

I. WATTS.

Indorsed: "Rec^d Oct^r 30: Answ^d Jan^r 9, 1745."

STOKE NEWINGTON, May y^e 4th, 1744.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR, — Tis now about a fortnight ago since I wrote to you by M^r Lothrop, a merchant of Norwich in New England. He gave me the books M^r Lord has written and his testimony to those things.

Mr Smith has such a spirit and temper, such humility and modesty, such piety and virtue as has given me a very great esteem of him, and I am very sorry that it so falls out that I could hardly have one hour of his conversation since his being in England. For my part these sixteen months my health has been so low, chiefly by reason of a diarrhoea, that I scarce come to London above once in six weeks or two months, and then at uncertainty. I may say I keep my chamber, for I have been withheld from my study and from y^e pulpit and the public conversation of my friends since December, 1743.

I recommended to you in my letter more than a month ago, the papers which I wrote to D^r Chauncey, and I told him you had a right to see y^m, because they were produced by some passages in letters which I wrote to you. I have there given my full sense of your controversies, as well as in y^e little prefatory epistle I wrote to your Testimony & Advice of the Assembly in Boston, July last, and I have hardly any thing to say further on that head but what you will see written in my letter to D^r Chauncey. The scrip from y^e Boston newspaper, which gave me so much uneasiness was only y^e proposal & titlepage of D^r Chauncey's book which I have read & I think sufficiently answer'd in my letter to him.

My health is so low & my confinement at home so great that I cannot do any services for my friends abroad at a distance, as I were wont to do. Whether ever I shall rise from under this weakness God only knows. I am daily waiting His will, and, I thank God, in peace, whenever he shall command my removal, or if He shall ever permit me to serve His interest again in preaching I shall rejoice with my friends. I take pleasure to hear that your age of seventy-one has not cut off your usefulness. I want a few months of seventy, and yet my work seems to be ended. It is my hearty and continual prayer that God would carry on His work at New England, and particularly by your labors.

I have not yet heard of M^r Belcher, your late Governor, and I am sorry my health is so low that I cannot have so much converse with him as I would, if I live to see him. God and His grace be ever with you. Amen. I am

Your affectionate brother and humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

P. S. I do not find that M^r Clap & his predecessor M^r Williams agree in their sentiments about y^e great work of God with you. I wish M^r Clap had more of your spirit in y^{se} matters.

I am greatly grieved for y^e loss of M^r Cooper, whose long character you give me in y^e Boston newspaper, which I wish could be easily parallell'd.

I am glad to see y^e name of your son-in-law, as I suppose, Albert

Denny, in y^e newspaper which you sent me, recommending his goods to sale. I would hope he is return'd to his duty and reconciled; if it be so, I congratulate you, Sir, upon it.

Indorsed: "Recd. Oct^r 22, '44; Answ^d Jan. 9, '45."

STOKE NEWINGTON, Mar. 20th, 1744/5.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — I grant I am mistaken in my account of letters received from you, but growing years and long illness may be sufficient excuses for such a mistake. I am much grieved by your two last letters, one written in May and the other in August, 1744, to hear still of y^e great confusions that have been raised amongst your churches in New England, and that you tell me they are likely to remain and prevail. I earnestly pray God to forbid those unhappy events; and I hope y^e same finger of God that has done great things for many thousands of souls will secure His Gospell in y^e regular ministrations thereof in a much better manner than your fears & dark apprehensions seem to suggest.

I thank you for your account about D^r Chauncey, which I must confess I never knew before, how he came to be our D^r Chauncey's grandson. I am sorry he is so like his grandfather as you tell me, but still I think his grandfather was a man of serious piety, & is gone to a state of rest & happiness where there are no contentions.

I received M^r Davenport's retraction & your letter. I hope these things may have some good influence, and I thank God any thing you do there meets with acceptance and success. As for M^r Whitefield we hear he went to Philadelphia. Some say he is dead; but this war prevents us having speedy news of any thing at so great a distance. His prophecys concerning his son John are the meer effects of enthusiasm, and I hope if he be gone hence the memory of his follies will dye too.

I cannot forbear to tell you that God has so far raised me since last Nov^r that I have been eight or nine times in y^e pulpit, but I despair of having my strength raised to any such degree of usefull activity as in times past. Blessed be God for what I enjoy. I have lately been able to correct y^e sheets of a book received from the press (viz., the 2^d vol. of the *World to Come*), & have sent some of them to New England by my nephew for yourself and some friends. When they will arrive we cannot tell. I thank God I had finished many sermons & papers for y^e press before my illness, and if God give me continued strength the [they?] will see some of them by degrees.

But y^e chief business of this letter is to tell you that I have received your letter from M^r Sargent, & have made a small collection among a few friends for his design & pious work in y^e education of some of y^e neighboring Indians, & y^e design of this letter is to inclose y^e first bill

of exchange to you to receive seventy pound of New England currency from M^r Henry Caswell, merchant at Boston. It is drawn by M^r Geo. Streatfield, a merchant here & my neighbor & friend. You will receive two other bills of y^e same kind by successive ships, if God please to favor y^m with safety, & to secure y^e payment of that seventy pound, if one or two of them should be lost. If I have any more things worth your notice I shall endeavor to inform you by y^e following letters. With all due salutations & prayers for your continued usefulness & peace, I am, dear Sir,

Your affect^{ed} bro. & humble serv^t.

I. WATTS.

By Capt. ADAMS.

Indorsed: "Rec^d May 20. Answered June 10."

STOKE NEWINGTON, Mar. 30th, 1745.

REV^d & DEAR SIR, — It is now near a fortnight since I sent my first bill of exchange to you by Capt. Adams, and I write this to inclose y^e second. I am sorry to hear of the deaths of so many pastors of churches near you, and the backwardness of young men to be educated for y^e ministry by reason of the great confusions that have been amongst you.

M^r Warburton's books of the Legation of Moses, how much so ever they are esteem'd by some men, because they are very learned, yet in my opinion there is much more of fancy and imagination than of reason in them. D^r Leland of Ireland is indeed a very valuable writer, and the few things he has written have found great acceptance.

As for my Hymns, as I told you before, how much service soever they have done or may yet do in old England, yet when they become of any disservice to y^e churches in New England let them be laid by & forgotten, tho I have the same good opinion that ever I had of hymns well written on Gospell subjects, that they ought to be made & sung in Christian assemblys, in imitation of those recorded in the Book of the Revelation, but the whole must be regulated by outward circumstances and providences.

God grant you the fittest person to be chosen in the church to succeed you, for I am in continual fear to hear of your death, being one year advanced in age above me.

I hope you have received by this time, or shortly will, some copys of my second volume of the *World to Come*, for yourself & others in New England.

As for my health it is very imperfect, yet with much ado I preach twice a month; nor can I hope for greater health or greater service, but am waiting y^e call of our great Lord and Master.

I am glad M^r Mather is not offended with the freedom M^r Jennings

has taken in his father's Life. I hope it will be a very usefull book. You see, Sir, this is written chiefly to inclose the 2^d bill of exchange, which comes by Cap^t—. I am, dear brother,

Your affectionate h^{ble} serv^t.

I. WATTS.

Indorsed: "Rec^d Feb^r 17, with y^e second bill for 70*l*. Answ^d Feb^r 17, 45/6."

STOKE NEWINGTON, Feb^r 11th, 1748/7.

REV^d AND DEAR SIR,— I am glad my book of *Usefull Questions, &c.*, came safe to your hand. I think I have said every thing concerning the Son of God which Scripture says, but I could not go so far as to say with some of our orthodox divines that the Son is equal with the Father, because our Lord himself expressly says, the Father is greater than I. I hope there is nothing contain'd in my book of the *Glory of Christ* which I now send you, with a volume of *Evangelical Discourses*, but what Scripture is express in determining, that Jesus Christ, at least his human soul, is the first of the creation of God. I have not yet received my Sermons, of the New England edition, which you were so kind as to forward to me. Whether M^r Brackstone has received them I cannot tell.

As for my nephew, James Brackstone, I would have you for the future neither send nor write any thing to him relating to me, he has dealt so wickedly and shamefully with me that our church has cast him out a great while ago, and I have done with him entirely, but you may direct any parcels to be left for me at M^r Oswald's, bookseller.

We are well pleased here with M^r Prince's sermon of the Salvations of God, because it gives a plain account of the encroachments the French Kings have made in Europe for many years past.

I thank you for your sermon on the death of Governor Shirley's lady, and several others which I have received from you.

I am now in y^e last stage of life, and am hardly capable of writing a letter. I can say no more now. I hope we shall meet in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and there give him glory.

I am, dear Sir, your affectionate brother and h^{ble} serv^t.

ISAAC WATTS.

I give you the trouble of conveying y^e books to Yale & Harvard College, as likewise the letter to M^r Whitfield, presuming you may know how to do it. It is only a few lines of answ^r to a letter I lately received from him.

Indorsed: "Answ^d June 5, 1747."

Besides the letters above given, there are four others which did not seem of sufficient importance to be printed in full. They are as follows:—

NEWINGTON, Sep^r 22^d, 1736. A short letter merely referring to the letter of Sept. 13-20, and some of the matters contained in it. "My salutations attend all my brethren in New Eng^d, & I am well assured their letters to me have miscarryd, having not received one this year from Mess^{rs} Foxcroft, Prince, Byles, Greenwood, &c."

NEWINGTON, April 4th, 1739. A memorandum of books sent to Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, and a statement of account. "I cannot pretend to write an answer to any particularitys in your last letter, which I received many months ago, for at present y^e providence of God has brought me low by a very unusuall head ach and vomitting. If God restore me, may it be much to his service."

NEWINGTON, Sept^r 18, 1740. About the books sent to Connecticut; Mr. Holden's charities; Mr. Whitefield; John Taylor's treatise on Original Sin, &c.

STOKE NEWINGTON, Oct^r 30th, 1744. About obtaining payment of a sum of money due to the widow of Dr. Hunt.

The Historical Society also has two letters from Dr. Watts to Cotton Mather, respectively dated March, 1717-8 and Feb. 11, 1719-20, and two to Samuel Mather, dated Feb. 22, 1728-9 and May 3, 1732. Of these the letter to Cotton Mather, of February, 1720, is very long, and deals largely with the differences among the Dissenters in England, especially with regard to admission to the communion, the Athanasian creed, and the Arian belief. But two or three paragraphs of more general interest, relating to Neal's History of New England and the witchcraft delusion, were printed many years ago in the Collections.¹

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN presented the following paper on Early American Imprints belonging to the Society:—

During a long period American books with early imprints have attracted much attention among bibliographers; and from time to time lists of such works, more or less complete, have been published. The most nearly full of these lists is the one issued under the editorship of our late associate, Dr. Samuel F. Haven, and brought down to the beginning of the Revolution, — which appears in the second volume of Thomas's History of Printing (pp. 309-666), published by the American Antiquarian Society. In the year 1639 the first printing-press in the English colonies was set up at Cambridge, and for more than

¹ See Collections, vol. v. pp. 200-202.

a generation was the sole representative here of "the Art preservative of all arts."

Under a license of the General Court, the pioneer press of Boston was established in 1675, by John Foster, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1667. While yet a young man, with the encouragement of Dr. Increase Mather, he began as a printer, though he was not bred to the business, nor specially acquainted with the art. In a paper before the Historical Society, at the November meeting, 1888, I gave my reasons for supposing Foster to have been the earliest engraver in New England; and perhaps the natural connection between the arts of printing and engraving, strengthened by his own tastes, prompted him to take up the calling. (See *Proceedings*, second series, IV. 199-206.) He died in Dorchester, on September 9, 1681, at the early age of thirty-three, having followed the business for six years. About thirty-five of his imprints are known to be extant, and of this number the Massachusetts Historical Library owns more than two thirds.

Sometimes these early publications, either on the titlepage, in the colophon, or elsewhere, give certain facts, such as sites of shops or other buildings, advertisements of new books, &c., and thus incidentally contain items of historical interest and value, which were not at all in the minds of the writers. Side-lights of this character oftentimes clear up obscurities as fully as the direct rays of sunshine. Apart from their value to the scholar, these early imprints are much sought after by book-collectors, and they fetch high prices in the market. At the sale of the late George Livermore's library in this city, by auction, last November, a small pamphlet by John Fisk, the first minister of Chelmsford, was bought by the Lenox Library, New York, for a hundred and six dollars. The title runs as follows:—

The | Watering of | the | Olive Plant | in Christs Garden. | Or | a Short Catechism | for the first Entrance of our | Chelmsford Children : | Enlarged by | a three-fold Appendix | — | By John Fisk Pastour of the | Church of Christ at Chelmsford | in New England. | — | [Two lines from *Pealms* cxxviii. 3; four lines from *Psalms* xcii. 13, 14.] || Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg | in New-England. 1657.

The pamphlet was printed within two years after the incorporation of the town, and was brought forth amid many difficulties and discouragements. The price given was probably

equal to one half of the minister's annual salary, and the commercial value lay mainly in the fact that it is an early Cambridge imprint. The tract is very rare; and the copy, mentioned above, may be unique.

In this paper I purpose to give a list of all books, pamphlets, and broadsides, belonging to the Historical Society, which were printed in the colonies either before or during the year 1700,—with a careful collation of the same. In the list are ten or twelve titles of imperfect copies, which have hitherto escaped identification of authorship, but in most of these cases a full description has been made from copies in other libraries. The three earliest titles, here given, were printed without doubt by Stephen Daye, as he was at that period the only printer, if we except his son Matthew Daye, whose name appears in the imprint of a solitary almanac, which was published in the year 1647.

An interesting feature of several of these publications is that for some years they appear to fix the date of Commencement at Harvard College during the early history of that institution. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, says in general terms that the day "was formerly the Second *Tuesday* in *August*, but since, the First *Wednesday* in *July*" (Book IV. 128). On the strength of this statement it has been supposed that Commencement, during the years 1643, 1647, and 1649, fell on August 8, August 10, and August 14, respectively, and a list of such days has been so recorded in "The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register" (XXXIII. 423) for October, 1879; and all these were Tuesdays. According to the imprints now under consideration, these days fell, severally, in October and on July 27 and July 31, which last two dates came also on a Tuesday.

Perhaps it will be of service to some future annalist to call attention here to the correct dates of two early Commencements, which differ somewhat from those found in modern accounts. Mr. Sibley, in his *Harvard Graduates* (I. 15), says that the first Commencement of the College came probably in October, 1642; but a careful reading of the letter printed on the next two pages of that work, shows that it took place shortly before September 26, though the exact day is uncertain. Mr. Sibley, doubtless, supposed October to be the date, as it occurred in that month during the next year. Judge Sewall, in his *Diary* (I. 15), records that the Commencement in 1676

came on Friday, July 28, which differs by eleven days from the date given in the Register, as quoted above.

Prince's Catalogue, mentioned in this paper, was made by that well-known antiquary, the Reverend Thomas Prince (*b.* 1687, *d.* 1758), author of "A Chronological History of New England in the Form of Annals." It is in manuscript, and belongs to the library of the Historical Society. The Catalogue consists of two parts, "New-English Books & Tracts collected by Thomas Prince of Boston N E," and "New-English Pamphlets . belonging to Thomas Prince of Boston"; and they are both bound up in the same volume.

In some instances the Library has more than one copy of these early imprints, and in such cases I have indicated the number of copies, within brackets, at the end of the title. Many of these works are not found in Dr. Haven's list of ante-Revolutionary publications.

1643.

Illvstrissimis Pietate, et Vera | Religione, Virtute, et Prvdentia Honoratissimis Viris, D. Iohanni | Winthropo, caeterisque unitarum Nov-Angliae Coloniarum Gubernatoribus, & Magistratibus Dignissimis; | Vna cum pientissimis, vigilantissimisque Ecclesiarum Presbyteris: | Nec non omnibus nostrae Reip. literariae, tam in Veteri quam in Nov-Anglia, Fautoribus | benignissimis: | Has Theses Philologicas & Philosophicas, quas *συνθεσις*, Praeside Henrico Dunstero palam in | Collegio Harvardino pro virili propugnare conabuntur (honoris, observantiae et | gratitudinis ergo) D. D. D. in artibus liberalibus initiandi | Adolescentes. |

Iohannes Ionesius.

Samuel Danforthus.

Samuel Matherus.

Iohannes Allinus.

[Imprint at foot of the page] Cantabrigiae Nov. Ang. Mens. 8. 1643. Broadside [printed by Stephen Daye]. Folio.

Printed in two columns, in Latin, with "Theses Philologicæ:" at the beginning of the first, and the subdivisions "Grammaticæ," in ten subjects, "Rhetoricæ:" in four, and "Logicæ:" in thirteen; "Theses Philosophicæ:" at the head of the second column, and the subdivisions "Ethicæ:" in twelve subjects, "Physicæ:" in eleven, and "Metaphysicæ:" in five; single border line around the broadside.

See Proceedings (IV. 439-446) for March, 1860; and also Sibley's Harvard Graduates (I. 74-76).

1645.

A | Declaration of Former | Passages and Proceedings betwixt the English | and the Narrowgansets, with their confederates, Wherin | the grounds and iustice of the ensuing warre are opened | and cleared. | Published,

by order of the Commissioners for the united Colonies: | At Boston the 11 of the sixth month | 1645. No titlepage. 12mo. pp. 7.

The Declaration is signed "Jo: Winthrop President, In the name of all the | Commissioners"; last page blank.

Substantially the same account is given in the second volume (pp. 45-50) of Hazard's "Historical Collections; consisting of State Papers" (Philadelphia, 1794), and perhaps taken from a copy in the Secretary of State's Office, Boston, which was afterward printed in the ninth volume (pp. 50-56) of the "Records of the Colony of New Plymouth" (Boston, 1859), which constitutes the "Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England" (Vol. I.); though there are many variations in minor details, particularly in the spelling of words. Hazard's version, in regard to the date, is wrong, as he gives it August 19. On the first page of the paper cover, in Governor Winthrop's handwriting, appears the heading, "relation about Narogansets & Miantinomo and the discovery of their plott agt the English."

1647.

[Harvard College Theses, printed by Stephen Daye, with the imprint at foot of the page] Cantabrigiæ Nov: Ang: 6. Calend. Sextilis. 1647. Broadsides. Folio.

The upper half of the sheet wanting; and in the first column there are left "Rhetoricae," in seven subjects, and "Logicae," in eighteen; in the second column there remain parts 11 to 15 of [Ethicae], "Physicae," in sixteen subjects, and "Metaph:" in six; surrounded by two border lines.

1649.

Oratio | Quam Comitij Cantabrigiensibus Americanis | Peroravit reverendissimus D. | D. Samuel Whiting | Pastor Linnensis; in aula scilicet Harvardina, | Pridie Calendas Sextiles, | Anno, M.DC.XL.IX. | No titlepage. 16mo. pp. 16.

Pages 1-16, text; three lines of Hebrew characters at the end of page 16.

1652.

The Summe of Certain Sermons upon Genes: 15.6. Wherein Not only the Doctrine of Justification by Faith is Asserted and Cleared, And sundry Arguments for Justification before Faith, discussed and Answered, But Also The nature and meanes of Faith, with the Imputation of our Sins to Christ, and of Christs Righteousness to us are briefly Explained and Confirmed. Printed at Cambridge by Samuel Green, 1652. 12mo. pp. (12), 47.

Titlepage wanting; 9 pp. "The | Authors Preface to the Reader," signed "R. M." [Richard Mather], headpiece of one line of acorn-shaped border pieces, a line of fine pieces, and a line of larger inverted pieces; 1 p. "To | the Christian Reader," signed, "J. Cotton," and "J. VVilson," and dated at "Boston 24.5. | 1652.;" 1-45, text, headpiece of three lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted, has a large ornamented initial letter and running headlines; 45, 46, "The Table," in two columns, ending with the word "Righteousness"; last leaf wanting.

See the Brinley Catalogue (I. 128), under Richard Mather, where the original of this title appears; and also Sabin's Dictionary (XI. 485, 486), number 46,783.

1657.

The Life and Death of that deservedly Famous Mr. John Cotton, the late Reverend Teacher of the Church of Christ at Boston in New England. Collected out of the Writings and Information of the Rev. Mr. John Davenport of New-haven, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Whiting, at Lynne, the pious Widow of the Deceased, and others: and compiled by his unworthy Successor, John Norton. Cambridge: Printed by S. Green. 1657. 12mo. pp. 3-51.

Titlepage wanting; 3-51, "The Life and Death | of | Mr. John Cotton, | the late Reverend Teacher of the Church | of Christ, at Boston in Nevv-England," dated at "Boston, Novemb. 6. | 1657," running headlines "The Life of M^r John Cotton," has a large ornamental headpiece; 3 pp. "A Catalogue of some Books printed for | Lodo. Lloyd, and are to be sold at | his Shop next to the Castle-Tavern in | Cornhill"; last leaf wanting.

See Sabin's Dictionary (XIII. 422), number 55,885, from which this title is copied.

1659.

The | Heart of N-England | rent at the | Blasphemies | of the present | Generation. | Or | a brief Tractate concerning the Doctrine of | the Quakers, Demonstrating the destructive nature | thereof, to Religion, the Churches, and the State, | with consideration of the Remedy against it. | Occasional Satisfaction to Objections, and Confr- | mation of contrary Truth. | — | By John Norton, Teacher of the | Church of Christ at Boston. | Who was appointed thereunto by the Order of the | General Court. | — | [Four lines from Rev. ii. 2.] | — || Printed by Samuel Green, at Cambridge | in New-England. 1659. 12mo. pp. (2), 58.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line and a line of fine border pieces, verso blank; 1-57, text, with various headlines, has an ornamental headpiece of four lines of border pieces, with a line of pieces up and down at each end; last paragraph and two lines of errata in smaller type.

1660.

The | Book of the General | Lavves and Libertyes | concerning the Inhab-
itants of the | Massachusetts, collected out of the Records of | the General
Covrt, for the several years | wherein they were made and | established. |
And | Now Revised by the same Court, and disposed into an | Alpha-
betical order, and published by the same | Authority in the General
Court holden | at Boston, in May | 1649. | — | [Two lines from Rom.
xiii. 2.] | — | [97 fine border pieces arranged in the shape of a dia-
mond] | — || Cambridge, | Printed according to Order of the General
Covrt. | 1660. 4to. pp. 88, (8). [Two copies.]

Titlepage wanting; 1 p. "To our beloved Brethren and Neighbours |
the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts, the Governour, Assistants | and Dep-
uties Assembled in the Generall Court of that | Jurisdiction Wish Grace and
Peace in our Lord | Jesus Christ," signed "Edward Rawson Secret:"
verso blank, lower part of leaf wanting; 1-88, | "The | General Lavves of
the Massachusetts | Colony, revised and published by | Order of the General
Covrt | in October 1658," various headlines; 8 pp. "An | Alphabetical
Table | shewing | the generall Titles and chief Heads of this Book of Laws;
(and more | particularly, the Office of Constables.) In which, | S. signifies
Section, and P. Page," two columns to a page, with headpiece of two
lines of acorn-shaped border pieces, the lower one inverted, running head-
line "The Table."

This was reprinted (1889) in fac-simile, by order of the City
Council of Boston, under the supervision of our associate, Wil-
liam H. Whitmore, Esq., Record Commissioner. The title is
copied from the reprint as given on page 119 of that work.

The Doctrine | of Godliness [a Catechism by John Norton]. 16mo. pp. 3-22.

Titlepage wanting; 3-22, "The Doctrine | of Godliness"; has a border
line of ten pieces at the top of page 3, and an ornamented initial letter "W"
at the beginning.

Rev. Thomas Prince, in his Catalogue, says that this tract by
Norton was printed first in the year 1660, and again in 1666.
Dr. Felt, in his "History of Ipswich," by inference refers the
date of publication to 1664. This title is given in Dr. Haven's
supplementary list under 1660 and 1666.

1661.

Wusku | wuttestamentum | nul-lordumun | Jesus Christ | Nuppoquohwus-
saueneumun. | — | [32 fine border pieces arranged in the shape of a
diamond.] | — || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green and Mar-
maduke Johnson. | MDCLXI. 12mo. pp. (254).

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line and a line of acorn-shaped border pieces, *verso* blank; 86 pp. (signatures A to L) text to the end of Luke; 166 pp. (signatures Aa to Xx) text to the end of Revelation; blank leaf; followed by the psalms in Indian printed in 1663.

The copy has no title in English, and no dedication to the King. See Wilberforce Eames's "Bibliographical Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible and his other translations" (Washington, 1890) for a very full account of the work (page 23).

1662.

Propositions | concerning the | Subject of Baptism | and | Consociation of Churches; | Collected and Confirmed out of the Word of God, | by a | Synod of Elders | and | Messengers of the Churches | in Massachusetts-Colony in New-England. Assembled at Boston, according to the Appointment of the Honoured | General Court, in the Year, 1662. | — | At a General Court held at Boston in New-England, the Eighth | of October, 1662. | The Court having Read over this Result of the Synod, judge meet to Com- | mend the same unto the Consideration of all the Churches and People of | this Jurisdiction; and for that end do Order the Printing thereof. | By the Court, Edward Rawson, Secret. | — | Whereunto is anext the Answer of the Dissenting | Brethren and Messengers of the Churches of | New-England, &c. | — || Printed in the Year, 1662. 12mo. pp. (14), 18. [Four copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 12 pp. "The | Preface | to the | Christian Reader; | and especially to the Churches of Massachusetts-Colony | in New-England"; 1-18, "The | Answer | of the | Elders and other Messengers | of the Churches, Assembled at Boston in the Year, 1662. | To the Questions Propounded to them by Order | of the Honoured General Court"; running headlines in both parts; followed by "Anti-Synodalia," printed on the same forms, but with a new set of signature letters.

Anti-Synodalia Scripta Americana. | Or, | a Proposal of the Judgment of the Dissenting Mes- | sengers of the Churches of New-England Assembled, | by the Appointment of the General Court, | March 10. 1662. whereof there were several | Sessions afterwards. | This Script or Treatise, by Gods Providence, falling into | the hands of a Friend to the Truth, and the Contents thereof, &c. | was published for the Churches good, although without any Com- | mission from the Dissenting Brethren; which they are desired not to | be offended with. | Wherein there is an Answer to the Arguments alleadged by the Synode." No titlepage. 12mo. pp. 38. [Three copies.]

Pp. 1-7, "The Preface to the Reader," signed, "Philaethes"; 8-11, "To the Honoured Governour of the | Massachusetts, John Endicott Esq; | Together with the rest of the Honoured | Bench, and the Court of Deputies. | A plaine Proposal of the Judgement of the Mes- | sengers of the Churches

Dissenting from the Major | part, assembled in the Synode at Boston, touching the first | Question, which was | What is the subject of Baptisme ? | The Preface"; 12-38, "The | Order observed | in this | Treatise"; has the running headline, "Anti-Synodalia, &c."; a list of "Errata: or, Faults escaped in the Press," with perhaps one or two lines cut off in the binding, is pasted on at the end. This follows "Propositions," etc.

At the top of the title is written, "By President Chauncy." Mr. Prince, in his Catalogue, says that the first of these two pamphlets was printed at Cambridge. In regard to the second he writes, "Mr Allin, in y^e Title Page of his Animadversions, says twas Prin^d in Old England"; but I have inserted it as a New England title inasmuch as the catchword on the last page of "Propositions" agrees with the first word in this title. Moreover Dr. Haven, in his list, says that it was printed by S. Green at Cambridge.

1663.

The | Cause of God | and his People in New-England, | as it was | stated and discussed | in | a Sermon Preached before the Honourable General | Covrt of the Massachvsets Colony, | on the 27 day of May 1663. Being the Day | of Election at Boston. | — | By John Higginson Pastor of the Church | of Christ at Salem. | — | [Two lines from Matt. xxii. 21; two lines from 1 Peter ii. 17; three lines from 1 Chron. xii. 32.] | — || Cambridge, | Printed by Samuel Green 1663. 12mo. pp. (4), 24. [Three copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line and a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "John Wilson. Senior," and "Samuel Whiting," headpiece of two lines of fine border pieces, the lower one inverted; 1-24, "The | Cause of God | and his People in New-England, | Stated and Discussed."

In the margin at the bottom of the title, in an old style of writing there appear the words, "The first Election-Sermon that was printed." On the *verso* of the same leaf in another hand is the following:—

NB. I have been inform'd (by Dr C. M. who had it by Tradition) that good Mr Hig.— when appointed to preach the Elec. Ser. sought to Mr. Mitchell for Advice as to a Subject &c. & had the main Plan of the following Ser. from him. And this will receive Confirmation, if we consult Dr. I. Mather's Elijah, or Testimony to the Cause &c. where is an Extract from a M.S. of Mr Mitchell's that carries a great Affinity with this Sermon.

On the titlepage of another copy, near the bottom, appear the words, "Jn^o Payn" ex dono Authoris Rev::"

The | Church-Membership | of Children, | and their right to | Baptisme,
According to that holy and everlasting Covenant of God, | established
between Himself, and the Faithfull and their Seed after | them, in their
Generations : | Cleared up in a Letter, sent unto a worthy Friend of the
| Avthor, and many Yeares agoe written touching that subject; | — |
By Thomas Shepard, sometimes Pastor of the Church | of Christ at
Cambridg in New-England. | — | Published at the earnest request of
many : for the Consolation | and Encouragement, both of Parents and
Children in the Lord. | — | [Four lines from Gen. xvii. 7; one line
from Mark xvi. 16; three lines from Acts ii. 39; one line from 1 Cor.
vii. 14.] | — || Cambridg | Printed by Samuel Green. 1663. 12mo.
pp. (22), 26. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of acorn-shaped border pieces, *verso* has
a quotation from Chemnitius; 18 pp. "A Preface to the Reader," signed
"Thomas Shepard," has running headlines; 2 pp. poetry by John Wilson,
Senior: 1-26, "The | Church-Membership | of Children | Cleared vp in a
Letter in Answer | to the Doubts of a Friend;" two lines of errata at the
end of page 26.

A presentation copy "To ye worshipfull, & much hono^red
Major Denison."

A | Discourse | about | Civil Government | in a | New Plantation | whose
Design is | Religion. | — | Written many Years since, | by that Rever-
end and Worthy Minister of the Gospel, | John Cotton B. D. | and
now Published by some Undertakers of | a New Plantation, for General
Direction | and Information. | — || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel
Green and Marmaduke Johnson. | MDCLXIII. 12mo. pp. 24.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, acorn pattern, *verso*
blank; 3-24, "A Discourse | about | Civil Government in a New | Plan-
tation: " . . . ; two lines of "Errata" at the end of page 24.

Mather, in his *Magnalia* (Book III. p. 56), says: "There is
likewise published, A Discourse about Civil Government, in a
New Plantation, whose Design is Religion: In the Title-Page
whereof, the Name of Mr. Cotton, is, by a Mistake, put for
that of Mr. Davenport." On the back of the title is written in
the handwriting of Mr. Sparks: "This Tract was written by
Davenport. See Professor Kingsley's Hist. Discourse, p. 83,
where he quotes Cotton Mather." Underneath is the following
in the hand of Mr. Felt: "Still this work is answer to another
on the same subject. The latter appears to have been written
by John Cotton."

Mamvse | wunneetupanatamwe | up-biblum God | naneeswe | Nukkone
Testament | kah wonk | Wusku Testament. | — | Ne quoshkinnumuk
nashpe Wuttinneumoh Christ | noh afowesit | John Eliot. | — ||
Cambridge: | Printeuxp nashpe Samuel Green kah Marmaduke John-
son. | 1663. 12mo. pp. (832).

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line and a line of acorn-shaped border pieces, *verso* blank; 1 p. blank, *verso* has a list of books in both the Old and New Testaments; 828 pp. text; followed by "Wusku," etc., the New Testament in Indian, printed in 1661.

This has neither titlepage in English, nor dedication to the King. On a fly-leaf at the beginning is written "Enoch Greenlefe His Booke 1672."

VVame | Ketæhomaæ uketæhomaongash | David. No titlepage. 12mo. pp. (100).

Psalms of David in metre, in two columns; catchword "Næwomæ" on the last page; followed by rules for holy living, in Indian.

This is bound up with Eliot's New Testament, printed in 1661.

Næwomæ Wntinnæwaonk God, Gen. 5. 22. Enoch weeche | pomushau God nishwudt pasukææ kottumwaen. Wonk | næwomæ, Prov. 23. 17. qush Johovah neteagu : newaj | kenatætomoush. No titlepage. 4to. pp. (2).

In two parts, "Nat. i." in nine numbers, and "Nat. ii." in eight.

These "rules for holy living" follow the Psalms in Indian, and were printed on the same form as the third leaf of the last signature, "N." See Eames's "Bibliographical Notes" (pp. 21, 23) for an account of these Indian titles.

Severall | Lavvs and Orders | made at Severall | General Courts | in the Years 1661. 1662. 1663. | — | Printed and Published by Order of the General Court held at Boston | the 20th of October, 1663. | By Edward Rawson Secr'. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 7.

Pages 1-7, text; various headlines; last page blank.

Issued as a supplement to the Book of the General Laws, and appears in a fac-simile reprint (pp. 219-225) of that work published at Boston in 1889.

1664.

Animadversions | upon the | Antisynodalia Americana, | a Treatise Printed in Old England: | In the Name of the | Dissenting Brethren | in the Synod held at Boston in New England 1662. | Tending to Clear the Elders and Churches of | New England from those Evils and Declinings charged upon many | of them in the two Prefaces before the said Book. | Together with | An Ansver | unto | the Reasons alledged for the Opinion of the Dissenters. | And a Reply to such Answers as are given to the | Arguments of the Synod. | — | By John Allin, Pastor of

the Church of Christ | at Dedham in N. England. | — | [Two lines from Rom. iii. 1, 2; three lines from Gal. iii. 27, 28; three lines from Heb. xii. 15, 16.] | — || Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. for Hezekiah Vsher | of Boston. 1664. 12mo. pp. (5), 82.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of acorn-shaped border pieces, *verso* blank; 3 pp. "The Preface to the Reader," signed "John Allin," and dated "From my Study in Dedham | in N. E. 6 day, 11 mon. | 1663," has a running headline, headpiece of line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted, a brace at the end; 1 p. blank; 1-82, "Animadversions | upon the | Antisynodalia Americana," headpiece of a line of acorn-shaped border pieces, and a line of similar pieces inverted.

A presentation copy "For y^e Revd m^r Shephard." On the inner margin of the titlepage is written, "Tho: Shepard's booke. ye gift of ye Reverend Authour. March. 31. 1664."

A | Defence | of the | Answer and Arguments | of the | Synod | met at
Boston in the Year 1662. | Concerning { The Sbvject of Baptism,
and
Consociation of Chvrches.
| Against the Reply made thereto, by the Reverend | Mr. John Davenport, Pastor of the | Church at New-Haven, in his Treatise Entituled, | Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth, &c. | Together with | An Answer | to the | Apologetical Preface | set before that Essay. | — | By some of the Elders who were Members of the | Synod above-mentioned. | — | [One line from 1 Thess. v. 21; three lines from 1 Chron. xxviii. 8.] | — || Cambridge: Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson for Hezekiah Vsher | of Boston. 1664. 12mo. pp. (1), 46, 102. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 1-46, "An Ansver | to the | Apologetical Preface | published in the Name and Behalf of | the Brethren that Dissented in the late Synod, | and set before the Reverend Mr. Davenports Treatise, called, | Another Essay &c.," with a list of "Errata in the Book following" at end, five lines; 1-102, "A | Defence | of the | Answer and Argvments of the Synod, | met at Boston in the Year 1662. | Concerning | the Subject of Baptism, and Consociation of Churches: | Against the Reply made thereto, by the Reverend Mr. John | Davenport, in his Treatise, Entituled, | Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth, &c.," new signature letters to this part.

This Defence was written by Richard Mather, and the Answer by Jonathan Mitchel. See Sibley's Harvard Graduates (I. 155, 156). On the titlepage of one copy appears the name of "Joseph Emerson."

Several | Lavvs and Orders | made at Severall | General Courts | in the Years
1661. 1662. 1664. | — | Printed and Published by Order of the General
Court held at Boston | the 19th of October, 1664. | By Edward Rawson
Secr. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 4. [Slightly imperfect.]

This follows a similar title printed in 1663, and is bound up
in the same volume. See the reprint in fac-simile (pp. 225-230).

Three Choice and Profitable | Sermons | Upon Severall Texts of Scripture;
| Viz. | Jer. 30. 17. John 14. 3. Heb. 8. 5. | — | By that Reverend Ser-
vant of Christ, | M^r. John Norton | Late Teacher of the Church of Christ
at Boston in N. E. | — | The First of them being the Last Sermon
which | he Preached at the Court of Election at Boston. | The Second
was the Last which he Preached on the | Lords-Day. | The Third was
the Last which he Preached on his | Weekly-Lecture-Day. | Wherein
| (Beside many other excellent and seasonable Truths) is shewed, | the
Lords Sovereignty over, and Care for his Church and People, | in order
to both their Militant and Triumphant condition; | and their Fidelity
and good affection towards himself. | — | [three lines from 2 Sam. xxiii.
1; two lines from Deut. xxxi. 29; two lines from Ezra iii. 3; four lines
from Zech. i. 5, 6.] | — | Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. I. for
Hezekiah Vsher of Boston. 1664. 12mo. pp. (6), 34.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 2 pp.
"Johannes Nortonus. | Anagr. | Nonne is Honoratvs?" ; 2 pp. "To the
same purpose," a poem with the heading, "John Norton," signed, "John
Wilson Sen." ; 1-15, "Sion the Out-cast healed of her Wounds. | Being |
the First Sermon: | and | Preached at the Court of Election, | May XXII.
1661," has running headline; 16-28, "The Believers Consolation, | in the
Remembrance of his Heavenly Mansion prepared for | him by Christ. |
Being | the Second Sermon: | and | Preached on the Lords-Day, | Mareh
XXIX. 1663" ; 29-34, "The Evangelical Worshipper, | Subjecting to the
Prescription and Sovereignty | of Scripture-patern. | Being | the Third Ser-
mon: | and | Preached on the Lecture-Day, | April II. 1663," four pages,
35-38 wanting, has running headline; followed by "A Copy of the Letter
. . . to M^r. Johu Dury," with continuous signature letters.

In the upper margin of the titlepage is the autograph signature
ture, "Simon Bradstreet."

A Copy | of the | Letter | Returned by the | Ministers of New-England | to |
M^r. John Dury | about his | Pacification. | Faithfully Translated out of
the Original Manuscript written in | Latine, By the Reverend Authvor of
the Three | former Sermons. | With some Considerations premised about
that Subject, | necessary for these Times. | — | By a Lover of Truth and
Peace. | — | [Ten acorn-shaped border pieces in two short lines, the
lower one inverted.] | — || Published in the Year 1664. 12mo. pp. (2), 12.

Titlepage wanting; 2 pp. "The Preface to the | Reader," has running headlines, first leaf wanting; 1-12, "To the | Worthy and Eminent, | M^r John Dury, | Salvations," signed by forty-four ministers.

This pamphlet follows "Three Choice Sermons," with continuous signature letters. The title is taken from a copy in the Prince Collection at the Boston Public Library.

1665.

An | Astronomical Description | of the late | Comet | or | Blazing Star, | as it appeared in New-England in the | 9th, 10th, 11th, and in the beginning | of the 12th Moneth, 1664. | Together | with a brief Theological Application | thereof. Y — | By S. D. [Samuel Danforth] | — | [Two lines from Psalms cxi. 2; two lines from Job xxxvi. 24; three lines from Exod. vii. 23.] | — || Cambridge | Printed by Samuel Green, 1665. 16mo. pp. (2), 22.

Titlepage, surrounded by a double line of fine border pieces, *verso* "Du Bartas," seven lines; 1-22, "An | Astronomical Description | of the late | Comet, | as it appeared in New-England," headpiece, a line of acorn-shaped border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar inverted pieces.

This title in Dr. Haven's list was taken from the Catalogue of the British Museum.

The | Conditions for New-Planters | in the Territories of His Royal Highnes | the | Duke of York | Broadside [printed by Samuel Green, Cambridge]. 8vo.
Border line above; signed "R. Nicolls."

A | Direction | for | a Publick Profession | in the Church Assembly, after private Examination | by the Elders. | Which Direction is taken out of the Scripture, and Points unto | that Faith and Covenant contained in the Scripture. | Being the same for Substance which was propounded to, and | agreed upon by the Church of Salem at the beginning. | the sixth of the sixth Moneth, 1629. | — | In the Preface to the Declaration of the Faith owned and pro- | fessed by the Congregationall Churches in England. No titlepage. 16mo. pp. 6.

At the bottom of the first page, a statement concerning the use of the confession; (2), extracts about the same from different parts of the Bible; 3, 4, "The Confession of | Faith"; 5, "The Covenant"; 6, "Questions to be Answered at the Baptizing of Children, | or the substance to be expressed | by the Parents."

See Felt's "Reply to the New-England Congregationalism of Hon. Daniel A. White" (Salem, 1861), pages 55-57; and also

his pamphlet entitled "Did the First Church of Salem originally have a Confession of Faith distinct from their Covenant?" (Boston, 1856), pages 23-25. A clew to the date is found in that pamphlet on page 17.

1666.

The Day of Doom; or a Description of the Great and Last Judgment. With a Short Discourse about Eternity. 16mo. pp. (4), 78 [98].

Titlepage wanting; 6 pp., "To the Christian Reader," wanting, with the exception of a fragment of four lines, which has on the back the printed name "Michael Wigglesworth"; 2 pp. "On the following Work, | and | It's Author," signed "J. Mitchel"; 2 pp. "A Prayer | Vnto Christ the Jvdge | of the | World"; 1-75, "The Day | of | Doom," page 65 numbered "51," and the catch-word at bottom of page 75 "On"; (76), blank; 77-84, "A Short Discourse | on | Eternity"; 85-94, "A Postscript unto the | Reader," page 92 printed "62," headpiece two lines of border pieces of two varieties, the lower line inverted; 95-98, "A Song of | Emptiness, | to fill up the Empty Pages following. | Vanity of Vanities," page 98 numbered "78," headpiece similar to the last. Whole work has running headlines.

Perhaps this imperfect copy belongs to the second Cambridge edition, which was printed probably in 1666. See pages 269-275 of this volume for some bibliographical notes on the work and its author.

1668.

The | Rise, Spring | and | Foundation | of the | Anabaptists, | or Re-baptized of our Time. | — | VVritten in French by Guy de Brez, 1565. | Minister of the Word, and Martyr. | And Translated for the use of his Countrymen, by J. S. | — | [Three lines from Eccles. i. 9.] | — || Cambridge: | Printed, and to be Sold by Marmaduke Johnson. 1668. 12mo. pp. (4), 52.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, verso blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "J. S." [Joshua Scottow]; 1-52, "The Rise, Spring and Foundation | of the | Anabaptists," headpiece a line of border pieces and a line of similar pieces inverted, running headlines.

To the Elders and Ministers of every Town within the Jurisdiction | of the Massachusets in New-England: | The Governour and Council sendeth greeting. Broadside [printed probably by Marmaduke Johnson, Cambridge]. Folio.

A letter addressed "Reverend and Beloved in the Lord," and "Given at Boston the 10th of March 1668. by the Governour and | Council, and by them Ordered to be Printed, and sent ac- | cordingly. Edward Rawson Secret^y." This is an appeal or a "Declaration . . . earnestly desiring, and in the bowels of our Lord Jesus requiring you to be very diligent and careful to Catechize and Instruct all the people (especially the Youth) under your Charge, in the Sound and Orthodox Principles of Christian Religion; and that not only in publick, but privately from house to house . . . and whether the Youth are taught to Reade the English Tongue."

1669.

Balm in Gilead | to heal | Sions Wounds: | Or, | a Treatise wherein there is a clear Discovery of the | most Prevailing Sickneses of New-England, both in the | Civill and Ecclesiasticall State; As also sutable | Remedies for the Cure of them: | Collected out of that Spirituall Directory, | The Word of God. | Delivered in a Sermon Preached before the | Generall Court of the Colony of New-Plimoth | on the first day of June 1669. being the | Day of Election | there. | — | By Thomas Walley, Pastor of the Church of Christ at | Barnstable in New-England. | — | [Four lines from Jer. xiv. 18; two lines from Hosea xiv. 1; two lines from Jer. vi. 8; two lines from Jer. iii. 22.] | — || Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1669. 12mo. pp. (5), 3-20.

First page blank, *verso*, "New-Plimouth, October 26. 1669," Order to publish the sermon by the Court at Plymouth, signed "Nathaniel Morton Secretary," separated by a line of fine border pieces from a statement allowing it, signed "Imprimatur, Charles Chauncy | Thomas Shepard," line of border pieces at the top and bottom of page; titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Honoured, | Thomas Prince Esq; | Governour of New Plimouth Colony in New-England; | and | the Worshipfull his Assistants," signed "Thomas Walley," headpiece of fifteen urn-shaped border pieces and half of a brace; 3-20, "Balm of Gilead to heal Sions Wounds," running headlines.

In Dr. Haven's list this title appears incorrectly under the year 1699. For an account of the second edition see the next entry below. In the lower margin of the titlepage is written, "Nat Barnes."

1670.

Balm in Gilead | to heal | Sions Wounds: | [title same as the preceding one].
12mo. pp. (5), 3-20. [Two copies.]

Collation the same as in the edition of 1669, as far as page 20; below "Finis" on that page, a notice of Wigglesworth's "Meat out of the Eater" going to the press.

For a critical account of the differences between the two editions, the first printed in 1669, see page 274. At the end of this sermon (page 20), is the following advertisement, which does not appear in the first edition:—

THere is now going to the Press sundry excellent and divine Poems, | entitled, *Meat out of the Eater*; or, *Meditations concerning the* | *Necessity, End, and Vsefulness of Afflictions unto Gods Children*; *All* | *tending to prepare them for, and comfort them under the Cross.* By *Michael* | *Wigglesworth.*

Daily | Meditations: | Or, | Quotidian Preparations for | and | Considerations of | Death | and | Eternity. | Begun July 19. 1666. | — | By Philip Pain: Who lately suffering | Shipwrack, was drowned- | — | [Two lines from Job xxx. 23; two lines from Eccles. xii. 1.] | — || Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1670. 16mo. pp. (3), 16, (2).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of fine border pieces, *verso* blank; 1 p. "The Porch," signed "P. P.," surrounded by a line of fine border pieces within border lines placed in a form somewhat resembling a porch; 1 p. blank; 1-16, Meditations in verse beginning July 19 and ending August 3, with headlines corresponding to each day of that period; 2 pp. "A Postscript to the | Reader," signed "M. J." [Marmaduke Johnson?] with a line of ten urn-shaped border pieces over the heading; last leaf of the signature missing.

Near the top of the titlepage is written "Bar^w Sutton." On the fly-leaf of the volume containing this pamphlet is found "William Sutton His Book 1741." This title is given in the Addenda to Dr. Haven's list, under 1668.

The | Life and Death | of | that Reverend Man of God, | Mr. Richard Mather, | teacher of the Church | in | Dorchester | in | New-England. | — | [Two lines from Psalms cxii. 6; two lines from Heb. xiii. 7; two lines from Rev. xiv. 13.] | — | [One line of Latin.] | — || Cambridge: | printed by S. G. and M. J. 1670. 12mo. pp. (4), 38.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the | Church | and | Inhabitants | of | Dorchester in N. E. | Grace unto you from God by Jesus Christ," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston Septemb 6. | N. E. 1670," headpiece a line of thirteen urn-shaped border pieces and a brace at the end; 1-38, "The | Life & Death | of | Mr. Richard Mather," running headlines.

This is the first of Increase Mather's publications printed in New England.

New-Englands | True Interest ; | not to lie : | Or, | a Treatise declaring from the World of Truth the | Terms on which we stand, and the Tenure by which | we hold our hitherto-continued | Precious and Pleasant Things. | Shewing | what the blessed God expecteth from his People, and what | they may rationally look for from him. | Delivered in a Sermon Preached in Boston | in New-England, April 29. 1668. being the | Day of Election | there. | — | By Mr. W. Stoughton, Preacher of the Gospel in Dorchester. | — | [Five lines from Isaiah li. 7, 8; three lines from Haggai, ii. 4; two lines from Psalms, lxxxi. "13, &c."] | — || Cambridge : | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1670. 12mo. pp. (4), 36.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "An Advertisement to the Reader," signed "J. S." [Joshua Scottow?], headpiece thirteen urn-shaped border pieces; 1-38, "New-Englands True Interest; | not to Lie," has running headlines, pages 37 and 38 wanting; 1 p. Texts of Scripture, wanting.

Another edition appeared as follows:—

New-Englands | True Interest ; | [title same as the preceding one]. 12mo. pp. 40. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; (3), "An Advertisement to the Reader," signed "J. S."; 4-40, "New Englands True Interest; | not to Lie," with two lines of "Errata" at the end of page 40, running headlines.

The titlepages of these two pamphlets are apparently identical, but for all the other pages the type was set up a second time. See a note, signed "S. A. G.," which appears in "The New-England Historical & Genealogical Register" (XXV. 91) for January, 1871; Sibley's Harvard Graduates (I. 206, 207); and also the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library (IV. 304) for January, 1881. On the fly-leaf at the beginning of one copy is written "Beniamin Dyer his Book," and "Benja. Wadsworth's, given by M^r Dyer, 1720."

This sermon (p. 16; second edition, p. 19) contains the noted line, "God sifted a whole Nation that he might send choice Grain over into this Wilderness."

A | Testimony | from the | Scripture | against | Idolatry & Superstition, | in Two Sermons; | Upon the Example of that Great Reformer Hezekiah, | 2 Kings 18. 4 | The first, Witnessing in generall against all the Idols and | Inventions of men in the Worship of God. | The second, more particularly against the Ceremonies, and | some other Corruptions of the Church of England. | Preached, the one September 27. the other Sep-

temb. 30. 1660 | — | By Mr. Samuel Mather, Teacher to a | Church of
Christ in Dublin in Ireland. | — | [Eight lines from 1 Sam. v. 3, 4.]
No imprint. 12mo. pp. (6), 75.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the
| Reader," signed by "M. I." [Increase Mather], headpiece a line of border
pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted, has a list of "Errata"
at the end, five lines; 1-75, "A | Testimony | from Scripture against Idol-
atry, & Superstition. | The First Sermon witnessing in General against all
the Idols, and | Inventions of men in the Worship of God," has two lines of
border pieces in the headpiece, the lower one inverted, running headlines;
last page blank.

Across the middle of the titlepage is written, "Jo. Bailly's
Booke. Boston in N. E. March 5. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$."

Dr. Haven says that this pamphlet was printed at Cam-
bridge, and he refers the date of publication to the year 1670.
Prince says: "M^r B Green tells me, This was Printed at Cam-
bridg by his Father's Letter, before He can Remēber; He
supposes between 1672 & 1680." The word "Letter" is used
here in the sense of type.

Viris Authoritate Praecipuis, Prudentia Celeberrimis |

Venerandis {	Richardo Bellinghamo }	Confoederatarum }	Masathuset. }	} Primatibus.
	Iohanni Winthropo }	N. Angliae }	Connecticut. }	
	Thomae Princeae }	Coloniarum }	Plimouthen. }	

Unà cum omnibus in Regimine Politico in singulis Coloniiis probè con-
stitutis. | Nec minus Reverendis Reipublicae nostrae Ecclesiasticae Rec-
toribus, Sacrorum Mystagogis, quibuscunq; etiam exiguis nostrae |
Academiae coeptis benignè annuentibus, Artibus Scientiisq; liberalibus
πολυμάθεσις & φιλομάθεσις | Vobis, ut Literarum Patronis, Theses haec
submissi quas (aspirante Deo) sub tutelâ Caroli Chauncei SS. Theol.
Bac. | Collegii Harvardini Praesidis, propugnandas suscepimus Juvenes
in Artibus Tyrones. |

[Two border pieces.]	Nathaniel Higginson.	[Three border pieces.]	Thomas Clark.	} D.D. DQ.	[border piece.]
	Ammi-Buhamah Corlett.		Georgius Burrough.		

[Imprint at foot of page] Cantabrigiae Nov-Angliae die nono Sextilis
Anno M.DC.LXX. Broadside. Folio.

In two columns; first column, "Theses Technologicae" in seven sub-
jects, "Logicae" in seventeen, and "Grammaticae" in eight; second column,
"Theses Rhetoricae" in six subjects, "Mathematicae" in eight, "Phy-
sicae" in seven, and "Ethicae" in eleven. A row of border pieces separates
the columns, and the broadside is surrounded by a line of border pieces of
a larger size.

1671.

A brief | Recognition | of | New-Englands | Errand | into the | Wilderness ;
 | Made in the Audience of the General Assembly of the | Massachu-
 sets Colony, at Boston in N. E. on the | 11th of the third Moneth, 1670.
 being the | Day of Election | there. | — | By Samuel Danforth, Pastor
 of the Church of | Christ in Roxbury in N. E. | — | [Eight lines from
 Jer. ii. 2, 3, 4] | — || Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1671.
 12mo. pp. (4), 23.

Titlepage wanting; 4 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "Thomas Shep-
 ard" [of Charlestown], headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of
 similar pieces inverted; 1-23, "A Brief | Recognition | of | New-Englands
 Errand into the | Wilderness"; line of errata at end of page 23; running
 headlines.

This title is taken from a copy in the Prince Library.

Nehemiah | on the | Walk | in | Troublesom Times; | Or, | a Serious and
 Seasonable Improvement of that great | Example of Magistratical Piety
 and Prudence, Self-denial | and Tenderness, Fearlessness and Fidelity,
 unto In- | struction and Encouragement of present and | succeeding
 Rulers in our Israel. | As it was delivered in a Sermon Preached at |
 Boston in N. E. May 15. 1667. being the | Day of Election | there. | — |
 By that faithful Servant of Christ, | Mr. Jonathan Mitchel, late Pastor
 of | the Church of Christ at Cambridge. | — | [Three lines from Psalms
 lxxviii. 70-72; two lines from Joshua vii. 10; three lines from Isaiah
 xxxii. 1, 2] | — || Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1671.
 12mo. pp. (4), 34. [Four copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "Christian
 Reader," signed "J. S." [John Sherman], headpiece a line of border pieces,
 a rule, and a line of similar inverted pieces; 1-34, "At the Election
 at Boston, | May 15. 1667," headpiece a line of border pieces; running
 headlines.

On the titlepage of one copy is written "Nat Barnes"; on that
 of another, "Thomas Foxcroft"; and on that of the third, "Jo.
 Baily's Booke Dec. 8. 84."

A | Platform | of | Church-Discipline | Gathered out of the | Word of God; |
 And Agreed upon | by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches | As-
 sembled in the | Synod | at Cambridge in N. E. | To be presented to
 the Churehes and General Court for their Consid- | ration and Accept-
 ance in the Lord, the 8th Month, Anno 1649. | — | [One line from
 Psalms lxxxiv. 1; two lines from Psalms xxvi. 8; three lines from
 xxvii. 4.] | — || Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1671.
 12mo. pp. (12), 33, (1).

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 10 pp. "The Preface," has running headlines; 1-33, text, various headlines; 1 p. blank; 1 p. "A Table of the Contents of the Chapters in this | Platform of Church-Discipline"; 1 p. blank.

A Serious | Exhortation | to the | Present and Succeeding | Generation | in | New-England; | earnestly calling upon all to Endeavour that the Lords | Gracious Presence may be continued with Posterity. | Being the Substance of the | Last Sermons | Preached | — | By Eleazar Mather, late Pastor of the Church in | Northampton in New-England | — | [Five lines from Judges ii. 10, 17; five lines from Psalms lxxviii. 3, 4, 5.] | — || Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1671. 12mo. pp. (3), 31.

Titlepage wanting; 3 pp. "To the Church and Inhabitants of Northampton in N. E.," signed "Increase Mather," and dated "From my Study in Boston | in N. E. 1. 1. 1671," running headlines, first two pages wanting; 1 p. blank; 1-31, "A VVord | to the | Present and Succeeding Generation | in | New-England," running headlines; last page blank.

At the bottom of page 31 appear the words, "Reader, The Author had intended another Sermon by way of Direction to | those of the Rising Generation, to shew them what course they must take, that so | the Lords gracious Presence may be successively continued. But here God took him, thus | serving his Generation, who are by reason of the Authors death deprived of the bene- | fit of those Meditations."

Eleazar Mather died on July 24, 1669. This title is taken from a copy in the John A. Lewis collection belonging to the Boston Public Library; and for an account of the author, see Sibley's Harvard Graduates (I. 405-409).

1672.

The | Book of the General | Laws | of the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction of | New=Plimouth; | Collected out of the Records of the | General Court | and lately revised, and with some Emendations and Additions, Established | and Disposed into such Order as they may readily conduce to ge- | neral use and benefit, | and published by the Authority of the General Court for that | Jurisdiction, held at Plimouth, the sixth of June, Anno Dom. 1671. | — | [Two lines from 1 Peter ii. 13.] | — || Cambridge: | Printed By Samuel Green 1672. 4to. pp. 5-47, (8).

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; (3, 4), "To our Beloved Brethren and Neighbours, the Inhabitants of | the Jurisdiction of | New=Plimouth; | the Governour, Assistants, and Deputies Assembled at the General Court | of that Jurisdiction, held at the Town of Plimovth, the | first day of June, Anno Dom. 1671. | Wisheth Grace and Peace in our Lord Jesus Christ," signed "Nathaniel Morton Secr.;" 5-47, text, pages 1-4 wanting; list of "Errata" at the end, four lines; 1 p. blank; 8 pp. "The | Table"; running headlines.

The General | Laws | and | Liberties | of the | Massachusets | Colony: |
 Revised & Re-printed. | By Order of the General Court Holden at Bos-
 ton, | May 15th. 1672. | Edward Rawson Secr. | — | [Two lines from
 Rom. xiii. 2.] | — || Cambridge | Printed by Samuel Green, for John
 Vsher of Boston. | 1672. 4to. pp. (2), 170, (27). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 1-170, "The
 Generall | Laws | of the Massachvsets | Colony, | revised and published, by
 | Order of the | General Court | in October 1658," has various headlines;
 list of "Errata" at the bottom of page 170, ten lines; 1 p. blank; 27 pp.
 "A Summary of the Laws foregoing Alphabetically | Digested, | Wherein P.
 standeth for Page, and S. for Section; | for the right Improvement whereof,
 the Reader must supply the figures of some | Sections in the Laws, where
 they are omitted"; running headlines; last page blank.

Several Laws and Orders made at the | General Court, | Holden at Boston -
 the 15th. of May | 1672. | And Printed by their Order. | Edward Raw-
 son Secr. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 6. [Two copies.]

Pages 1-6, text; various headlines.

This is bound up with "The General Laws," 1672, and is fol-
 lowed in one copy by "Several Laws," 1673, with continuous
 paging.

1673.

The | Book of the General | Laws | for the People within the Jvrisdiction of
 | Conecticut: | Collected out of the Records of the | General Court, |
 lately Revised, and with some Emendations and Additions Established
 and Pub- | lished by Authority of the General Court of Conecticut, |
 holden at Hartford in October, 1672 | [Cut of the Colonial arms.]
 | — | [Five lines from Rom. xiii. 1, 2.] | — || Cambridge: Printed by
 Samuel Green. 1673. 4to. pp. (4), 71, (4).

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To our Be-
 loved Brethren and Neighbours, the | Inhabitants of the Colony of Conecti-
 cut, | the General Covrvt of that Colony | wish Grace and Peace in our Lord
 Jesvs," signed "John Allin. Secr," has a large ornamental headpiece; 1-71,
 "The General | Laws | and | Liberties of | Conectievt Colonie: | Revised
 and Published by Order of the | General Covrvt | held at Hartford, in October
 1672," has a large ornamental headpiece different from the first; part of page
 71 and 4 pp. "An Alphabetical Table, Shewing the General Titles and |
 Heads of this Book of Lavvs"; last page blank; running headlines.

Eye-Salve, | or a | Watch-Word | From our Lord Iesus Christ unto his
 Churches: | Especially those within the Colony of the Massachusets |
 in New-England, | to take heed of Apostacy: | Or. | A Treatise of

Remembrance of what God hath been to us, as also | what we ought, |
and what we ought not to be to him, as we de- | sire the prolonging of
our Prosperous Dayes in the Land which | the Lord our God hath given
us. | — | By Thomas Shepard, Teacher of the Church of Christ in |
Charlstown; | Who was appointed by the Magistrates, to Preach on the
day of | Election | at Boston, May 15. 1672. | — | [Five lines from
Deut. viii. "10, &c."; five lines from chap. v. 32, 33.] | — || Cambridge
Printed by Samuel Green. 1673. 12mo. pp. (4), 52. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso*, statement signed "Imprimatur { John Sherman.
Urian Oakes." ;
2 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "Thomas Thacher"; 1-52, text; list
of "Errata" at the bottom of page 52, eight lines.

On the titlepage of one copy is written, "Jo. Bailly's Booke
Dec. 22. 84. in N. E."

New-England Freemen | Warned and Warmed, | to be Free indeed, having
an Eye | to God in their Elections: | In a Sermon Preached | before the
Court of | Election | at Boston, on the last Day of | May, 1671. | — |
By J. O. [John Oxenbridge] Pastour of the first Church | in Boston.
| — | Published by Order of | the General Court. | — || Printed in the
Year. 1673. 16mo. pp. (6), 48.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, those at the top and
bottom of the acorn pattern, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "Christian Reader," running
headlines; 1-48, text, headpiece composed of two lines of acorn-shaped
border pieces, the lower line inverted; "Finis" is printed between two lines
of acorn-shaped border pieces.

At the end are three lines in short-hand which even Mr.
Upham's skill cannot make out, as appears by the following
note: —

NEWTONVILLE, MASS., Feb. 7, 1896.

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Librarian.

DEAR SIR, — The few short-hand characters at the end of the Election
Sermon, May, 1671, which you pointed out to me, have defied my efforts to
decipher them.

There is apparently a date, viz., "29. 5. 67:" also "1692" or "1672."
These with a few words in short-hand characters are surrounded by a dark
line. Against this is written "N. Clap:" followed by a few characters.
I have tried all the systems of short-hand writing with which I am ac-
quainted, but can make no sense of it.

I think this is the first time I have ever totally failed to find some clew to a
short-hand manuscript. If there was more of it, I might have a better chance.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM P. UPHAM.

New-England | Pleased with, | and pressed to consider the things which |
 concern her | Peace | at least in this her Day: | Or, | a Seasonable and
 Serious Word of faithful Advice to the Churches | and People of God
 (primarily those) in the Massachusetts Colony; | musingly to Ponder,
 and bethink themselves, what is the Tendency, | and will certainly be
 the sad Issue, of sundry unchristian and crooked | wayes, which too too
 [sic] many have been turning aside unto, if persisted | and gone on in.
 | Delivered in a Sermon Preached at Boston in New-England, | May.
 7. 1673. being the Day of Election there. | — | By Vrian Oakes Pastor
 of the Church of Christ in Cambridge. | — | [Four lines from Micah vi.
 3, 4; five lines from Deut. xxviii. 58, 59; two lines from Ezek. xviii.
 30.] | — | Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Green. 1673. 12mo. pp.
 (6), 64. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "John Sher-
 man" and "Thomas Shepard," headpiece of two lines of border pieces, the
 lower line of fine pieces, running headlines; 1-64, text; list of "Errata" at
 the bottom of page 64, four lines.

In the margin at the bottom of the titlepage of one copy is
 written "Nat Barnes."

Several Laws and Orders made at the | General Court, | the 8th. of October
 1672. | As also | Several Laws and Orders made at the | General Courts,
 | holden at Boston the 7th. of May and 15th. of | October, 1673. | And
 printed by their Order. | Edward Rawson Secr. No titlepage. 4to.
 pp. 7-12.

Pages 7-12, text; various headlines; follows "Several Laws" in 1672.

Wo to Drunkards. | — | Two | Sermons | Testifying against the Sin of |
 Drunkenness: | Wherein the Wofulness of that Evil, and the Misery of
 all | that are addicted to it, is discovered from the | Word of God. | — |
 Preached by Increase Mather, Teacher of | a Church in Boston in New-
 England. | — | [Four lines from Isaiah v. 11, 22; two lines from Prov.
 xxiii. 29, 30; two lines from Hab. ii. 15; two lines from 1 Cor. vi. 10.]
 | — || Cambridge: | Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1673. | And
 Sold by Edmund Ranger Bookbinder in Boston. 12mo. pp. (4), 34.

Titlepage surrounded by a wide border line, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the
 Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, Octob. 30. |
 1673," catchword "Wo" between two lines of fine border pieces; 1-34,
 "Wo to Drunkards," pp. 35-38 wanting.

This is the first title in a volume which has on a fly-leaf at
 the beginning, "Hannah Arnold Har book nouembear 20 in
 the year 1707."

Several Laws and Orders made at the | Second Sessions of the | General Court, | held at Boston in New England the | Seventh of October 1674 | And printed by their Order | Edward Rawson Secr. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 17-18.

First page blank; 17, 18, text; various headlines; last page blank; follows the last title.

The Vnconquerable, | all-conquering, | & | more-then-conquering | Souldier: | Or, | the successful Warre which a Be- | liever Wageth with the Enemies of his Soul: | As also the Absolute and Unparalleld Victory that he ob- | tains finally over them through the love of God in Jesus Christ. | As it was Discoursed in a | Sermon | preached at Boston in New-England, on the Day of the | Artillery-Election there, | June 3d. 1672. | — | By Vrian Oakes Pastor of the Church of Christ in Cambridge. | — | [Two lines from 1 Cor. ix. 26; two lines from Ephes. vi. 13; two lines from Rev. xiii. 7; two lines from Rev. xii. 11; two lines from Psalms cviii. 13.] | — || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green. 1674. 12mo. pp. (6), 40. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of small border pieces, fine at the top and bottom and acorn-shaped at the sides, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "Thomas Shepard," headpiece of two lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted, running headlines; 1-40, text.

There is written on the titlepage of one copy, "Jo. Bailly's Book March 21. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. N. E. 6^d."

1675.

A | Discourse | Concerning | the Subject of Baptisme | Wherein the present Controversies, that are agitated in | the New English Chvrches are from | Scripture and Reason modestly enquired into | — | By Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church | in Boston in New-England. | — | [Eight lines from Ezek. xliii. 11; two lines from 2 Cor. xiii. 8; one line from Eph. iv. 15.] | — | [Six lines of Latin.] | — || Cambridge | Printed by Samuel Green 1675. 12mo. (4), 76.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "Christian Reader," dated at the end "Boston. N. E. | 1. of 2 M. | 1675," has headpiece of three parts, line of fine border pieces, rule, and line of border pieces inverted, headline "To the Reader" over both pages; 1-76, text, marginal notes, headpiece of four lines, line of acorn-shaped pieces, two lines of fine pieces, and a line of larger pieces inverted; list of "Errata" at the foot of page 76, nine lines; has running headlines; badly trimmed by the binder.

The | First Principles | of | New-England, | Concerning | the Subject of Baptisme | & | Communion of Churches. | Collected partly out of the Printed Books, but chiefly | out of the Original Manuscripts of the First

and chiefe | Fathers in the New-English Churches; With the Judg- |
ment of Sundry Learned Divines of the Congregational | Way in Eng-
land, Concerning the said Questions. | Published for the Benefit of those
who are of the Rising Gene- | ration in New-England. | — | By Increase
Mather, Teacher of the Church | in Boston in New-England | — |
[Two lines from Deut. xxxii. 7; one line from Psalms cii. 18.] | — | [Two
lines of Latin.] | — || Cambridge | Printed by Samuel Green, 1675.
12mo. pp. (8), 40, 7.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of fine border pieces, the top and bot-
tom acorn-shaped, *verso* blank; 6 pp. To the Reader, signed "Increase
Mather," and dated "From my Study in | Boston N. E. 1. of | 3d Moneth.
1671," headpiece, two lines of fine border pieces, lower one inverted, rule
between, headline over all pages "To the Reader"; list of "Errata" at
bottom of last page of preface, six lines; 1-40, "The | First Principles | of |
New England, | Concerning the Subject of Baptism | and | Communion | of
| Chvrches," headpiece of two lines of acorn-shaped border pieces, lower one
inverted, has various headlines, and line of Greek at the end; 1-7, "Post-
script," 1 p. letter from John Allin, of Dedham, 6 pp. letter from Jonathan
Mitchel, dated at the end "Cambridg. December. | 26. 1667"; last page
blank; badly trimmed by the binder.

The Times of men are in the hand | of God. | — | Or | a Sermon | occasioned
by that awfull Providence which hapned in | Boston in New-England,
the 4th day of the 3^d | Moneth 1675. (when part of a Vessel was blown
up in | the Harbour, and nine men hurt, and three mortally | wounded)
wherein is shewed how we should | sanctifie the dreadfull Name of God
| under such awfull | Dispensations. | — | By Increase Mather, |
Teacher of a Church of Christ. | — | [Two lines from Job xxiii. 14;
four lines from Mark xiii. 35, 36, 37; three lines from Luke xiii. 4, 5.]
| — || Boston, | Printed by John Foster 1675. 12mo. pp. (6), 21.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the
Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston 9th. | of 4th.
Moneth | 1675." 1-21, text, headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a
line of similar inverted pieces; running headlines; "Tibi Domine" at the end
between two rules; last page blank; leaf missing at beginning and end.

On the titlepage is written, "Jo. Baily's Booke. Boston N. E.
March. 10th 8^h."

1676.

A | Brief History | of the | VVarr | with the Indians in | Nevv-England, |
(From June 24, 1675. when the first English-man was mur- | dered by
the Indians, to August 12. 1676. when Philip, alias | Metacomet, the
principal Author and Beginner | of the Warr, was slain.) | Wherein the
Grounds, Beginning, and Progress of the Warr, | is summarily expressed.
| Together with a serious | Exhortation | to the Inhabitants of that

Land, | — | By Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church of | Christ, in Boston in New-England. | — | [Two lines from Levit. xxvi. 25; two lines from Psalms cvii. 43; one line from Jer. xxii. 15.] | — | [Three lines of Latin.] | — || Boston, Printed and Sold by John Foster over | against the Sign of the Dove. 1676. 12mo. pp. (6), 51, 8. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," headpiece of three lines, one line of fine border pieces, a rule, and line of similar pieces; 1-51, "A Brief | History | of the | VVarre | vvith the Indians in | Nevv-England," line of Greek at the end between two rules, large ornamental headpiece; 1 p. blank; 1-8, "Postscript," same headpiece as at the beginning of the Preface; list of "Errata," five lines, at the foot of page 8; running headlines; followed by "An Earnest Exhortation."

An Earnest | Exhortation | to the Inhabitants of | New-England, | to hearken to the voice of God | in his late and present | Dispensations | as ever they desire to escape another Judgement, seven times | greater than any thing which as yet hath been. | — | By Increase Mather; Teacher of a Church | in Boston in New-England. | — | [Three lines from Lev. xxvi. 23, 24; two lines from Jer. xiii. 17; three lines from 1 Cor. x. 11.] | — || Boston | Printed by John Foster: And are to be Sold over against | the Dove. 1676. 12mo. pp. (4), 26. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston N. E. | 26. of 5 m. | 1676"; 1-26, "An | Exhortation | to the inhabitants of | Nevv-England," headpiece in three lines, line of fine border pieces, a rule, and another line of fine pieces, has running headlines; list of "Errata," two lines, at the foot of page 26; last leaf missing.

In regard to the London Edition (1677) of this work, Prince says: "This is s^d at ye Bottom of ye Title Page, to b[e] Printed according to ye Original Copy Prin^d in N E. 1676. & in ye Title Page, as well as Preface, y^e is mention m^d of *A serious Exortation* added, w^e seems to be left out of this London-Edition."

The Happiness of a People | in the Wisdome of their Rulers | Directing | and in the Obedience of their Brethren | Attending | unto what Israel ougho [*sic*] to do: | recommended in a | Sermon | before the Honourable Governour and Council, and | the Respected Deputies of the Massachusetts Colony | in New-England. | Preached at Boston, May 3d. 1676. being the day of | Election there. | — | By William Hybbard Minister of Ipswich. | — | [Two lines from Exod. xviii. 21; one line from Rom. xiii. 1; two lines from Psalms xlv. 15.] | — | [Four lines of Latin.] | — || Boston, Printed by John Foster. 1676. 12mo. pp. (8), 63. [Three copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 5 pp. "To the Honourable | John Leveret Esq: | Governour of the Mattachusetts Colony, | together with the rest of the Honourable Council of Magistrates | of the said Colony," signed "W. H.," headline "The Epistle Dedicatory"; 1 p. ten lines of errata, between two lines of fine border pieces; 1-63, text, has large ornamental border piece; last page blank.

On the upper margin of the titlepage of one copy, probably in the author's hand, is written, "For M^r Simon Bradstreet of New-London."

[Thanksgiving Proclamation, 1676, probably printed by Samuel Green, Cambridge.] Broadside. Folio.

Cut of the Colonial Arms; "At a | Covncil, | Held at Charlestown, June the 20th, 1676"; the Proclamation, appointing June 29, speaks of the "long and Continued Series of his Afflictive dispensations in & by the present Warr with the Heathen Natives of this Land"; of God's "reserving many of our Towns from Desolation Threatned, and attempted by the Enemy, and giving us especially of late with our Confederates many signal Advantages against them"; signed "By the Council, Edward Rawson Secr."

A copy of the proclamation in fac-simile, reduced in size, appears in "A Choral Service for Thanksgiving" (Boston, 1891), published by the Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, but differs in details from the original, as the photograph from which it was made had been retouched. Another copy, in exact fac-simile, is given in the Rev. William DeLoss Love's "Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England," just published, where the author says that it is "the earliest thanksgiving broadside known" (p. 200).

1677.

A | Brief Rule | to guide the Common-People of | New-England | How to order themselves and theirs in the | Small Pocks, or Measels. [Imprint at bottom of the page] Boston, Printed and sold by John Foster. 1677. Broadside. Folio.

Arranged in two columns, signed "Thomas Thacher," and dated "21. 11. 1677."; surrounded by a border line.

This broadside is the "earliest treatise on a medical subject published in this country," and is supposed to be unique.

An Elegie | upon | the Death of the Reverend | Mr. Thomas Shepard, | late
Teacher of the Church at | Charlestown in New-England: | — | By a
great Admirer of his Worth, and true Mourner for | his Death. | — |
[Three lines from Isaiah lvii. 1; four lines from Zech. i. 5, 6; three lines
from Heb. xiii. 7.] | — || Cambridge, | Printed by Samuel Green. 1677.
12mo. pp. 16.

Titlepage, surrounded by a wide border line, *verso*, "To the Reader," five stanzas; 3-16, "An Elegie | upon that Reverend, Learned, Eminently Pious, and Singularly | Accomplished Divine, my ever Honoured Brother | Mr. Thomas Shepard, | the late Faithful and Worthy Teacher of the Church of Christ | at Charlestown in New-England. | Who finished his Course on Earth, and went to receive | his Crown, December 22. 1677. | In the 43d Year of his Age," in verse, signed on page 16, "Vrian Oakes."

On the lower part of the titlepage is written "Nat Barnes."

Innocency's Complaint | against | Tyrannical Court Faction in New eng-
land. Broadside. Folio.

Two columns of poetry, signed at the end of the second column, "George Joy, Mariner. 1677."

There is no clew as to the place of imprint of this broadside, but without much doubt it was either Boston or Cambridge.

A | Narrative | of the Troubles with the | Indians | in New-England, from
the first planting thereof in the | year 1607. to this present year 1677.
But chiefly of the late | Troubles in the two last years 1675, and 1676. |
To which is added a Discourse about the Warre with the | Pequods | in
the year 1637. | — | By W. Hubbard, Minister of Ipswich. | — | [Three
lines from Exod. xvii. 14; two lines from Numb. xxi. 14; one line from
Prov. xxv. 25.] | — | [Six lines of Latin.] | — | Published by Authority.
| — || Boston; Printed by Iohn Foster, in the year 1677. 12mo.
pp. (13), 132, (7), (6)-12, 88.

First page blank, *verso*, statement signed "Simon Bradstreet. | Daniel Denison. | Joseph Dudley," and dated at "Boston, March 29. | 1677"; title-page, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the Honourable | John Leveret Esq; | Governour of the Colony of the Massachusets; | Josiah VVinslow Esq; | Governour of the Colony of Plimouth; | VVilliam Leet Esq; | Governour of the Colony of Connecticut." signed "VVilliam Hubbard," and dated "From my Study | 16th. 12th. | 1676"; 2 pp. "An Advertisement to the Reader"; 1 p. "To the Reverend Mr. William Hubbard on his most exact | History of New-Englands Troubles," signed "J. S." [John Sherman]; 2 pp. "Upon | the elaborate Survey of New-Englands Passions from the | Natives | By the impartial Pen of that Worthy Divine | Mr. William Hubbard," signed "B. T." [Benjamin Tompson]; 1 p. "The Printer to the Reader," and list of errata, twenty-three lines; 1-132, "A | Narrative | of the | Troubles | VVith

the Indians in | Nevv-England, from the first Planting thereof to the present time"; "Wine Hills" map wanting; 7 pp. "A Table shewing the Towns and places which are inhabited by | the English in New England:" . . . ; (6)-11, "A Postscript"; 11-12, ". . . Articles | which Philip Sachem of Paukamaket, or Mount-hope, subscribed in the | year, 1671"; 1-88, "A | Narrative | of the | Troubles | with the Indians in | New-England, | from Piscataqua to Pemmaquid," list of "Errata" at the end of page 88, thirteen lines; running headlines in all parts excepting the verses at the beginning, the Postscript, and the part following; closely trimmed by the binder.

Mr. Sibley, in his *Harvard Graduates* (I. 61), says that the initials "J. S." stand probably for Jeremiah Shepard, a graduate in the Class of 1669; and some years ago (November, 1888), in some remarks before this Society on John Foster's Map of New England (*Proc.* 2d series, IV. 199), I followed Mr. Sibley's supposition. Recently I have seen a copy of this edition of the Narrative belonging to Mr. Sumner Hollingsworth, of Boston, which contains many interesting notes in the handwriting of the Rev. Edward Taylor, and a letter from him, dated at "West-field 15th 8^m 1679." In one of these notes it is said that the initials "J. S." stand for "John Sherman doubtless." As both Hubbard and Taylor were graduates of the College, and both were ministers, they undoubtedly knew each other well; and for that reason I incline to the opinion that Sherman was the writer of the verses. The letter mentioned above is addressed to "Reverend & Hon^{rs} Mr. S^r Nicholas, together with my Hon^{rs} & Rev^{ds} Master Mr. Loseby"; and there is some reason to think that these two persons were the Regicides then at Hadley. Mr. Hollingsworth has in his library two copies of the London edition of the Narrative, which vary in some slight details.

For an account of the "Wine Hills" map which appeared in the Boston edition, see *Proceedings* (2d series, IV. 199), and for one of the "White Hills" map (VI. 41). It is probable that the map in the London edition was placed at the beginning of the book.

A Relation | of the Troubles which have hapned in | New-England, | by reason of the Indians there. | From the Year 1614. to the Year 1675. | — | Wherein the frequent Conspiracies of the Indians to cutt off the | English, and the wonderfull providence of God, in disappointing | their devices, is declared. | Together with an Historical Discourse concerning | the Prevalency of Prayer; shewing that New Englands | late deliverance from the Rage of the Heathen is an eminent | Answer of Prayer. | — |

By Increase Mather | Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England.
| — | [Two lines from Job viii. 8; two lines from Psalms xli. 2; two
lines from Joel i. 3.] | — | [Three lines of Latin.] | — | — || Boston,
| Printed and sold by John Foster. 1677. 12mo. pp. (6), 76.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston N. E. | Sept. 14. 1677," headpieces a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted; list of "Errata" at end of Preface, three lines between two rules; 1-76, "A | Relation | of the first troubles in | New-England | by reason of the Indians there," has large ornamental headpiece; followed by "An Historical Discourse," with new signature letters.

An | Historical Discourse | concerning the | Prevalency | of | Prayer | wherein is shewed that New-Englands late Deliverance from the | Rage of the Heathen, is an eminent Answer of Prayer. | — | By Increase Mather | Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England | — | [One line from Psalms cii. 18; five lines from James v. 17, 18.] | — | [Two lines of Latin.] | — | — || Boston, | Printed and sold by John Foster. 1677. 12mo. pp. (4), 18.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, N-E. | August, 16, 1677," has large ornamental headpiece; 1-18, "An | Historical Discovrse | concerning the Prevalency of | Prayer," headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted; last leaf wanting; pamphlet forms a part of "A Relation of the Troubles."

A Seasonable | VVatch-VVord | unto Christians | against the | Dreams & Dreamers | of this Generation : | Delivered in a Sermon November 16th. | 1665 : | And being the last Lecture, which was Preached | by that Reverend, Faithful and | Eminent Man of God | Mr. John Wilson. | Sometime Pastor of the Church of Christ in Boston | in New England | — | [Three lines from Acts xx. 26, 27.] | — | — || Cambridge : | Printed by S. Green & S. Green. 1677. 12mo. pp. (4), 10.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of small border pieces, the top and bottom of the acorn pattern, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "Thomas Thacher," and dated [*torn*] "23. 5. 1677"; 1-10, text, headpiece a line of acorn-shaped border pieces and a line of similar pieces inverted.

Several | Lavvs & Orders | made at the first Sessions of the | General Court | for Elections | held at Boston in New-England | May 23d. 1677. | Printed and Published by their Order, | Edward Rawson Secr't. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 51-55.

Pages 49, 50, including the heading, wanting; 51-55, text, various headlines; last page blank.

Several | Laws and Orders | made at the second Sessions of the | General Court | held at Boston October. 10th. 1677. | And published by Order thereof, | Edward Rawson Secr'. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 57-59.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 57; 57-59, text, various headlines; last page blank.

Sundry Laws | made by the General Court Wherein the Du- | ty of Tything Men is expressed, viz. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 3.

A cut of the Colonial arms at the top of page 1; 1-3, text, various headlines; last page blank.

These three supplements to the General Laws of 1672 appear in the fac-simile reprint (Boston, 1887), pages 251-259, 339-341.

1678.

Abraham in Arms; | — | Or | the first Religious | General | with his | Army | engaging in | a VVar | for which he had wisely prepared, and by | which, not only an eminent | Victory | was obtained, but | a Blessing | gained also. | Delivered in an Artillery-Election-Sermon, June, 3. 1678. | — | By S. N. [Samuel Nowell] | — || Boston; | Printed by John Foster, 1678. 12mo. pp. (3), 19. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, fine at the sides, and larger at the top and bottom, *verso* blank; 1 p. "To the Reader," signed "Samuel Nowell," headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted; 1 p. blank; 1-19, text, with large ornamental headpiece; last page blank.

Near the foot of the titlepage of one copy is written, "Nathanael Barnes Ex dono Pen Townsend."

A Fast of God's chusing, | plainly opened, | for the help of those poor in spirit, whose | hearts are set to seek the Lord their God | in New-England, in the solemn | Ordinance of | a Fast | Wherein is shewed 1. The nature of such a Fast. 2. The | Testimony God will give thereunto of his gracious acceptation | 3. The special Seasons wherein God will bear witness to such | a Fast. 4. Some helps to Faith that it shall be so. | 5. Why such a Fast is so acceptable and successfull. | 6. How much this concerns Gods people in New-England. | Preached on a Fast called by publick Au- | thority, On 26. 1. 74. | — | By Thomas Thacher, Pastor of a Church in Boston. | — | — || Boston, | Printed by John Foster, 1678. 12mo. pp. (6), 24.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, with an extra line at the top, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated

at "Boston 2. mon. | 1678," headpiece a line of border pieces and a similar line inverted, running headlines; 1-24, text, headpiece of a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar border pieces inverted, has running headlines; page 25 wanting.

On the lower part of the titlepage is written, "Jo. Bailly's Booke N. E. March. 10. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$."

The Harmony of the Gospels, | in the Holy | History | of the | Humiliation and Sufferings | of | Jesus Christ, | from his | Incarnation | to his | Death and Burial. | — | Published by John Eliot, Teacher | of the Church in Roxbury. | — | [Two lines from Acts iii. 18.] | — | — | Boston; | Printed by John Foster, in the Year 1678. 12mo. pp. (4), 131.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, fine at the sides and larger at the top and bottom, *verso*, statement concerning the work, ending "and therefore do affix our Imprimatur

THOMAS THACHER.

JAMES ALLEN.

VRIAN OAKES.

INCREASE MATHER."

2 pp. "The Contents," five lines of "Errata" at the end between two rules; 1-131, "The Harmony of the | Gospels | in the holy History of the Humiliation | and Sufferings of | Jesus Christ, | from his Incarnation to his Death and Burial," large ornamental headpiece, several headlines; last page blank.

There is written upon the titlepage, "Jo. Bailly's Booke. Bestowed vpon me by the Revered Author Feb. 5th 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. N. E."; and also the autograph signature "Oxenbridge Thacher."

Illustrissimis Viris | tam Pietate, quam Prudentiâ atque Auctoritate spectatissimis; |

Ornatissimis	{	D. Johanni Leveretto.	{	Foederatum	{	Massachuset	{	Gubernatoribus
		D. Josiae Winslowaeo.		Nov-Angliae		Plimouth		Honoratissimis
		D. Gvilielmo Leitto.		Coloniarum		Connecticut :		

| Coeterisque in Magistratus Onere et Honore Conjugatis, ad Reipublicae clavum jugiter excubantibus, incolunitatis publicae apprimé | studiosis; Nec non Reverendissimis cum Academiae, tum Ecclesiarum Curatoribus, Theologis Doctissimis et Gravissimis; | Omnibus denuô et singulis bonarum Literarum candidatis, benevolis Academiae *Evergétas* | Theses hasce, quas (εαυτερ ἐπιτροπή ὁ Θεός) Sub Rev: Uriano Oakes, Ecclesiae Cantabrigiensis Pastore, Collegii | Harvardini Praeside pro tempore, Κατασκευαστικῶς και Ανασκευαστικῶς discutiendas, proponunt juvenes Φιλαλήθεις και Φιλομαθεis.

Johannes Cottonus.

[Ornamental border
to an initial letter.]

Cottonus Matherus.

Grindallus Rawsonus.

Urianus Oakes.

D.D.DQ.

[Ornamental border
to an initial letter.]

[Imprint at foot of page] Cantabrigiae Nov-Anglorum Idibus Sextilibus: MDCLXXVIII. Broadside [printed by Samuel Green, Cambridge]. Folio.

Printed in two columns; the first "Theses Technologicae:" in sixteen subjects, and "Logicae" in twenty-six; the second column "Grammaticae" in eight subjects, "Rhetoricae" in nine, "Mathematicae" in twelve, and "Physicae" in fifteen; surrounded by a line of border pieces, the bottom of acorn-shaped pieces, the sides of larger pieces, and the top of various moon-shaped pieces.

[Order of the General Court, 1678.] Broadside. 4to.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page; "At the second Sessions of the | General Court | held at | Boston in New-England"; an order requiring the Oath of Allegiance to be taken by all of "sixteen years of Age and upwards," and calling upon all magistrates and justices to carry the same into effect.

[A Proclamation for Fast, June 6, 1678.] Broadside. Folio.

A cut of the Colonial arms at top of the page; "At a | General Court | held at Boston May 8. 1678"; speaks of "how the Lord hath been pleased of late Years, by many wayes and means, to humble and bring low his poor people in this Wilderness . . . the contagious spreading Disease of the Small Pox, and other Distempers," and alludes to the "rebuking the Malice of the Blood-thirsty Heathen about us . . . the settlement, and future Flourishing of the Colledge," and other matters; signed "Edward Rawson Secr."

Several | Poems | Compiled with great variety of Wit and | Learning, full of Delight; | Wherein especially is contained a compleat | Discourse, and

Description of the Four	{	Elements,	Together with an
		Constitutions,	
		Ages of Man,	
		Seasons of the Year,	

exact Epitome of the three first Monarchyes Viz. The	{	Assyrian,
		Persian,
		Grecian.

| And beginning of the Romane Common-wealth | to the end of their last King: | With diverse other pleasant & serious Poems, | — | By a Gentlewoman [Mrs. Anne Bradstreet] in New-England. | — | The second Edition, Corrected by the Author | and enlarged by an Addition of several other | Poems found amongst her Papers | after her Death. | — || Boston, Printed by John Foster, 1678. 16mo. pp. (14), 255.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of fine border pieces, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "Kind Reader"; 1 p., eighteen lines of poetry, signed "N. Ward"; 3 pp. "To my dear Sister, the Author of | these Poems," signed "I. W."; 1 p. "Vpon the Author; by | a known Friend," signed "B. W.," and four lines, signed "C. B."; 1 p. "In Praise of the Author, Mistris Anne Bradstreet, |

Virtues true and lively Pattern, Wife of the | Worshipfull Simon Bradstreet Esq; | at present residing in the Occidental parts of the | World in America, Alias | Nov-Anglia," signed "N. H.," fifteen lines; 1 p. "Upon the Author," signed "C. B.," "Another to Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, | Author of this Poem," signed "H. S.," "An Anagram," three lines, "Another," one line; 3 pp. "Vpon | Mrs. Anne Bradstreet | her Poems, &c.," signed "J. Rogers"; 1, 2, "To her most Honoured Fa- | ther Thomas Dudley Esq; | these humbly presented," signed "Anne Bradstreet," and dated "March 20. 1642"; 3, 4, "The Prologue"; 5-68, the four elements, four humours, four ages, and four seasons; 69-191, "The four Monarchyes"; 192-202, "A Dialogue between Old En- | gland and New; concerning their | present Troubles, Anno, 1642"; 203-216, Elegies and Epitaphs, on Sir Philip Sidney, Du Bartas, and Queen Elizabeth; 217-219, "To the Memory of my dear and ever honoured Father | Thomas Dudley Esq; | Who deceased, July 31. 1653. and of his Age, 77"; 220, "An Epitaph | on my dear and ever honoured Mother | Mrs. Dorothy Dudley, | who deceased Decemb. 27. 1643. and of her age, 61"; 221-248, "Contemplations," etc.; 249-251, "In Memory of my dear grand-child | Anne Bradstreet. | Who deceased June 20. 1669. being three years and | seven Moneths old," grandchild Simon Bradstreet, and daughter-in-law, Mrs. Mercy Bradstreet; 252-255, "A Funeral Elogy, | Vpon that Pattern and Patron of Virtue, the | truly pious, peerless & matchless Gentlewoman | Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, | right Panarates, | Mirror of Her Age, Glory of her Sex, whose | Heaven-born-Soul leaving its earthly Shrine, | chose its native home, and was taken to its | Rest, upon 16th. Sept. 1672," signed "John Norton."

1679.

An | Almanack | or | Register of | Coelestial Configurations &c: | For the Year of our Lord God | 1679. | And of the World | 5628: | Being (in our account) Leap year, And | from the beginning of the Reign of our | Sovereign Lord Charles II. by the | Grace of God, King of great Brittain, France | and Ireland, &c: the 31st. year. | — | The Vulgar notes of which are | Cycle of ☉ : & Cycle of ☿, or Golden Number 8 | The Epact, 28 | Number of Direction, 30 | Dominical Letters, E D C. | — | Calculated for the Longit. of 315 degr. and 42 degr. | 30 min. North Lat. in New England. | By J. D. [John Danforth] Philomath. | — | [Three lines from Psalms cxlviii. 1, 3.] || Cambridge printed by Samuel Green 1679. 16mo. pp. (14).

Titlepage surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* "1679," about the eclipses; 12 pp. March to February, has eight lines of poetry at the foot of eleven pages, ten lines at the foot of the last page; last leaf, containing "A Brief Memorial of some few Remarkable Occurrences in the 6 precedings yeares," wanting.

This contains on the interleaves various manuscript notes by Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, partly in short-hand, with some explanation of the same by Thomas Prince.

A Discourse | Concerning the Danger of | Apostasy, | especially as to those
that are the Children | and Posterity of such as have been | eminent
for God in their | Generation. | Delivered in a Sermon, preached in the
Audi- | ence of the general Assembly of the Massachu- | sets Colony,
at Boston in New-England, | May 23. 1677, being the day of Election
| there | — | By Increase Mather, | Teacher of a Church in Boston in
New-England. | — | [Two lines from Jer. xxiii. 28; four lines from 1
Tim. v. 21; two lines from Titus ii. 15.] | — || Boston, Printed in the
Year, 1679. 16mo. pp. (1), 35-48.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 35, 36,
"To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, 22. day
of the 2. | Moneth. 1678." 37-48, text, headpiece of a line of border pieces.
a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted, running headlines; remaining
pages wanting.

On the titlepage, just below the imprint, is the line "By
John Foster" in the handwriting of Thomas Prince. This title
and the following one comprise parts ii. and iii. of "A Call from
Heaven" (Boston, 1679), by Mather; but these two have been
separated.

Pray for the Rising | Generation. | — | Or a | Sermon | Wherein Godly
Parents are encouraged | to Pray and Believe for their | Children. |
Preached the third day of the fifth Moneth, 1678, | which day was set
apart by the second Church | in Boston in New-England, humbly to
seek unto | God by Fasting and Prayer, for the Spirit of Con- | verting
Grace to be poured out upon the Chil- | dren, and Rising Generation in
New-England. | — | The second impression. | — | By Increase Mather,
Teacher | of that Church. | — | [Two lines from Deut. xxx. 6; two
lines from 2 Sam. vii. 27; two lines from Isaiah xxxii. 15.] | — | [Two
lines of Latin.] | — || Boston, Printed by John Foster, 1679. 16mo.
pp. 29.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; (3, 4), "To
the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, August 22.
| 1678," headpiece two lines of fine border pieces, lower one inverted; 5-29,
"Pray for the Rising | Generation," headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule,
and a line of border pieces inverted, running headlines; "Tibi Domine" at
end of page 29, below which are six lines of an erratum; last page blank.

The | Necessity | of | the pouring out of the Spirit | from on High | upon a
| Sinning Apostatizing People, set under | Judgment, in order to their
merciful | Deliverance and Salvation. | As it was Delivered in part, upon
21. 9. 1678. being a general | Fast throughout the united Colonies of
N. E. | — | By William Adams, | Pastor of the Church of Christ in
Dedham. | — | [Four lines from Luke xix. 41, 42; three lines from

Luke xiii. 35; three lines from Psalms xiv. 7.] | — | — || Boston;
| Printed by John Foster, for William Avery, near the sign of the |
blew Anchor. 1679. 12mo. pp. (8), 48.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 5 pp. "To the Reader," signed by "Samuel Torrey" and "Josiah Flint," headpiece line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar inverted pieces, running headlines; 1 p. fourteen lines of errata between two lines of border pieces; 1-48, text, similar headpiece to preface.

On the titlepage is written "Jo. Baily's Booke Dec. 22. 84. N. E."

New-Englands | choicest Blessing | and the Mercy most to be desired by |
all that wish well to this People. | Cleared in a | Sermon | preached
before the | Court of Election | at Boston on May 28. | 1679. | — | By
James Allen, | Teacher to the first gathered Church therein. | — |
[Centre piece, four lines of fine border pieces the whole tapering down-
ward.] | — || Boston, | Printed by John Foster, 1679. 12mo. pp. (4),
14. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "James Allen," headpiece line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of finer pieces inverted; 1-14, text, headpiece like that of preface, only lower pieces as large as the upper; "Soli Deo Gloria" at the end of page 14, below which are two lines of "Errata."

On the back of the titlepage of one copy is the entry "Benjamin Dyer his Book 1700/1."

Serious Advice to delivered Ones from | Sickness, or any other Dangers
threat- | ning Death, how they ought to carry it, that | their Mercyes
may be continued, and | after Misery prevented. | Or the healed ones |
Prophylacticon | or Healthfull Diet. | Delivered in several | Sermons |
on John 5. 14. | — | By James Allin, | Teacher to the most antient
Church of Christ in Boston. | — | [Centre piece, four lines of fine border
pieces the whole tapering downward.] | — || Boston, | Printed by John
Foster, in the Year | 1679. 12mo. pp. (3), 30. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 1 p. "To the Reader," signed "James Allin," and dated at "Boston, May 16. | 1679," headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of finer pieces inverted; 1 p. blank; 1-30, text, headpiece, like that of preface, only lower pieces same size as the upper; one line of errata at the foot of page 30; last page blank.

On the titlepage of one copy appears "Jo. Baily's Booke, 6^d 84." The imprint of the copy in the John A. Lewis collection at the Boston Public Library is "Boston, | Printed by John Foster, and sold by Edmund Ranger. | 1679."

A | Sermon | preached upon Ezek. 22. 30, 31. | Occasioned by the Death of the | much honoured | John Leveret Esq; | Governour of the Colony of the | Mattachusetts. N-E. | — | By S. W. [Samuel Willard] Teacher of the South Church | in Boston. | — | [Centre piece, four lines of fine border pieces the whole tapering downward.] | — || Boston; Printed by John Foster, in the Year 1679. 12mo. pp. (1), 13.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 1-13, text, headpiece line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted; last page blank.

1680.

MDCLXXX | — | An | Almanack | of | Coelestial Motions for the Year of the | Christian Æpocha, | 1680. | Being in our Account first after Leap year: | and from the Creation, | 5629. | — | The Vulgar Notes. |

Golden Numb.	9.	} {	Epact	9.
Cycle of the Sun.	9.		Rom. Indict.	3.
Dominic. Let.	C.		Num. Direct.	21.

| — | Calculated for the Meridian of Boston in New- | England, where the Artick Pole is elevated | 42 Degrees & 30 Minutes. | — | — || Printed for John Vsher of Boston. 1680. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "To the Reader," about the eclipses, etc.; 12 pp. March to February; 1 p. "The Natures and Operations of the seven Planets, | with the Names and Characters given them by | Astronomers"; 1 p. "Spring Tides," and correction of a mistake.

The | Divine Right | of | Infant-Baptisme | Asserted and Proved from | Scripture | and | Antiquity. | — | By Increase Mather, | Teacher of a Church of Christ in Boston in New-England. | — | [One line from Mic. ii. 9; five lines from Mark x. 13, 14, 16.] | — | [Five lines of Latin.] | — | — || Boston, | Printed by John Foster, in the Year 1680. 12mo. pp. (7), 27. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 5 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "Vrian Oakes," and dated at "Cambridge, Febru. 21. 1678;" large ornamental headpiece, running headlines; 1 p. blank; 1-27, "The | Divine Right | of | Infant-Baptisme | Asserted and Proved," headpiece line of border pieces; list of errata at the foot of page 27, two lines; last page blank.

The Duty of a People that have Renewed | their Covenant with God. | — | Opened and Urged in | a Sermon | preached to the second Church in Boston in | New-England, March 17. 1678; after | that Church had explicitly and most | solemnly renewed the Ingagement | of themselves to God, and | one to another. | — | By Samvel VVillard, Teacher of a Church in | Boston in New-England. | — | [Three lines from Deut. xxix. 1; three lines from 2 Chron. xv. 15.] | — | [Centre piece, two lines of border pieces, eight in the first, and six in the second.] | — || Boston, Printed by John Foster. 1680. 12mo. pp. (1), 13.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 1-13, "The Duty of a People that have Renewed their Covenant," headpiece, two lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted, running headlines; last page blank.

Returning unto God the great concernment | of a Covenant People. | — | Or
| a Sermon | preached to the second Church in Boston in | New-Eng-
land, March 17. 1678: when | that Church did solemnly and explicitly |
Renew their Covenant with | God, and one with another. | — | By In-
crease Mather Teacher of that Church. | — | [Two lines from 2 Sam.
vii. 24; two lines from 2 Chron. xxix. 10; two lines from Ezra x. 12;
four lines from Jer. xviii. 7, 8.] | — | [Centre piece, two lines of border
pieces, eight in the first and six in the second.] | — || Boston, Printed
by John Foster. 1680. 12mo. pp. (6), 19, (2).

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the second Church of Christ in Boston in New-England," signed "Increase Mather," and dated "April 19, 1680," headpiece of line of border pieces and one of similar pieces inverted, running headlines; 1-19, "Returning unto God the great Con- | cernment of a Covenant People," large ornamental headpiece, running headlines; "Tibi Domine" at the foot of page 19; 2 pp. "The Covenant which was unanimously con- | sented unto, is as followeth;" last page blank.

The two sermons mentioned above were preached on the same day, and before the same church; and the two pamphlets are printed in a uniform style.

Reasons for the Inditement of the D. of York, presented to the Grand Jury of Middle- | sex, Saturday, June 26. 80. By the Persons hereunder Named. Broadside. Folio.

The imprint probably cut off; perhaps printed in Boston.

The Sting of Death | and | Death Vnstvng | delivered in two | Sermons | in which is shewed | the Misery of the Death of those that dye in their Sins, & out | of Christ, and the Blessedness of theirs that Dye in the Lord. | Preached on the occasion of the Death of the truly noble and virtuous | The Lady Mildmay. | — | By Leonard Hoar, M. D. | Sometime Preacher of Gods Word in Wanstead. | — | [Three lines from Psalms xlix. 14; two lines from Eccles. viii. 13, 14; four lines from verse 14; two lines from Isa. iii. 10, 11; two lines from verse 11; two lines from Psalms xlviii. 14; four lines from Rev. ii. 10.] | — || Boston, Printed by John Foster. 1680. 12mo. pp. (8), 24.

Titlepage, surrounded by a wide border line, *verso* blank; 6 pp. "To Mrs Bridget Usher my | ever honoured Aunt," signed "Josiah Flint," and dated at "Dorchester, from my Study, | 7th. of 5th. 1680," headpiece a line

of border pieces and a line of similar pieces inverted, running headlines; 1-24, "Death disarmed, | being a | Funeral Sermon | Upon 1 Cor. 15. 55," head-piece similar to that at the beginning of the preface.

In the upper margin, at the beginning of the preface, is written "Samuel Checkley His Booke." In the upper right-hand corner is also written "N. Clap. 26. 12. [] Boug[ht] at M[r.] Brun- n[ing]." The name "N. Clap," referred to by Mr. Upham in his note on page 431 is written in the same hand. Joseph Brunning was a bookseller who came to Boston from Amster- dam in the year 1683, and died in the spring of 1691. His name is often written Browning.

VVvskv | Wuttestamentum | Nul-lordumun | Iesus Christ | Nuppoquoh- wussuaeneumun. | — | — | Cambridge, | Printed for the Right Honour- able | Corporation in London, for the | propagation of the Gospel among the In- | dians in New-England 1680. 12mo. pp. (259).

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line and a line of border pieces, the top and bottom acorn-shaped pieces, and the sides larger; 257 pp. text; last page blank; followed by the Psalms in Indian.

Singularly enough a signature leaf "D d 4," headed "Chap: V, VI," and identical with that of the first edition (1661), is bound up at the right place (in Acts) in the book, which is complete without it. The mistake was made originally when the book- binder gathered the signatures.

Wame | Ketçhomaæ uketçhomaongaah | David. No titlepage. 12mo. pp. (88).

Printed on the same forms as the New Testament in Indian, beginning with page marked "Kk 3"; 88 pp. text; last six leaves wanting.

See Eames's "Bibliographical Notes" (p. 39) for an allusion to the last two titles.

1681.

MDCLXXXI. | — | An | Almanack | of | Coelestial Motions for the Year of the | Christian Epochæ, | 1681. | Being in our Account second after Leap-year: | And from the Creation, | 5630. | — | The Vulgar Notes. |

Golden Numb.	10	{	Epact	20.
Cycle of the Sun.	10		Rom. Indict.	4.
Dominic. Let.	B.		Num. Direct.	13.

| — | Calculated for the Meridian of Boston in New- | England, where the Artick Pole is elevated | 42 Degrees & 30 Minutes. | — | By John Foster, Astrophil. | — | [One line from Eph. v. 16.] | — || Boston; Printed by J. F. 1681. 16mo. pp. (24).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 1 p. "Eclipses in 1681"; 1 p. "Directions for the Use of the following | Ephemeris"; 12 pp. March to February; 3 pp. "Of Comets, | their Motion, Distance & Magnitude"; 3 pp. "Observations of a Comet seen this last | Winter 1680. and how it appeared at Boston | in N-E. whose Long. 315. gr. and | Latitude. 42 gr. 30 min. N."; 1 p. "Spring-tides in the Year 1681," and "Erratvm" of three lines at the foot of the page; 1 p. "The Copernican System," represented by a diagram; and twelve lines of poetry below signed "T. S."

This copy contains notes written on the printed pages by Samuel Sewall. On the interleaves of another edition of the almanac appear short-hand notes by an unknown writer; and the title is slightly varied as follows:—

MDCLXXXI. | — | An | Almanack | [title continues the same as the preceding one]. | — || Boston: Printed by J. F. for Samuel Phillips | in the west end of the Exchange. 1681. 16mo. pp. (24).

Collation same as that of the first edition; but the verses on the last page were probably set up anew, and are signed "T. Street."

Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam. | — | Or brief | Animadversions | Upon the New-England | Anabaptists | late fallacious | Narrative; | Wherein the Notorious Mistakes | and Falshoods by them Published, are Detected. | — | By Samuel Willard Teacher of a Church in | Boston in New-England. | — | [Two lines from Prov. xviii. 17; three lines from Rom. xvi. 17; three lines from verse 18.] | — || Boston in New-England, | Printed by S. Green, upon Assignment of S. Sewall. And are to be Sold | by Sam. Phillips, at the West end of the Exchange: 1681. 12mo. pp. (7), 27. [Four copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 5 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston New-Engl. | Nov. 4. 1681."; 1 p. blank; 1-27, "Brief Animadversions | vpon the New England Anabaptists late Narrative | wherein the great Mistakes by them published are | made Apparent"; last page blank.

On the upper margin of the titlepage of one copy appears "And^r Belcher the Gift of M^r Sam^l Greene Dec^r 168[]."

1682.

Unius labor multorum laborem allevat | — | An | Ephemeris | of | Coelestial Motions, Aspects, | Eclipses, &c. For the Year of the | Christian Æra 1682. | Being from |

The	Creation of the World.	5631.
	Floud of Noah.	3975
	Constitution of the Julian Year	1726
	Suffering of Christ.	1649
	Correction of Calend. by P. Greg.	100
	Laying the foundation of Harv. Col	40
	Leap year (in our account)	03

| The Vulgar Notes are | Cycle of Sun & Moon 11 Epact 1 | Dominical Letter A Number of Direct. 26 | — | Calculated for y^e Meridian of Boston in N-England | where the North Pole is Elevated 42 degr. | 30 min. Longitude 315 Degr. | — | By W. Brattle Philomath. | — | [Four lines from Gen. i. 14.] | — || Cambridge | Printed by Samuel Green 1682. 16mo. pp. (14), 9.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of two varieties of border pieces, *verso* "Eclipses in the Year 1682"; 12 pp. March to February; 1-9, "An | Explanation of the Preceding Ephemeris, | fitted to the Meridian of their Pates | whose Poles are least Elevated, Longitude | little or none"; last page an "Advertisement," as follows: —

Advertisement.

There are suitable Verses Dedicated to the | Memory of the INGEN-
IOVS *Mathema-* | *tician* and *Printer* Mr *John Foster*. Price 2d. a
sin- | gle Paper, both together 3d.

The Psalter also which Children so much wanted, | is in part printed;
and will shortly be finished: both | to be sold by *John Vsher* of *Boston*.

On the blank space underneath is written, "The last half Sheet was Printed wth my Letters [or type], at Boston. S. S." At that time Judge Sewall had the official management of the printing-press in Boston, regularly licensed by the General Court, and no one else was allowed to interfere with him without a "like liberty first granted." As he was not brought up to the trade, Samuel Green, Jr. (a practical printer), had charge of the business. The last four leaves of the Almanac, or half signature, are in different type, which explains Sewall's memorandum. Under a misapprehension of the facts, the Committee of Publication for Sewall's Diary have referred this manuscript entry, — as printed by them in the first volume (p. 50) of the Diary, — to the Almanac which immediately follows in the small volume.

In the lower margin of the titlepage appear the words: "Ex dono Authoris Jan^y 30. 1681"; and the almanac also contains manuscript notes by Judge Sewall.

The Fiery Tryal no strange thing; | delivered in a | Sermon | preached at
| Charlstown, | February 15. 1681. | Being a Day of | Humiliation:
| — | By Samvel Willard Teacher of a Church | in Boston in New
England. | — | [Two lines from Matt. x. 24; two lines of Latin.] | — ||
Boston in New-England | Printed for Samuel Sewall. | 1682. 12mo.
pp. (3), 19, (1). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 1 p. "To the | Reader," signed "Samuel Willard"; 1 p. blank; 1-19, text; 1 p. "Friendly Reader" relating to the Inundation in the Low Countries of Europe.

On the titlepage of one copy near the bottom is written
"Jo. Bailye's Booke. 6^d. 84."

Heaven's | Alarm | to the | World. | Or | a Sermon, wherein is shewed, |
that Fearful | Sights | and Signs in Heaven, are the Presa- | ges of
great Calamities at hand. | Preached at the Lecture of Boston in New-
England; | January, 20. 1680. | — | By Mr. Increase Mather. | — | The
Second Impression. | — | [Two lines from Rev. viii. 10; one line from
Rev. xi. 14.] | — || Boston in New-England, | Printed for Samuel Sew-
all. And are to be sold by | Joseph Browning at the Corner of the
Prison-Lane | Next the Town-House. 1682. 16mo. pp. (8), 38. [Two
copies.]

Titlepage surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 6 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, N-E. | Febr. 16. | 1680. | (1," headline a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted, running headlines; 1-38, "Heaven's | Alarm | to the | World," headpiece, similar to the first, only finer border pieces, running headlines; followed by "The Latter Sign" printed on the same forms, and with continuous signatures.

The Latter | Sign | Discoursed of, | in a | Sermon | Preached at the Lecture
of Boston in | New-England; | August, 31. 1682. | Wherein is shewed,
that the Voice of | God in Signal Providences, especially | when re-
peated and Iterated, ought to be | Hearkened unto. | — | By Increase
Mather. | — | [Three lines from Job xxxvi. 24, 25; three lines from
Psalms xxviii. 5.] 16mo. pp. (1), 32. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank; "The | Voices of God | in signal | Providences |
Ought to be hearkened unto," 1-32, headpiece two lines of fine border
pieces, the lower one inverted, running headlines; signature letters con-
tinuous with "Heaven's Alarm."

A | Publick Tryal | of the | Quakers | in | Barmudas | upon the first Day of May, 1678. | First, The Charge against them was openly read, containing | these Particulars: As | 1. That a Quakers pretended Saviour within him, is not the true Christ, | but the False Christ, the Devil. | 2. That the main end of the Quakers Meetings in these Islands, is to make | the Lords Christ, His Holy Spirit, His Angels, and Apostles, all Lyars | and False Witnesses of God. | 3. That the Prim-Principles of a Quaker, are the same Held and Pro- | fessed by the Beasts, which Paul fought with at Ephesus. | Secondly, The whole Charge being Proved by the Testimony | of the Holy Scriptures: was found by the Sheriffe, and | Justices of Peace, a true and just Charge. | Thirdly, Being found Guilty, they are here Sentenced, and | brought forth unto the deserved Execution of the Presse. | — | By Samson Bond late Preacher of the Gospel in | Barmudas. | — | [One line from Hos. v. 2; one line from Prov. xxi. 24.] | — || Boston in New-England: | Printed by Samuel Green, upon Assignment of Samuel Sewall: | 1682. 12mo. pp. (4), 100. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "The Preface to the Christian Reader," signed "Samson Bond," list of "Errata" at the bottom of the second page, four lines; 1-75, "The First Part of the Charge; is | That a Quakers pretended Saviour within him, is not the true | Christ, but the false Christ, the Devil"; 1 p. blank; 77-100, "Reader"; running headlines.

On the titlepage is the autograph signature "I. Mather." At the end of the Preface, just below the signature, appears in print the following, line for line: —

This insuing Discourse had been Printed sooner, had not Mr. John Foster (the Printer) been disenabled by a tedious sickness, of which he Died.

A Sermon | wherein is shewed that the Church of God | is sometimes a Subject of | Great Persecution; | Preached on a Publick | Fast | at Boston in New-England: | Occasioned by the Tidings of a great Persecution Raised against | the Protestants in France. | — | By Increase Mather, Teacher to a | Church of Christ. | — | [Two lines from Psalms cxxii. 6, 8; two lines from Jer. li. 50.] | — | [Four lines of Latin.] | — || Boston in New-England: | Printed for Samuel Sewall, in the Year, 1682. 12mo. pp. (6), 24.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston; N. Engl. | 1. M. 28. D. 1682," running headlines; 1-24, text, list of "Errata" on page 24, three lines, running headlines; below is an "Advertisement," five lines, concerning the author's "Duty of Prayer," between two lines of border pieces.

The Sovereign Efficacy of Divine | Providence; | Over ruling and Omnipotently Disposing and Ordering all | Humane Counsels and Affairs, Asserted, Demonstrated | and Improved, in a Discovrs^e Evincing, | that (not any Arm of Flesh, but) the right Hand of the | Most High is it, that Swayeth the Vniversal Scepter of | this Lower World's Government. | Oft Wheeling about the Prudentest Management of the | Profoundest Plotts, of the Greatest on Earth; unto | such, Issues and Events, as are Amazingly contrary | to all Humane Probabilities, and cross to the | Confident Expectation of Lookers on. | As Delivered in a | Sermon | Preached in Cambridge, on Sept. 10. 1677. Being the Day of | Artillery Election there. | — | By Mr. Vrian Oakes, the late (and still to be | Lamented) Reverend Pastor of the Church of Christ in | Cambridge: And Learned President of Harvard Colledge. | — | [Two lines from Psalms xxix. 10; two lines from Isaiah xli. 14, 15; two lines from Rom. xi. 36.] | — || Boston in New-England: | Printed for Samuel Sewall. 1682. 16mo. pp. (5), 40. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 3 pp. "To the | Reader," signed "John Sherman," running headlines; 1 p. blank; 1-40, text; on first page of the blank leaf at the end is an "Advertisement" of Samuel Willard's *Covenant Keeping*, "now in the Press."

On the last page of one copy after the word "Finis" appears, in two printed lines, the following: "Anne Shepard; | October, 9. 1682," which I am unable to explain. On the titlepage of the same is written, "Jo Baily's Booke. Dec. 8. 84 N. E." A copy of the same sermon, in the Prince Library, has a similar entry; and in both instances a slip of paper had been pasted over these lines.

1683.

M.DC.LXXXIII. | — | The Boston Ephemeris. | An | Almanack | for | the (Dionysian) Year of the Christian | Æra. M.DC.LXXX III. | And of the Worlds Creation 5632. | Anno Oppidi inchoati 53. | — | Of which the Vulgar Notes are. | Cycle of the Sun 12. | Dominic. Let. G. F. | Golden Numb. 12. | Epact 12. | Num. of Direct. 18. | — | Serving the Meridian of Boston in New-Engl. | Latitude, 42. gr. 30. min. | Longitude 315. gr. | — | [One line from Eph. v. 16; two lines in Latin.] | — || Boston in New England, | Printed by S. G. for S. S. 1683. 16mo. pp. (23). [Three copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* about eclipses and "An Intimation of the Time when Spring-Tides | will probably happen this Year"; 12 pp. March to February; 8 pp. "Reader"; (8, 9) "A Description of the Last Years | Comet"; last page blank.

On the titlepage of one copy is the autograph signature of "Cotton Mather A[uthor] 1683"; on that of the second, which contains notes by Judge Sewall, is written in his hand in the lower margin, "By Mr. Cotton Mather." The third copy contains manuscript notes by Wait Still Winthrop.

An | Explanation | of the Solemn | Advice, | Recommended by the Covncil | in Connecticut Colony, to the Inhabitants in that Jurisdiction, Respe- | cting the Reformation of those | Evils, which have been the Pro- | curing Cause of the late Judgments | upon New-England. | — | By Mr. James Fitch, Pastor of the | Church in Norwich. | — | [Seven lines from 1 Sam. vii. 3; one line from 2 Chron. xix. 4.] | — || Boston in New-England. | Printed by S. Green for I. Vsher of Boston. 1683. 16mo. pp. (6), 72.

Titlepage wanting; 6 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston July. 1683," running headlines; 1-65, "In Order to some Explica- | tion of the Solemn Advice, which our | Honoured Magistrates did in the Time | of our Calamity, send abroad unto the | several Churches and Congregations in | this Colony, we have occasion to reflect | upon both"; 1 p. blank; 67-72, "The | Covenant | which was Solemnly Renewed by the Church | in Norwich in Connecticut Colony in | New-England, March 22. 1675," running headlines; followed by "A Brief Discourse," with continuous paging and signature letters.

This title is taken from a copy in the Boston Athenæum.

A Brief | Discourse | Proving that the First Day | of the Week is the Christian Sabbath: | Wherein also the Objections of the Anti- | Christian Sabbatarians of late risen up | in Connecticut Colony are refuted. | — | By Mr. James Fitch Pastor of the Church | in Norwich in New England. | — | [Three lines from Gal. iv. 10, 11; two lines from v. 12; five lines from Col. ii. 16, 17.] | —|| Printed in the Year 1683. 16mo. pp. (1), 75-130.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 75-130, text, headpiece a line of nine urn-shaped border pieces; pp. 131-133, signed at the end "James Fitch, Senior" and dated "Decemb. 12. 1682," wanting; follows "An Explanation."

The | High Esteem | which God hath of the Death of his Saints. | As it was Delivered in a | Sermon | Preached October 7. 1683. Occasioned by the | Death of the Worshipful | John Hull Esq: | Who Deceased October 1. 1683. | — | By Samuel Willard Teacher to a Church | in Boston. | — | [Two lines from Numb. xxiii. 10; two lines of Latin.] | — || Boston in New-England Printed by Samuel Green | for Samuel Sewall: 1683. 12mo. pp. (1), 20. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a wide border line, *verso* blank; 1-18, text, wide rule for headpiece; 19, 20, "In Obitum luctuosissimum Viri vere | generosi, pii, plurimisq; aliis Nomi- | nibus honorandi | — | Johannis Hvll armigeri, | cum Dignitate pari degentis, in Summo Dynastarum | Nov-Anglo- rvm ordine, dum vixit, Pius," signed "Elijah Corlet," headpiece a wide rule.

KOMHTOΓPAΦIA. | — | Or a | Discourse Concerning | Comets; | wherein the Nature of Blazing Stars | is Enquired into: | With an Historical Account of all the Comets | which have appeared from the Beginning of the | World unto this present Year, M.DC.LXXXIII. | Expressing | the Place in the Heavens, where they were seen, | their Motion, Forms, Duration; and the Re- | markable Events which have followed | in the World, so far as they have been | by Learned Men Observed. | As also two Sermons | Occasioned by the late Blazing Stars. | — | By Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church | at Boston in New-England. | — | [Two lines from Psalms cxi. 2; one line from Amos ix. 6.] | — || Boston in New-England. | Printed by S. G. for S. S. And sold by J. Browning | at the corner of the Prison Lane next the Town- | House 1683. 16mo. pp. (12), 143. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "John Sherman," and dated "Decemb. 20. 1682," headpiece of eleven urn-shaped border pieces; 3 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston N. E. Dec. 31. | 1682"; 1 p. blank; 2 pp. "The Contents"; 1-143, "A | Discourse Concerning | Comets"; list of "Errata" at the end of page 143, eight lines; last page blank; running headlines.

The "two Sermons Occasioned by the late Blazing Stars," mentioned on the titlepage, are "Heaven's Alarm to the World," and "The Latter Sign," given under the year 1682. See Sibley's *Harvard Graduates* (I. 445).

A Plea | for the Life of | Dying Religion | from the Word of the Lord: | in a | Sermon | preached to the General Assembly of the | Colony of the Massachusetts at Boston in | New-England, May 16. 1683. | Being the Day of Election there. | — | By Mr. Samuel Torrey Pastor of the Church of Christ | at Waymouth. | [Three lines from Rev. iii. 1; five lines from Deut. xxx. 19; three lines from Hosea vi. 1.] | — || Boston in New-England | Printed by Samuel Green for Samuel Sewall. 1683. 12mo. pp. (8), 46. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 6 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston in N. Eng- land. | August 31. 1683," running headlines; 1-46, "A Plea for | the | Life | of | Dying Religion"; on the *verso* of the leaf following is an "Adver- tisement" of Increase Mather's "Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences."

[Proclamation relating to Claims and Titles in the Narragansett Country.]
Broadside. Folio. [Two copies.]

Heading, "By His Majesties | Commissioners, | for Examining and Enquiring into the Claims and Titles to the | Kings Province | or | Narragansett Country"; proclamation that "by a Commission from His Majesty, bearing Date the 7th. of April 1683 . . . Commissioners to Examine & Enquire into the Respective Claims and Titles" in the "Kings Province or Narragansett Country" had been appointed; meeting set for Wednesday, August 22, "at Mr. Richard Smith his House in the Narragansett Country" to hear and receive such Claims covering land "whether upon the Main, between the Rivers of Providence and Pauguatuck, the Island of Canonnicut, Prudence, Patience, or any other Islands" belonging to the country; and order that this summons be printed, and sundry copies attested by William Wharton, and sent to different parties; signed "By Order of His Majesties Commissioners," [autograph signature of "William Wharton Reg"].

1684.

Advertisement. 32mo. 1 p.

Notice of a run-away servant, Matthew Jones, the property of Hannah Bosworth, of Hull; reward of forty shillings offered for his return to "George Ellistone Shop keeper in Boston"; dated "March 6. 1683."

1684. | — | The Boston Ephemeris. | An | Almanack | for | the Year MDC.-LXXXIV. | And of the Worlds Creation 5633. | Oppidi Inchoati, 55. | Being the first after Leap-year. | — | Of which the Vulgar Notes are. | Cycle of the Sun 13. | Dominic. Let. E. | Epact 23. Prime 13. | — | Calculated for the Meridian of Boston in New-Engl. | where the North Pole is elevated 42 gr. 30 m. | Longitude 315 gr. | — | By Benjamin Gillam Philonauticus. | — || Boston in New England, | Printed by Samuel Green for Samuel | Philips, and are to be Sold at his Shop at | the West end of the Town-House. 1684. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "Of the Eclipses Anno. 1684," and "A Table of Expence"; 12 pp. March to February; 1 p. "A Table shewing on what Day of the Moneth | the Courts of Election will be at Boston | for sixteen Years to come," about another Comet, and advertisement of Samuel Willards sermons, "The Childs Portion"; 1 p. "A Plain and Easie Table shewing the True Time | of the Beginning, Continuance, and Years, since the | Reign of each King and Queen in England, from the Con- | quest until the present Year. 1684."

This almanac contains notes in the handwriting of Judge Sewall.

MDCLXXXIII. | — | Cambridge Ephemeris. | An | Almanack | of | Coe-
lestial Motions, Configurations &c. | For the year of the Christian Æra,
| 1684. | Being from |

The	Creation of the World	5633.
	Suffering of our Saviour	1651
	Restoration K. Charles II.	24
	Leap Year (in our account)	1.

| The Vulgar Notes | Cycle of ☉ & ☾ 13 } } Epact 23
| Dominical Letter E. } } Numb. Direct. 09
| Calculated for the Meridian of Cambridg in N. England, | Lat. 42
degr. about 30 min. Long. 315 degr. | — | By N. Russel Astrotyr.
| — | [Two lines from Gen. i. 14; two lines from Psalms cxxxvi. 8, 9;
one line of Latin.] || Cambridge. | Printed by Samuel Green 1684.
16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, top and bottom acorn-
shaped, *verso*, "1684. | Of the Eclipses this Year"; 12 pp. March to
February; 1 p. a rude cut of a man playing upon a harp; 1 p. "1684. |
Concerning Lightening, and Thunder, with some Observa- | tions and Cau-
tions touching the same."

These two Almanacs contain notes in the handwriting of Chief-
Justice Sewall. On the *recto* of the fly-leaf at the beginning,
near the top, is written: "Ex dono Praesidis Reverendi. Qui
obiit Iulij 2^o Sepultus est Iulij 3^o 1684"; and, in another
hand, "For my Hono^rd Friend M^r Samuel Sewall." In Noa-
diah Russell's Diary, printed in "The New England Historical
and Genealogical Register" (VII. 59) for January, 1853, are the
following entries: "12th. 11th [1683] I went to Cambridge to
carry my Almanack to ye Press 26. 11 My Almanack was
printed."

An Arrow | against | Profane and Promiscuous | Dancing. | Drawn out of
the Quiver of the | Scriptures. | — | By the Ministers of Christ at Bos-
ton | in New-England. | — | [Two lines from Judges vi. 31.] | — |
[Two lines of Latin.] | — || Boston: Printed by Samuel Green, and
| are to be Sold by Joseph Brunning. | 1684. 16mo. pp. (1), 30.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-30, "An Arrow against Mixt | Dancing,"
running headlines.

In Prince's catalogue, under the heading "1681-1685," against
the entry of this title, is written, "By Mr Increase Mather, as
appears à his Mss I have."

The Benefit | of a Well-Ordered | Conversation, | As it was Delivered in a
| Sermon | Preached June 24th. 1682. On a Day | of publick Humilia-
tion. | As also A Funeral Discourse upon the | three first verses of the

third Chapter of | Isaiah ; Occasioned by the Death of the | Worshipful
Major General Denison ; | Who Deceased at Ipswich, Sept. 20. 1682.
| — | By Mr. William Hybbard. | — | To which is Annexed an |
Irenicon | or a Salve for New-England's Sore : | Penned by the said
Major General ; And | left behind him as his Farewell and | last Ad-
vice to his Friends of the | Massachvsets. | — || Printed at Boston by
Samuel Green. | 1684. 16mo. pp. (8), 175. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank ; 2 pp. "To the Serious Reader," signed "J.
Allin," and "Josh. Moodye" ; 3 pp. "To his worthy Friend | the Reverend
| Mr. William | Hubbard, | Teacher of the Church of Christ at Ip- | swich,
upon an occasional sight of his | Sermons on Psal. 50. | Vers. 28," signed
"Posuit N. N." [Nicholas Noyes] ; 1 p. "The Reader is desired to Correct
the following Errata, which | escaped the eye, by reason of the badness of
the Copy, and | the distance of the Author from the Press," twenty-one
lines ; 1-111, text ; 1 p. blank ; 111-175, "A Funeral | Meditation | from
those Words | of the Prophet Isaiah, Chap. 3. 1, 2, 3 verses ; | Occasioned
| by the Intermert of | Major Daniel Denison, | on September 22. 1682" ;
1 p. blank ; followed by "Irenicon," by Daniel Denison, printed at the
same time and upon the same forms, with continuous paging.

Irenicon, | or a | Salve | for New-England's Sore. | — | By Major Daniel
Denison. | — || Printed in the Year. 1684. 16mo. pp. (7), 177-218.

Titlepage, *verso* blank ; 5 pp. "To the Reader" ; 1 p. blank ; 177-218,
"Irenicon," headpiece, eight urn-shaped border pieces ; running headlines ;
follows "The Benefit of a Well-Ordered Conversation," by William
Hubbard.

The | Doctrine | of Divine | Providence | opened and applyed : | Also Sundry
Sermons on Several | other Subjects, | — | By Increase Mather. |
Teacher of a Church at Boston in New-England | — | [Three lines
from Psalms cvii. 43 ; three lines from Rom. xi. 33.] | — || Boston in
New-England | Printed by Richard Pierce for Joseph Brunning, | and
are to be sold at his Shop at the Corner | of Prison-Lane next the
Exchange 1684. 16mo. pp. (7), 148. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank ; 5 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase
Mather," and dated at "Boston N. E. | Octob. 25: 1684" ; 1 p. blank ; 1-36,
"The God of Heaven has an over-ruling hand of | Providence in whatever
cometh to Pass in | this world" ; 37-59, "The works of Divine Providence |
are great and wonderfull" ; 60-81, "God does wonderfully suit his Judgments
ac- | cording to what the sins of men have been" ; 82-108, "Sins of Omi-
sion expose men to the Judgments | of God" ; 109-148, "The Lord's servants
whilst living in this world, | have many Opportunities and Advantages to |
glorifie God which the saints in Heaven have | not. | — | Preached August
24, 1684" ; "Erratum," two lines at the end of page 148 ; running head-
lines ; blank leaf ; followed by "A Sermon" by Nathaniel Mather, printed
on the same forms, but with new signature letters.

On page 108 is written "Joseph Gerrish Liber ejus 1704."

A | Sermon | wherein is shewed | that it is the Dvty and should be the Care
| of Believers on Christ, to Live | in the Constant Exercise of | Grace.
| — | By Mr. Nathanael Mather | Pastor of a Church at Dublin in Ire-
land. | — | [Two lines from John viii. 29; two lines from Rom. viii. 14;
two lines from Ephes. iv. 30.] | — || Printed at Boston in New-England
| By R. P. for Joseph Browning Stationer. | Anno 1684. 16mo. pp.
(1), 28, (1). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-28, "Believers on Christ ought to live in a
Constant | Exercise of Grace," headpiece, line of border pieces and a similar
one inverted; the end of the print on page 28 tapers off into three short lines
of border pieces of four, three, and two pieces respectively, and "Tibi
Domine et a te" between two rules underneath; 1 p. "The | Contents";
1 p. blank; 1 p. "Advertisement," of Joshua Moodey's "A Practical Dis-
course," Boston, 1685; last page blank. The title forms the last leaf of sig-
nature "L" of Increase Mather's "Doctrine of Divine Providences"; page
1 is on the first leaf of signature "A."

An Essay | for the | Recording | of Illvstriovs | Providences: | Wherein an
Account is given of many Re- | markable and very Memorable Events, |
which have hapned this last Age; | Especially in | New-England. | — |
By Increase Mather, | Teacher of a Church at Boston in New-England.
| — | [Three lines from Psalms cvii. 5; two lines from Psalms cxlv.
4.] | — || Boston in New-England. | Printed by Samuel Green for
Joseph Browning, | and are to be Sold at his Shop at the corner of |
the Prison-Lane next the Town-House, 1684. 16mo. pp. (21),
372, (8).

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 19 pp. "The | Preface," signed "Increase
Mather," and dated at "Boston in New-England, | January 1, 1684," head-
piece of ten urn-shaped border pieces, running headlines; 1 p. blank; 1-372,
"Remarkable Providences," headpiece similar to that of the preface, run-
ning headlines; two lines of Hebrew characters at the end, on page 372,
underneath which are a rule and a list of "Errata," twelve lines; 8 pp.
"The | Contents"; 1 p. "Advertisement of Mather's "Remarkable Provi-
dences," wanting.

[Indian Primer. By John Eliot. Printed by Samuel Green? Cambridge.]
32mo. pp. (13), 3, 20-61, (5).

Titlepage wanting; 1 p. "Prov. 22. 6," five lines between two rules,
surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 1 p. three alphabets, five
vowels and nine diphthongs; 2 pp. spelling lessons; 1 p. short reading les-
son; 1 p. "The Lords Prayer," in English above and in Indian below; 4
pp. "The Lords Prayer," expounded in questions and answers; 4 pp. "The
Ancient Creed," expounded, beginning at the foot of the last page of the pre-
ceding division and ending on page 1; 1-59, "Catechizaonk," running head-
line, "The large Catechism," pages 4 to 19 wanting; 60, 61, (1), "Pea-
mesik Katechizaonk," running headline, "A short Catechism"; 4 pp. "The

Numeral Letters and Figures which serve for | the ready finding of any Chapter, Psalms and | Verse in the Bible, or else where," in English, running headlines; last page blank.

In Prince's catalogue, under the heading "1681-1685," is the entry "An Indian Primer; containing ye Larger Catechism. Pages 66," with the note, "This is in 12^{mo} and Mr B Green says compos^d by Mr Eliot, & Print^d at Camb, ab^t 1684." On the *verso* of the second leaf of the Primer in Prince's hand is written, "Prin^d at Camb ab^t 1684. | à p 4- to 19 missing." In a letter dated at "Roxbury, August 29, 1686. in the third month of our overthrow," to the Hon. Robert Boyle, John Eliot writes: "The Practice of Piety is also finished, and beginneth to be bound up. And my humble request to your honour is, that we may again reimpose the primer and catechism; for though the last impression be not quite spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old, ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can" (Coll. III. 187). Perhaps this imperfect copy belongs to an edition alluded to in the letter, though here, on the strength of Prince's note, it is placed under the year 1684.

The only way to prevent threatned | Calamity; As it was delivered | in a Sermon, Preached at | the Court of Elecion, | May, 24. 1682. No title-page. 16mo. pp. 163-197.

Headpiece, line of border pieces, a similar line inverted, and a brace at the end; 163-197, text; last page blank.

This is a part of "The Child's Portion" (Boston, 1684), by Samuel Willard. See Sibley's Harvard Graduates (II. 27) for a collation of the same.

Self-Employment | in | Secret: | Containing | I. Evidences upon Self-Examination. | II. Thoughts upon Painfull Afflictions. | III. Memorials for Practice. | — | Left under the Hand-Writing of that | Learned and Reverend Divine, | Mr. John Corbet, | late of Chichester | — | — | — | The Third Edition, carefully Corrected. | — || Boston in New-England | Printed by Richard Pierce for Joseph Brunning, | and are to be sold at his Shop at the Corner | of Prison-Lane next the Exchange 1684. 16mo. pp. (11), 44.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 5 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston N. E. | Novemb. 27. 1684"; 1 p. blank; 3 pp. "Mr. Corbet's | Enquiry | into the State of his | Soul. | — | His Introduction," headpiece, line of border pieces, twelve

stars in four groups, and line of similar pieces inverted; 1 p. blank; 1-19, "The State of my own | Soul, | according to the Strictest Search that | I can make"; (20), blank; 21-31, "The | Workings | of my | Heart | in my | Affliction | Aug. the 5th 1680"; 32-44, "Notes | for | My Self," head-piece similar to the one before the Introduction, only stars in two lines like the one before the preface; running headlines.

On the titlepage in the blank space below the author's name appears the line: "Nathanaelis Matheri Liber 1684. D. O. G."

1685.

1685. | — | The Boston Ephemeris. | An | Almanack | Of Cœlestial Motions of the Sun & | Planets, with some of the principal Aspects | for the Year of the Christian Æra | MDCLXXXV. | Being in our Account the second after | Leap-year, and from the Creation | 5634. | — | The Vulgar Notes of which are |

Cycle of D	14	} {	Cycle of \odot	14	
Roman Indiction	8		} {	Epact	4
Dominical Letter D					

| — | Fitted to the Meridian of Boston in New-England, | where the Artick Pole is elevated 42 gr. 21 m. | — | — || Boston in New-England | Printed by and for Samuel Green. 1685. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "The Spring Tides this Year may be thus Guessed at"; 12 pp. March to February; 1 p. about discoveries in the Heavens since the invention of the Telescope; 1 p. "Concerning Eclipses this Year"; "Finis" between two lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted.

On the titlepage, in the blank space where the author's name should be printed, appear the words, "By Nath. Mather Philom," written by Judge Sewall.

MDCLXXXV. | — | Cambridge Ephemeris | An | Almanack | of | the Cœlestial Motions, For the Year | of the Christian Æra, | 1685. |

	Creation of the World	5634
	Flood of Noah	3978
Being from the	Suffering of Christ	1652
	Laying found. of Harv. Co.	43
	Leap Year (in our account)	2

| Whose Vulgar Notes are |

Golden Number	14	} {	Epact	4	
Cycle of the Sun	14		} {	Numb. Direction	29
Dominical Letter	D				

| Calculated for 315 degr. Longitude. And | Latitude 42 degr. 30 min.

North. | — | By W. Williams Philopatr. | — | [Four lines from Isaiah xl. 26.] || Cambridge, | Printed by Samuel Green for the year | 1685. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces of two varieties, *verso*, "1685. | Of the Eclipses"; 12 pp. March to February; 1 p. "MDC.-LXXXV. | Concerning a Rainbow"; 1 p. "1685: | Concerning the nature of Comets, &c."

This contains manuscript notes by Judge Sewall. In the upper margin of the titlepage is written, "Jan^y 1. 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ By y^e Gift of Mr. Jn^o Cotton Fellow."

The Book of the General | Laws | of the Inhabitants of the | Jurisdiction of | New-Plimouth, | Collected out of the Records of the | General Court, | and lately Revised: | And with some Emendations and Additions Established and Disposed into such | Order as they may readily Conduce to General Use and Benefit. | And by the Order and Authority of the General Court of New-Plimouth Held | at Plimouth, June 2d. Anno Dom. 1685. Reprinted and Published; | Nathaniel Clerk Secrt'. | [Cut of the Colonial Arms] | [One line from 1 Pet. ii. 13.] | — || Boston in New-England: | Printed by Samuel Green. 1685. 4to. pp. (6), 75, (9). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "A Preface, | Declaring the Warrantable Grounds and Proceedings of the first | Associates of the Government of | New-Plimouth; | in their Laying the first Foundation of this Government, in their | Making of Laws, and Disposing of the Lands within | the same," a list of errata pasted on at the foot of the fourth page, twelve lines, large ornamental headpiece; 1-75, text, large ornamental headpiece; 1 p. blank; 9 pp. "The Table," headpiece, a line of border pieces, and a similar line inverted; last page blank; various headlines.

A Call | from Heaven, To the Present | and Succeeding | Generations | or a | Discourse | wherein is shewed | I. That the Children of Godly Parents are un- | der special Advantages and Encourage- | ments to seek the Lord. | II. The Exceeding danger of Apostasie, espec- | ally as to those that are the Children and | Posterity of such as have been Eminent | for God in their Generation. | III. That Young men ought to remember God | their Creator. | — | The Second Impression. | — | By Increase Mather, | Teacher of a Church in Boston in N. England. | — | [Two lines from Psalms xlv. 17; three lines from Psalms lxxi. 17, 18.] | — | [Two lines of Latin.] | — || Boston, Printed by R. P. for I. Brun- ning 1685. 16mo. pp. (8), 44.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 5 pp. "To the Reader," signed by "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, | 3. m. 16. d. | 1679," headpiece, line of border pieces, two lines of stars gathered in groups, and a line of similar

border pieces inverted, running headlines; 1 p. "Advertisment" of Mather's "The Mystery of Christ" (Boston, 1686), between two lines of border pieces, the lower one inverted; 1-44, "A Call | to the | Rising Generation," headpiece similar to that of the preface; running headlines; followed by "A Discourse concerning the Danger of Apostacy," printed on the same forms with continuous signature letters.

The following three titles form a part of this work, and perhaps the fourth was issued in the same way to be bound up with them.

A Discovsrse | Concerning the Danger of | Apostacy | Especiall as to those that are the Children | and Posterity of such as have been | eminent for God in their Generation. | Delivered in a Sermon preached in the Audience | of the General Assembly of the Massachusets | Colony, at Boston in New-England, May | 23. 1677. being the Day of Election there. | — | By Increase Mather. | Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England. | — | [Two lines from Jer. xxiii. 28; four lines from 1 Tim. v. 21; two lines from Titus ii. 15.] | — || Printed by R. P. Anno Domini. 1685. 16mo. pp. (1), 47-131.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 47-(49), "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, 22. day of y^e 2. | Month 1678," headline of page 48 "A Call to the," that of page 49 "To the reader"; 1 p. blank; 51-131, text, headpiece similar to that before the text in "A Call to the Rising Generation," which pamphlet The "Discourse" follows with continuous signatures; (132) blank; running headline "A Call to the rising Generation"; followed by "Remember now thy Creator in the dayes of thy youth."

Remember now thy Creator in the dayes of thy youth. No titlepage. 16mo. pp. 123 [133]-159. •

Headpiece, line of border pieces, and similar line inverted; 123 [133]-159, text; 1 p. blank; running headline similar to that of the last title; follows "A Discourse concerning the Danger of Apostacy"; followed by "Pray for the Rising Generation," printed on the same forms, with continuous signature letters and different headlines.

Pray for | the Rising Generation. | Or a | Sermon | Wherein Godly Parents are encouraged to Pray | and Believe for their Children. | Preached the third day of the fifth Moneth 1678. | Which day was set apart by the Second Church | in Boston in New-England, humbly to seek | unto God by Fasting and Prayer, for a Spirit | of Converting Grace to be poured upon the | Children and Rising Generation in N. England. | — | The Third Impression. | — | By Increase Mather. | Teacher of that Church. | — | [Two lines from Deut. xxx. 6; two lines from 2. Sam. vii. 27; one line from Isa. xxxii. 15.] | — | [Two lines of Latin.] | — || Printed by R. P. Anno Domini. 1685. 16mo. pp. (4), 165-198.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, August 22. 1678"; 165-198, "Pray for the Rising | Generation," headpiece similar to that of "Remember now thy Creator"; blank leaf at end; running headlines like first two lines of title; followed by "A Sermon," perhaps printed on the same forms, but with new signature letters.

A | Sermon | (Preached at the Lecture in Boston in New- | England the 18th of the 1. Moneth 1674. | When two men were Executed, who | had Murthered their Master) | Wherein is shewed | that Excess in wickedness doth bring | untimely death. | — | The Second Impression. | — | By Increase Mather, | Teacher of a Church of Christ. | — | [Two lines from Prov. x. 27; four lines from Ephes. vi. 2, 3; one line of Latin.] | — || Printed by R. P. for J. Brunning in Boston 1685. 16mo. pp. (1), 38.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-38, text, headpiece, single line of border pieces, running headlines; bound up at the end of the volume "A Call from Heaven," etc.

God's Eye | on the | Contrite | or a | Discourse | shewing | that True Poverty and Contrition of spirit and Trembling at God's | Word is the Infallible and only way for the Obtaining and Retaining | of Divine Acceptation. | As it was made in the Audience of the General Assembly of the | Massachusetts Colony at Boston in New-England; | May 27. 1685. being the Day of Election there. | — | By Mr. William Adams. | — | [Three lines from Matt. iii. 9; two lines from Prov. xxix. 23; two lines from Zeph. iii. 12.] | — || Boston in New-England, | Printed by Richard Pierce for Samuel Sewall 1685. 12mo. pp. (1), 41. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-41, text, headpiece line of border pieces, and line of similar pieces inverted; last page blank.

The London Gazette: | — | Published by Authority. | — | From Thursday. February 5th. to Monday February 9th. 1684. Numb. 2006. [Imprint at bottom of the page] Printed by Thomas Newcomb in the Savoy, 1684. And Reprinted at Boston in New-England by Samuel Green, 1685. Broadside. Folio.

Account of the death of King Charles II.; and the proclaiming of King James II.; proclamation of James II.; and his address to his Privy-Council.

Printed in the Proceedings (XIII. 105-108) for November, 1873.

Mamysse | Wunneetupanatamwe | Up-biblum God | naneeswe | Nukkone
 Testament | Kah wonk | Wusku Testament. | — | Ne quoshkinnumuk
 nashpe Wuttinneumoh Christ | noh ascwesit | John Eliot. | Nahoh-
 tōeu onchetōe Printeumuk. | — || Cambridge. | Printeup nashpe
 Samuel Green. MDCLXXXV. 12mo. pp. (840).

Titlepage wanting; 1 p. "To the Honourable | Robert Boyle Esq: |
 Governour, And to the Company, for the | Propagation of The Gospel to the
 Indians in New- | England, and Parts adjacent in America," signed "Wil-
 liam Stoughton. | Joseph Dudley. | Peter Bulkley. | Thomas Hineckley,"
 and dated at "Boston Octob. 23. | 1685"; 1 p. blank; 838 pp. text, ten
 pages wanting at beginning; followed by the New Testament in Indian,
 1680.

Prince, in his Catalogue, says that "y^e Rev M^r John Cotton of
 Plimouth being well acq^d. wth y^e Ind^a Lang^s was des^d by ye Ind^a
 comis^{ns} to correct Mr Eliot's versⁿ of 1663; took this method —
 while a good Reader in his study read y^e Eng Bible aloud, M^r
 Cotton silently looked along in ye same Place in y^e Ind^a Bible:
 & wh^r He that of Ind^a words w^c He judged c^d express ye
 sense better, there He substituted y^m. & this 2^d Editⁿ is ac-
 cord^s to M^r Cottons correction." See Eames's "Bibliographical
 Notes" (27).

A | Practical | Discourse | concerning the choice benefit | of Communion
 with God in His | House, | Witnessed unto by the Experience of Saints
 as | the best Improvement of Time. Being the | Summe of several Ser-
 mons on Psal. 84. 10. | Preach'd in Boston on Lecture-Days | — | By
 Joshua Moody Minister of the Gospel. | — | [Three lines from Psalms
 xxvii. 4; two lines from Psalms lxiii. 2.] | — || Boston in New-England
 | Printed by Richard Pierce for Joseph Brunning, | and are to be sold
 at his Shop at the Corner | of Prison Lane next the Exchange. 1685.
 16mo. pp. (7,) 109.

First page blank, *verso* has list of "Errata," thirteen lines; titlepage,
verso blank; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "James Allen," running head-
 lines, headpiece a line of border pieces, two lines of stars, and a line of similar
 border pieces inverted; 1-109, text, headpiece similar to that of preface; 1 p.
 blank; 1 p. "Books printed for, and Sold by Joseph Brunning | at his Shop
 at the Corner of the Prison-Lane | next the Exchange," and underneath
 appears "Advertisement" of Increase Mather's "Mystery of Christ"; last
 page blank.

On the titlepage in the upper right-hand corner is written,
 "A. Buttolph."

1686.

Advertisement. Broadside [printed at Boston?]. 8vo.

A Notice of the Proprietors of Lands in the Narragansett Country, calling a meeting at the house of Capt. John Fones in said County on June 23, 24, and 25, "to treat with and make Proposals to such persons as may desire Accommodations of Land, for Town-ship, Farmes, or House-Lotts"; others may "receive all reasonable Satisfaction from Richard Wharton, Elisha Hutchinson, John Saffin, at Boston"; "Dated in Boston, June 9th. 1686"; two lines of border pieces above, and three lines below.

1686. | — | The Boston Ephemeris. | An | Almanack | of Coelestial Mo-
tions of the Sun & | Planets, with some of the principal Aspects | for
the Year of the Christian Æra | MDCLXXXVI. | Being in our Account
the third after | Leap-year, and from the Creation | 5635. | — | The
Vulgar Notes of which are |

Cycle of D	15	{	Cycle of ☉	15
Dominical Letter C		{	Epact	15

| — | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston in | New-
England, where the North Pole is elevated 42. | gr. 21 m. | — | By
Nathanael Mather. | — || New-England, | Boston, Printed and Sold by
Samuel Green, 1686. 16mo. pp. (16). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* "Concerning
Eclipses this Year," and below this "Concerning some late discoveries re-
specting the fixed Stars"; 12 pp. March to February; 2 pp. "Concerning
late marvellous Astronomical | Discoveries in the Planets."

One copy of this almanac contains notes by Judge Sewall.
On the lower margin of the titlepage is written, "Reed Xr.
25. 1685."

The New-England | Almanack | for | the year of our Lord. 1686. | And of
the World. 5635. | Since the planting of Massachusetts | Colony in New-
England. 58. | Since the found. of Harv. Coll. 44. | Whereof the Golden
Number, Epact and Cycle of the Sun | are 15, And the Dominical Letters
CB. Being in | our account the third from Leap Year. | — | [Fourteen
lines concerning the contents.] | — | By S. D. [Samuel Danforth] Phi-
lomath. | — | [Two lines from Job. xxxviii. 33; two lines from Psalms
xc. 12.] | — || Cambridge. | Printed by Samuel Green. sen. Printer to
Harvard | Colledge in New-England. A. D. 1686. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of fine border pieces in two varieties,
verso, "Ad Librum," which continues two pages; 12 pp. March to Febru-
ary; 1 p. "M.DC.LXXXVI," concerning eclipses &c.

On the upper margin of the titlepage is written "For y^e wor^t Samuel Sewall Esq^r." The almanac contains notes by Judge Sewall, and on the lower margin of the titlepage is written "Deliver'd me ¶ y^e Gov^r Jan^y 21. 168⁸ sent it seems by y^e Author." In his Diary (I. 104), under date of November 12, 1685, he says, "New Almanack comes out this Day intituled New England's Almanack, by Mr. Danforth."

The New-England | Almanack | for the year of our Lord. 1686. | [title continues same as the preceding one.] 16mo. pp. (16).

Collation in the main same as that of the other edition; certain changes, especially in the foot notes, indicate that this is a corrected edition.

An | Elegiack Tribute to the Sacred Dust of the Reverend and Worthy | Mr. Seaborn Cotton | Pastour of the Church of Christ at Hampton in New-England : who was discharged | from his Work and Office, to be admitted into Heaven, April 20th 1686. Broadside. Folio.

Two columns of poetry, signed at the end of the second "Edward Tompson," with three lines of Latin below. The whole is surrounded by a wide border line.

Near the top of the sheet in the handwriting of John Bailey appears the following: "Jo. B[ailey] N E. May 14. 86."

God's | Promise | to his | Plantations; | 2 Sam. 7. 10. | Moreover I will appoint a place for my People Israel, and I will | Plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their | Own, and move no more. | As it was Delivered in a | Sermon | By John Cotton, B. D. and Preacher of God's Word | in Boston. | — | [Seven lines from Psalms xxii. 27, 30, 31.] | — || London, Printed by William Jones for John Bellamy, and are | to be sold at the three Golden Lyons by the Royal Ex- | change, 1634. | Reprinted at Boston in New-England, by Samuel Green; and | are to be sold by John Vsher. Anno. 1686. 12mo. pp. (4), 20.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Christian Reader," signed "Thine J. H.," headpiece a line of border pieces, and a line of similar pieces inverted; 1-20, text, headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted; at the foot of page 20, "April 23, 1686," a notice of Samuel Willard's "To buy the Truth and not to sell."

On the outer margin of the first page of the preface is written in the hand of Judge Sewall: "Samuel Sewall His Book May 10th Anno Domini 169[]."

The | Mystery | of | Christ | opened and applied. | In Several Sermons,
Concerning the | Person, Office, and Glory of Jesus Christ. | — | By
Increase Mather, | Teacher of a Church at Boston in N. England. | — |
[Three lines from Phil. iii. 8; four lines from Col. ii. 2; four lines from
1 John v. 13.] | — | [One line of Latin.] | — || Printed at Boston in
New-England Anno 1686. 16mo. pp. (2), 6, 212, (1).

Titlepage, *verso*, statement signed "Vrian Oakes," underneath, below two lines of border pieces, a list of "Errata," ten lines, line of border pieces at the top and bottom of page; 1-6, "To the Second Church and Congregation, at | Boston in New-England," signed "Increase Mather," and dated Octob. 25. 1686; 1-20, "There is a Covenant of Redemption," headpiece a line of border pieces and a similar line inverted; 21-53, "Jesus Christ is the Son of God"; 1 p. blank; 55-74, "Jesus Christ is over all, God blessed for ever," headpiece like the last with the addition of a rule between; 1 l. blank; 75-92, "Jesus Christ the Son of God, is Man as well as | God," headpiece like the last, only two lines of stars instead of the rule; 93-114, "There is a personal Union [*sic*] between the two | Natures of Christ," headpiece like the last; 115-155, "Jesus Christ is the Mediator," headpiece like the last; 157-178, "God the Father has received full Satisfaction | in the Obedience of His Son Jesus Christ," headpiece like the last; (179, 180), blank; 181-212, "The Human Nature of Christ, is, of all cre- | ated Objects the most excellent & glorious," headpiece similar to the last; running headlines; 1 p. the Contents, and 1 p. of Advertisements, wanting with the exception of a stub.

A | Proclamation | By the President and Covncil of His Majestiy's Territory
& Dominion of New-England in America. [Imprint at foot of page]
Boeton, in N. E. Printed by Richard Pierce, Printer to the Honourable
His Majesties President and Council of this Government. Broadside.
Folio.

Cut of the arms of New England at the top; the proclamation states that King James the Second "by Commission or Letters Patents," on October 8, 1685, "hath been graciously pleased to erect and constitute a President and Council to take Care of all that His Territory and Dominion of New-England called the Massachusets Bay, the Provinces of New-Hampshire & Main, and the Narraganset Countrey, otherwise called the Kings-Province"; that he has appointed "Joseph Dudley Esq: to be the first President," naming also the Council; the President and Council having "Entered the Government aforesaid . . . have resolved speedily to erect and settle a constant Court of Record upon the place [Narragansett Country] . . . and to give the necessary Power and Directions for Establishing His Majesties Government there"; they thereby discharge subjects within the said country from "the Government of the Governour & Company of Connecticut & Rhode Island and Providence Plantation"; Richard Smith and others are placed in charge of the government; "Given from the Council-house in Boston" May 28, 1686, and signed "Edward Randolph Secr':"

A | Proclamation | by the | President and Council | for the Orderly Solemnization of Marriage. [Imprint at the foot of the page] Boston Printed by Richard Pierce, Printer to the Honourable His Majesty's | President & Council of this His Majesties Teritory & Dominion of N-England. Broadside. Folio.

Cut of the Arms of New England at the top; signed "Edward Randolph Secr'," and dated at "Boston the 29th day May."

[By the President and Council | [of His Majes]ties Territory | [and Dominion of New-E]ngland in America. [Imprint at the foot of the page] Boston | Printed by Richard Pierce, Printer to the Honourable His Ma- | jesty's President & Council in this His Territory and Do- | minion of New-England. 16mo. 1 p.

This is a notice of "the Meeting and Opening of a Court" at the house of Major Richard Smith in the Narragansett Country on June 23, 1686; "Given at the Council-House at Boston this 8th Day of June" 1686, and signed "Edward Randolph Secr':"

Reprinted in the Collections (5th series, IX. 152).

1687.

Tulley 1687. | — | An | Almanack | for the Year of Our Lord, | MDCLXXXVII. | Being the third after Leap-year, | and from the Creation | 5636. | — | The Vulgar Notes of which are |

Prime	16	{	Cicle of the ☉	16
Epact	26	{	Domin: Letter.	B

| — | Vnto which is annexed a Weather-Glass, whereby the | Change of the Weather may be foreseen. | — | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston in | New-England, where the North Pole is elevated 42. | gr. 30 m. | — | By John Tulley. | — || Boston, Printed by S. Green for Benjamin | Harris; and are to be Sold at his | Shop, by the Town Pump near the Change | 1687. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces in two varieties, *verso*, "A Table of Kings"; 12 pp. January to December; 2 pp. "Prognostica Georgica: Or the Country-mans | Weather-Glass," headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a similar line of pieces inverted; at the end of the last page ten lines relating to the arrival of the commission to the President and Council and their meeting on May 25, 1686 when "the exemplification of the Judgment against the Charter of the Late Governour, and Company" was read and received "with general Acceptance"; underneath this appears the following, line for line: —

Advertisement.

THere is Appointed by Authority a Market to be kept in Boston, and a Committee is ordered to meet and state the place, and days, and other circumstances relating to the good selling thereof: Of which a more particular Account may be speedily expected.

On the lower margin of the titlepage, in the handwriting of Judge Sewall, appears the line, "Recd Dec: 6. 1686."; and the almanac contains notes by him.

MDCLXXXVII. | — | Cambridge Ephemeris. An | Almanack | of | Coelestiall Motions and Configurations | for the Year of the Christian Epoch, | 1687. | Being (in our account) Leap Year; | And from |

The	{ Creation of the World	5636.
	{ Constitution of the Julian Year	1731.
	{ Suffering of Christ	1654.
	{ Correction of the Calend by P. Greg :	105.
	{ Beginning of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord James II.	03.

| — | Whose Vulgar Notes are |

Golden Number	16.	{	Cycle of the Sun.	16
Roman Indiction.	10.		Epact.	26.
Dominicall Letters.	B. A.		N. Direction	05.

| Calculated for Longitude 315. gr. and Latitude | 42. gr. 30. min. North.

| — | [Four lines of Latin.] | — || Cambridge. | Printed by S. G. Colledg Printer 1687 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, two varieties, *verso*, "Of the Eclipses, 1687," six lines at bottom of the page relating to the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros at Nantasket on December 19, 1686, and at Boston on the Monday following, where he "was Received with generall Acclamations of Joy"; 12 pp. March to February; 2 pp. "The Explanation of the Ephemeris"; two lines in Latin at the foot of the last page.

On the lower margin of the titlepage is written, in the hand of Judge Sewall, "Recd Feb. 1. 1687: ex dono Authoris"; and on the fly-leaf at beginning in another hand is written, "For The Worshipfull Sam^l Sewall. Esq^r."

Κατὰ τῆς Πίστεως | — | The | Joy of Faith, | or a | Treatise | Opening the true Nature of Faith, its lowest | Statute and Distinction from Assurance, with | a Scripture Method to attain both; by the | Influence and Aid of Divine Grace: | with a preliminary Tract evidencing the Being and actings of Faith, the Deity of | Christ, and the Divinity of the Sacred | Scriptures. | — | [Two lines from 2 Cor. i. 24; two lines from

Phil. i. 25; three lines of Latin.] — | By Samuel Lee. M. A. Some-time Fellow of Wadham | Colledge. Oxon. | — || Boston, Printed by Samuel Green. 1687. 16mo. pp. (18), 247, (1).

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 6 pp. "To his highly Honoured Friend, Sir John | Thomson, Knight and Baronet; and his | most pious and vertuous Consort the | Honourable Lady, the Lady Frances," signed "Samuel Lee," and dated at "Abbots Langly | Jan. 16. 1685," headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted; 10 pp. "The Preface," signed "S. L."; 1-247, "The Joy of Faith," and dated on p. 247, "June, 11. 1685. | Die Jovis, at | Abbots Langly | in Hartfordshire"; 1 p. blank; 1 p. "A Song of Praise to God," and underneath a list of "Errata," six lines; last page blank; running headlines.

On the fly-leaf at the beginning is the autograph signature "I: Winthrop," and underneath, in the same hand, "Iohānes Winthrop. | Symb: | 'I' Hope Wins a Throne."

Military Dvties, | recommended | to an | Artillery | Company; | At their Election of Officers, | in Charls-town, | 13. d. 7. m. 1686. | — | By Cotton Mather, Pastor of | a Church in Boston. | — | — | [Four lines of Latin.] | — || Boston in New-England, | Printed by Richard Pierce: And are to be sold | by Joseph Brunning, at his Shop at the Corner | of Prison Lane near the Exchange. 1687. 16mo. pp. (7), 78, (2). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 5 pp. the preface, headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted, running headlines; 1 p. blank; 1-78, "Military Duties | laid before | a Trained Band | 13. d. 7. m. 1686," headpiece a line of border pieces, and a similar line inverted; 2 pp. "Books printed for, and sold by Joseph Brunning | at his Shop at the Corner of Prison Lane | next the Exchange," headpiece, similar to the last; at the bottom of the last page a list of "Errata," five lines.

This is the first title in a volume of pamphlets (1687-1696), on the fly-leaf of which is the autograph signature "Samⁿ Checkley | 1697."

1688.

Tulley 1688. | — | An | Almanack | for the Year of Our Lord, | M DC LXXXVIII. | Being Bissextile or Leap-Year, | and from the Creation | 5637. | — | The Vulgar Notes of which are |
Golden Number 17 } { Cicle of the ☉ 17
Epact 07 } { Domin: Letters A G
| — | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston in | New-England, where the North Pole is elevated 42 | gr. 30 m | — | By John

Tulley. | — | Imprimatur Edw. Randolph. Secr: | — || Boston, |
Printed by Samuel Green. | 1688. 16mo. pp. (2), 22.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "Of the Eclipses 1688," and remarks about the Almanack; 12 pp. January to December; 2 pp. "Tully 1688. A Compendious Chrono: | lly of Memorable things since the | Creation to this Year 1688"; (15)-22, "A | Prognostication | for the Year 1688. Calculated for the | Meridian of Boston; and may | without any sensible Error serve for any | other place in New-England," partly in verse.

On the lower margin of the titlepage Judge Sewall has written, "Bought of Benj. Harris Jan^y 4th 168⁷," and at the foot of the last page appear in his hand the words, "No Cambridge-Almanack this year."

The | Lord Del[]r's | Speech. Broadside. 8vo.

This relates to popery and slavery in England.

This broadside has been preserved with several others known to have been printed in Boston; and for that reason it is assumed that this copy also was published here.

The Plain Case Stated | of Old- - but especially of New-England in an Address to His Highness | the Prince of Orange. [Imprint at foot of the third column] Boston, Printed for and Sold by | Benjamin Harris at the London Coffee-house. Broadside. Folio.

Three columns of poetry.

[Proclamation concerning a possible invasion of New England. Imprint at foot of the page] Printed at Boston in New-England by R. P. Broadside. Folio.

A cut of the arms of Great Britain; "By His Excellency | A | Proclamation"; makes known a possible invasion of "an armed Force of Forreigners and Strangers" upon England, that "His loving Subjects" in New-England may be prepared to resist any attempts that may be made here; urging every one to be "Vigilant and Careful . . . upon the Approach of any Fleet or Forreign Force . . . and use their utmost Endeavour to hinder any Landing or Invasion"; "Given at Fort-Charles at Pemaquid, the Tenth Day of January . . . 1688," and signed "E. Andros." "By . His Excellency's Command | John West. d'. Secr'."

Wehkomaonganoo | asqvam | Peantogig | Kah asquam Quinnuppegig, |
Tokonogue mahche woskeche Pean- | tamwog. Onk woh sampwut-
tea- | hae Peantamwog. | Wutanakausonk wunneetou noh | nohtom-
peantog. | — | Usowesu | Mr. Richard Baxter. | — | Kah | Yeuyeu

qushkinnunmun en Indiane | Wuttinnontæwaonganit. | Wussohsunæ-
wontamunat æwosunok | God ut Christ Jesus ut, kah | æneneheonant
Indiansog. | — | [Two lines in Indian from Ezek. xxxiii. 11.] | — ||
Cambridge: | Printed by S. G for the Corporation in London | for the
Indians in New England 1688 16mo. pp. 188.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of fine border pieces, *verso* blank; 3-188, text, headpiece two lines of acorn-shaped border pieces, the lower one inverted; at the foot of the last page, between two rules, "Finitur, 1663. December 31."

This is the second edition of Eliot's translation of Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted" into Indian, of which the first was printed in 1664.

1689.

Tulley 1689. | — | An | Almanack | for the Year of Our Lord, | MDCL-
XXXIX. | Being First after Leap-year, | and from the Creation | 5638
| — | The Vulgar Notes of which are |
Golden Number 18 } { Cicle of the ☉ 18
Epect 18 } { Domin : Letters F
| — | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston in | New-
England, where the North Pole is elevated 42 | gr. 30 m. | — | By
John Tulley. | — | Imprimatur Edw. Randolph. Secr: | — || Boston,
| Printed by Samuel Green, | and are to be Sold at his house over- |
against the South-Meeting-House. | 1689. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "Of the Eclipses, 1689," and "A Table shewing the time of Full sea, or High Water | at Boston and Say-brook"; 12 pp. January to December; 2 pp. "The Nature of the Twelve Signs"; at the bottom of the last page, "There are Four Terms Appointed | to be in Boston," six lines.

A | Brief Discourse Concerning the | unlawfulness of the | Common Prayer
| Worship. | And | of Laying the Hand on, and | Kissing the Booke
in | Swearing. | — | By a Reverend and Learned Divine [Increase
Mather]. | — | [Six lines from 2 Kings xviii. 4.] || Printed in the Year.
&c. 16mo. pp. (4), 21.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "T. P."; 1-21, text, headpiece two lines of acorn-shaped border pieces, the lower one inverted; last page blank.

According to the titlepage of "A Brief Discourse" (London, 1693), this pamphlet was "Lately Printed in New-England"; and there is some slight indication that it was printed at Cambridge, rather than Boston. As to the authorship, Prince in his

catalogue, under "1686-1690," says "ye author Mr I Mather. & D^r C Mather says Printed in 1689." See also Sabin's Dictionary (XI. 457) No. 46,639, and (XI. 478) No. 46,747.

A Copy | of the | Kings Majesties | Charter, | for Incorporating the Company of the | Massachusets Bay in New-England in America. | Granted in the fourth Year of his Highness Reign of England, Scotland, | France and Ireland, Anno Dom. 1628. | — | [Cut of the Colonial Arms.] | — || Boston in New-England, | Printed by S. Green, for Benj. Harris at the London Coffee House | near the Town-House in Boston. 1689. 12mo. pp. (1), 26.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-26, "The Charter | of the Massachusets Colony," signed "Woolseley," large ornamental headpiece, running headlines.

Declaration | of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonality at the Rendezvous at Nottingham, | November 22. 1688. [The imprint given at the foot of the second page] Reprinted and Sold by Samuel Green of Boston, 1689. Folio. pp. (2).

First page blank, *verso* heading given above; the declaration states "that the very Fundamentals of our Religion, Liberties and Properties are about to be rooted out by our late Jesuitical Privy Council, as hath been of late too apparent," and that "we will to the utmost of our power, oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of Orange." On the next page of this sheet is the following: "The Declaration of the Lords | Spiritual and Temporal, | in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, Assembled at | Guildhall, 11th. Decemb. 1688." Near the foot of the page is the Order of the Peers "to Print and Publish the Declaration," December 12, 1688, "To Edward Jones Printer at the Savoy"; last page blank.

His Highness the | Prince of Orange, | His Letter to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal | Assembled at | Westminster, | in this present Convention. [Imprint at foot of the first page] Boston, Printed by S. G. for S. Phillips at the Town-House 1689. Folio. pp. (2).

First page blank, *verso* heading given above; the declaration says "It now lies upon you to lay the Foundation of a firm Security for your Religion, your Laws, and your Liberties"; calls their attention to the "Dangerous Condition of the Protestant Interest in Ireland, requiring a large and speedy Succour." On the next page of this sheet is "The | Address | of the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and Commons. | Assembled at Westminster, in this present Convention. | Jan. 22. 1688½ | To His Highness the Prince of Orange," followed by "The Princes Answer. Die Mercurij Jan. 23. 1688½." Also Orders by the Lords "Die Mercurij January 23. 1689," and "Die Sabbati, Feb. 2. 1689," signed "John Brown, Clericus Parliamentorum"; last page blank.

[Letter concerning the surrender of Sir Edmund Andros. Imprint at the foot of the page] Boston Printed by S. Green. 1689. Broadside. Folio.

"At the Town-House in | Boston: | April 18th. 1689"; a letter addressed "To Sr. Edmond Andross Knight," and signed by "Wait Winthrop | Simon Bradstreet. | William Stoughton | Samuel Shrimpton | Barthol. Gidney | William Brown | Thomas Danforth | John Richards. | Elisha Cook. | Isaac Addington. | John Nelson. | Adam Winthrop. | Peter Sergeant. | John Foster. | David Waterhouse." They say that the "Inhabitants of this Town and Place adjacent, being surprised with the Peoples sudden taking to Arms . . . We judge it necessary that You forthwith surrender, and Deliver up the Government and Fortifications to be preserved, to be Disposed according to Order and Direction from the Crown of England, which is suddenly expected may Arrive."

Man's chief End | to Glorifie God, | or | Some Brief | Sermon - Notes | on 1 Cor. 10. 31. | — | By the Reverend Mr. John Bailey, | Sometime Preacher and Prisoner of Christ | at Limerick in Ireland, | and now Pastor to the Church of Christ | in Watertown in New-England. | — | [Three lines from John xvii. 4, 5; three lines from 2 Pet. i. 15] | — || Boston Printed by Samuel Green, and are | to be Sold by Richard Wilkins Book- | Seller near the Town-House. | Anno. 1689. 16mo. pp. 97-160.

Titlepage wanting; 6 pp. "To the Reader," signed "J. M." [Joshua Moody?] wanting; 1-160, text, pages 1-96 wanting; followed by a letter entitled "To my Loving and Dearly Beloved Christian Friends, in and about Limerick," printed on the same forms, but with new signature letters.

To my Loving and Dearly Beloved | Christian Friends, in and about | Limerick. No titlepage. 16mo. pp. 40, (3).

Headpiece of eight urn-shaped border pieces; 1-40, text, signed "John Bailly," and dated "May 8. 1684"; 3 pp. "Postscript," signed "John Bailly," headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted; last page blank; follows "Man's chief End."

The title of the address to his friends on the first page varies slightly in different copies. On the *verso* of the last leaf of the "Postscript" is the following entry:—

Abigail Willis: hur Boock which was hur Grandfathers roat by him in the year 1689 direackted to his frends in Ireland hea deaparted this life in Watertown and Bured in Boston in the year of our Lord 1697: Burrid in the Common Burring Place near the Alems House Now Liveing of his Ofspring in Boston twoo Greait Grandchildren Nams Sarah Belknap Abigal: Willis Greait Greait Grandchildren Names Char: Willis Jr Nathnⁿ Willis Abiga^{ll} Willis. 1771, May 28.

Memorable Providences, | relating to | Witchcrafts | and Possessions. | A Faithful Account of many Wonderful and Sur- | prising Things, that have befallen several Be- | witch'd and Possessed Persons in New England. | Particularly, A Narrative of the marvellous | Trouble and Relief, Experienced by a pious Fa- | mily in Boston, very lately and sadly molested | with Evil Spirits. | Whereunto is added, | A Discourse delivered unto a Congregation in | Boston, on the Occasion of that Illustrious Pro- | vidence. As also | A Discourse delivered unto the same Congrega- | tion; on the occasion of an horrible Self-Mur- | der Committed in the Town. | With an Appendix, in vindication of a Chapter | in a late Book of Remarkable Providences, from | the Calumnies of a Quaker at Pen-silvania. | — | Written By Cotton Mather, Minister of the Gospel. | — | And Recommended by the Ministers | of Boston and Charleston | — || Printed at Boston in N. England by R. P. 1689. | Sold by Joseph Brunning, at his Shop at the Cor- | ner of the Prison-Lane next the Exchange. 16mo. pp. (10), 75, 21, 40, (1), 14.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Honourable Wait Winthrop Esq," signed "C. Mather"; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Charles Morton. | James Allen. | Joshua Moodey. | Samuel Willard," running headlines; 2 pp. "The Introduction"; 1-41, "Witchcrafts and Possessions"; 42-44, "Postscript," dated and "Finished, June 7th, 1689"; 45, "Mantissa"; 46-53, Narrative continued, signed "John Goodwin," and dated "Decemb. 12. 1688"; 54-75, Examples; 1-21, "A Discourse on the Power and Malice of the | Devils," running headlines; 1-40, "A Discourse on Witchcraft," running headlines; 1 p. "Notandvm"; 1 p. blank; 1-14, "Appendix," headpiece, a line of border pieces, and a similar line inverted.

At the bottom of page 75 Mr. Mather says of the two Discourses at the end of the book: "the *Latter* of which was delivered unto my own Congregation; on the Occasion of what befel *Goodwin's* Children: but the *Former* of them was deliver'd unto the same Congregation on the Occasion of a horrible *Self-murder* committed by a *possessed* woman in the Neighbourhood."

A | Narrative | of the Miseries of | New-England, | by Reason of an | Arbitrary Government | Erected there. [By Increase Mather.] No title-page. 12mo. pp. 8.

This pamphlet bears no imprint, but I think that it was published at Boston. It differs slightly from the copy reprinted in "The Publications of the Prince Society" (Andros Tracts, II. 3), and may have been an earlier edition. In the Catalogue of the Carter-Brown Library, the title is entered under the year 1689, though no hint is given as to the place of publication.

The | Presbyterian and Independent | Viable Churches | in | New-England | and else-where, | brought to the Test, and examined accor- | ding to the Doctrine of the holy Scriptures, | in their Doctrine, Ministry, Worship, Consti- | tution, Government, Sacraments and Sabbath | Day, and found to be No True Church of | Christ. | More particularly directed to these in New-Eng- | land, and more generally to those in Old- | England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. | With | a Call and Warning from the Lord to the People | of Boston and New-England, to Repent, &c. And two | Letters to the Preachers in Boston; and an Answer to the | gross Abuses, Lyes and Slanders of Increase Mather and | Samuel Norton, &c. | — | By George Keith. | — || Philadelphia, Printed and Sold by Will Bradford, | Anno 1689. 16mo. pp. (11), 232.

First page blank, *verso*, extracts from Rev. ii. iii. xviii.; titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 7 pp. "A Friendly | Epistle | to these People called | Presbyterians & Independants," running headlines; 1 p. list of "Errata," sixteen lines; 1-232, "Heads or Principles of Christi- | an Doctrine."

The | Present State of | New-England | Impartially Considered, | in a Letter to the Clergy. No titlepage. 12mo. pp. 44.

Pp. 1-44, text; signed "F. L." on page 44; underneath is a "Post-script"; a list of "Errata" at foot of the page, eight lines.

According to the Catalogue of the British Museum, this pamphlet was printed in Boston, in 1689, and republished in London during the next year. The author was John Palmer, though the initials F. L. are signed to the tract. The London edition was reprinted in the fifth volume of "The Publications of the Prince Society" (Andros Tracts, I. 21).

A Relation | of | Captain Bull, | Concerning the | Mohavvks | at Fort-Albany. May, 1689. Broadside. Folio.

This handbill relates that Connecticut Colony "sent Captain Jonathan Bull to Albany" to inform the people there "of the News from England . . . and what Change was made in the Bay . . . Declaring they'd allow the Fort to Remain not twelve Hours longer in Papists Hands"; Major Baxter removed, "leaving the Fort to the Inhabitants"; On May 24 the Mowhawk Sachems appeared in the Court House of Albany, and spoke of their desire to renew friendship with the people [English and Dutch]; alludes to the Eastern Indians.

Seasonable Motives. | To our | Dvty and Allegiance, | (by a Lover of the Peace of New-England) offer'd | to the Consideration of his Neighbours & Country-men. [Imprint at end of sheet] Philadelphia, Printed by Will. Bradford. Anno 1689. 4to. pp. (2).

This has two columns to each page, and relates to the government of the Colony and the seizure of Sir Edmond Andros; signed, "A. B."

A | Sermon | Preached before the | House of Commons, | On the 31st of
January 1688. | Being the | Thanksgiving-day | [For the Deliverance
of] this Kingdom from | [Popery and Arbitr]ary Power, | [By His
High]ness the | Prince [of O]ranges Means. | — | By Gilbert Bvnet,
D. D. | and Chaplain of His Highness. | — | [Three border pieces.]
| — || Boston in New-England, Printed by S. Green, and Sold by
| Samuel Phillips at the west end of the Town-House, 1689. 12mo.
pp. (1), 23.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-23, "A Sermon [Preached] before the H[ouse
of C]ommons"; running headlines; last page blank; slightly imperfect. A
leaf perhaps wanting at the beginning.

In the upper right-hand corner of the titlepage is written
"Johannis Cottoni."

Souldiers Counsell'd and Comforted | — | A | Discourse | Delivered unto
some part of | the Forces | Engaged in the Just War of | New-Eng-
land | Against the Northern & Eastern | Indians. | Sept. 1. 1689. | — |
By Cotton Mather Minister of the | Gospel in Boston, | — | [One line
of Latin.] | — || Boston | Printed by Samuel Green. 1689. 16mo.
pp. (9), 38. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 7 pp. "To my Much Honoured | Friends | the
Pious and Valient | Commanders | of the Forces now engaged a- | gainst our
Indian Enemies"; signed "C. Mather," headpiece eight urn-shaped border
pieces, running headlines; 1 p. blank; 1-38, "Souldiers Counsell'd and com-
forted. | It is written in | Psal. CXIX. 109. | My Soul is continually in my
Hand; yet I do | not forget thy Law," dated, "At the North Meeting House
| in Boston 1 d. 7 m. | Afternoon. 1689," headpiece a line of border pieces,
a rule, and a line of similar pieces, running headlines; one copy badly cut
by the binder.

To His Highness | William Henrick, | Prince of Orange, | the Most Humble
Petition of George Lord Chancellor Jefferies. [Imprint at bottom of
the page] Boston, Printed by S. G. for Samuel Phillips at the West end
of the | Town-House, 1689. Broadside. 12mo.

In this broadside the Petitioner says that he is now "a miserable and de-
jected Captive in the Tower"; mentions his crimes against the State; asks
His Highness "Please to Pardon all these many Crimes"; and he promises
to make "Restitution by Discovering some Intreagues of State."

1690.

An Address | Presented to the King, August 7th. 1689. When those from the Massachusetts Colony | were, by that Worthy Citizen, Sir Henry Ashurst, Baronet. | To Their Most Excellent Majesties, King William and Queen Mary of England, &c. | The Humble Address and Petition of the General Court of Your Majesties most Ancient | Colony of New Plimouth in New-England. [Imprint at end of the second column] Reprinted at Boston, by S. G. for Benjamin Harris, | at the London Coffee House. 1690. Broadside. Folio.

This in the main signifies the "ready Allegiance and Obedience" which the people bear to the King, and states that their rights "were in the Year 1686 injuriously taken from us by Sir Edmund Andross" and further that "we being left without Government" desire "to resume a Government on our former Foundation"; signed "Tho. Hinckley, Governour," and dated at "Plymouth in New- | England, June 6th. 1689. | In the Name, and by the Appointment of Your Majesties | said General Court."

Addresses | to Old Men, and Young Men, and | Little Children. | — | In Three | Discourses | I. The Old Mans Honour; or, The Hoary | Head found in the way of Righteousness. | A Discourse Recommending unto | Old Men, A Saving Acquaintance with the | Lord Jesus Christ. | II. The Young Man's Glory; or, A | Wreath of Graces for the Head of Youths. | A Discourse Recommending unto Young | Men, A Blessed Victory over the Devil. | III. The Little Child's Lesson; Or, A Child | Wise unto Salvation. | A Discourse instructing and inviting Little | Children to the Exercises of Early Piety. | To which may be added, A Short Scriptural Cate- | chism accomodated unto their Capacities | — | By Cotton Mather. | — || Boston: Printed by R. Pierce, for Nicholas But- | toph, at the Corner Shop, next to Gut- | teridge's Coffee-House. 1690. 16mo. pp. (2), 122.

Titlepage, *verso*, seven lines of Latin, leaf wanting; 2 pp. "The Dedication of The Old Ma[ns Honour] | — | To my Honoured, and Worthy [Friend]. | Major John Richard[s]," signed "C. Mather"; 1-45, "The Old Mans | Honour | Or, | the Hoary Head found in the [way of] | Righteousness"; 46-50, "The Dedication of The Young Mans Glory. | — | To the Praying and Private Meetings of | Young People | in Boston. | More especially to two or three such Assemblies, in | the North-part of the Town," signed "Cotton Mather"; 51-88, "The | Young Man's Glory. | Or, | A Wreath of Graces for the Head of | Youth"; 89-94, "The Dedication of, The little Childs Lesson. | — | To the | Children | Dwelling in the North-part of | Boston," signed "Cotton Mather"; 95-122, "The | Little Childs | Lesson"; list of errata at end of page 122, seven lines; running headlines; blank leaf; followed by "A Scriptural Catechism" (Boston, 1691) by the same author, but with new signature letters.

Tulley. 1690. | — | An | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord | MDCXC.
 | Being second after Leap-year; And | from the Creation, | 5639. | — |
 The Vulgar Notes of which are, |
 Golden Numb. 19 } { Cicle of the Sun 19
 Epact 29 } { Domin. Letter E.
 | — | Calculated for, and Fitted to the Meridian of | Boston in New-
 England, where the North | Pole is Elevated 42 gr. 30 min. | — | By
 John Tulley. | — || Boston Printed and Sold by Samuel Green, near
 the South Church. | 1690. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "Of the Eclipses,
 1690," and "A Table shewing the time of full sea or High Water at | Bos-
 ton and Say-brook"; 12 pp. January to December; 1 p. "Of the Rain-bow :
 Whence it is, and | what it signifieth"; 1 p. "Of Thunder and Lightening,"
 lower half of the leaf torn off.

This pamphlet contains manuscript notes by Judge Sewall.

Non cessant anni, quamvis cessant homines. | — | Harvard's Ephemeris. |
 Or | Almanack. | Containing an Account of the Coelestial | Motions,
 Aspects &c. For the Year | of the Christian Empire. 1690. |

	Years
Of the World	5639.
Since the Floud	3983.
— Building of London	2797
— Death of Alexander Mag.	2013.
And From the beginning of the Julian year	1734
Suffering of Christ	1655.
From the Correction of the Calendar	108
From the Planting of the Massachus. Colony.	62
Founding of Harvard Colledge	48
From Leap Year.	2.

| — | Whose Vulgar Notes be |

The Prime Cycle of the D	19	{	Dominical Letter.	E
The Cycle of the \odot	19	{	Roman Indiction.	13
The Epact	29	{	Numb. of Direct.	30

| Respecting the Meridian of Cambridge in N. E. | whose Latitude is
 42 Degr. 27. min. Septen. | Longitude 315 Degr. | — | By H. New-
 man | — || Cambridge. | Printed by Samuel Green. 1690. 16mo.
 pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, the top and bottom
 acorn-shaped, full-moon-shaped pieces in the corners; *verso*, "1690," upon
 Eclipses, and an explanation of the Ephemeris; 12 pp. January to December;
 2 pp. "A Postscript | exhibiting somewhat Touching the Earth's Motion";
 at end of last page, "What could not be inserted in the Second Page, | is
 here continued," eleven lines.

A Companion for Communicants. | — | Discourses | Upon | the Nature, the Design, and the | Subject of the | Lords Supper, | with Devout Methods of Preparing for, and Approaching to that | Blessed Ordinance. | — | By Cotton Mather, | Pastor of a Church at Boston. | — | [Seven lines of Latin.] | — || Printed at Boston by Samuel Green | for Benjamin Harris | at the London Coffee House, 1690. 16mo. pp. (6), 167.

Titlepage, *verso*, "To the Church of the Lord Jesus in the North Part of Boston," . . . continues seven pages, first leaf wanting, signed "Cotton Mather"; 1-80, "Invitations to the | Supper of the Lord | with a | Discourse on the Nature, Design and | Subject of that Blessed Ordinance," headpiece a line of ten urn-shaped border pieces, and two of another kind in the centre; 81-133, "Preparations | for the | Supper of the Lord; | with | the Marks of a Good State, by | which Communicants may be assisted | in the Work of Self-Examination"; 134-167, "Devotions | at the | Supper of the Lord; | with | Some Touches upon the constitution of | the Gospel Churches which that Glo- | rious Appointment of our Lord Jesus | is to be celebrated in"; list of "Errata," at end of page 167, five lines; last page "Books Printed for, and Sold by Benjamin Harris, at the | London-Coffee-House in Boston," seven titles. Slightly imperfect.

[Order to suppress "Publick Occurrences."] Broadside. 12mo.

"By the | Governour & Council"; the broadside relates to a "Pamphlet, Entitled, Publick Occurrences, both Forreign and Domestick: Boston, Thursday, Septemb. 25th. 1690," published "without the least Privy or Countenance of Authority"; declares the "high Resentment and Disallowance of said Pamphlet" by the Governour and Council; orders that "the same be Suppressed and called in"; and "strickly forbidding any person or persons for the future to Set forth anything in Print without License first obtained"; signed "By Order of the Governour & Council. | Isaac Addington, Secr." and dated at "Boston, September 29th. 1690."

For a reprint of the newspaper, see the first volume (pp. 228-231) of "The Historical Magazine" (Boston) for August, 1857; and for a reprint of the broadside, see Proceedings (2d series, VIII. 54) for December, 1892.

[Order for enlisting men in the expedition against Canada.] Broadside. 8vo.

"Anno Regni Regis & | Reginae Gulielmi & Mariae Secundo. | By the | Governour, & Council"; states that Sir William Phipps is appointed to take command of such forces as shall be raised "in the present Expedition against the *French* at *Nova Scotia*, and *L'Acadie*"; that "all Gentlemen Souldiers," that shall "List themselves," are to appear completely armed; and making three proposals "for their Encouragement"; place of meeting at the Town House in Boston, and a fourth proposal are added in manuscript; signed "By Order of the Governour and Council, | Isaac Addington, Secr," and dated at "Boston; | March 24, 1688:"; indorsed, in manuscript, "Genl Courts Order for Inlisting 1689."

[Order for enlisting men in the expedition against Canada.] Broadside. 4to.

"At a Session | of the | General Court | of the Massachuset Colony, in Boston, 28th of May, 1690"; states that Sir William Phipps is appointed to take command, and Major John Walley to be second, of all the forces that shall be provided for the Expedition "intended for *Canada*, against the common Enemy, *French* and *Indians*"; that "all Gentlemen Souldiers and Sea-men, that shall List themselves" are desired to enter their names, be in "readiness to Randesvouz," and to appear completely armed; orders five conditions for the "Encouragement to persons willingly to offer themselves to said Service"; names the "Muster-Masters for the several Regiments"; signed "By Order of the Court, | Isaac Addington Secr."; note in manuscript at bottom of the sheet: "this was Pleney [plene, *obs.*—full] upon the Last fridey Being the 20 day of this Instant June and they are preparing to goe against Caneday with 5 shipes of men of wore some with 40 gunes and some with 30 and the last of them with 20 od."

The Present State of New-England. | — | Considered in a | Discourse | on the Necessities and Advantages of a | Public Spirit | in every Man; | Especially, At such a time as this. | Made at the Lecture in Boston | 20. d. 1. M. 1690: | Upon the News of an Invasion by bloody | Indians and French-men, begun | upon Us. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | [Two lines of Latin.] | — || Boston | Printed by Samuel Green. 1690. 16mo. pp. (2), 52. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso*, "To the Honourable | Simon Bradstreet Esqr. Governr | of the Massachuset Colony; | [and others] . . . | These Reflections . . are | Most Humbly Dedicated, by Their | Sincere Servant, C. M."; 1-46, "A Publick Spirit Recommended unto | the Inhabitants of | New-England | In a | Sermon | at Boston Lecture. March 20. 1690," headpiece a line of ten urn-shaped border pieces, running headlines; 47-52, "By the | Governour and | General Court | of the Colony of the | Massachusetts Bay; | In New-England," signed "Isaac Addington Secr.," and dated "March 13. 1688."

Near the top of page 1 are written the words, "Samuel Checkley: his Book."

The Principles | of the | Protestant | Religion | Maintained, | and Churches of New-England, in the | Profession and Exercise thereof | Defended, | against all the Calumnies of one George Keith, | a Quaker, in a Book lately Published at | Pensilvania, to undermine them both. | — | By the Ministers of the Gospel in Boston, | — | [Three lines from Prov. xviii. 17; two lines from Phil. ii. 8; four lines from 2 Thess. ii. 10, 11.] | — || Boston, in New-England, | Printed by Richard Pierce, and sold by the | Booksellers. MDCXC. 16mo. pp. (10), 156. [Three copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "The Praeface," signed "James Allen. | Joshua Moodey. | Samuel Willard. | Cotton Mather"; 1-156, text, head-piece a line of border pieces and a line of similar inverted pieces; various headlines.

On the *recto* of the fly-leaf at the beginning of one of the books is written: "John Boults Book E^x Dono: Edward Bromfields Book 1693."

[Proclamation relating to the enforcement of laws against Vice.] Folio. pp. 2.

First page blank, 2 pp. headpiece a cut of the Colonial arms; "By The | Governour & | General Court | of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay; | In New-England"; states "that this poor Land has laboured under a long Series of Afflictions and Calamities"; that it is necessary to bring about "a speedy Reformation of our Provoking Evils"; orders that all Laws against Vice "be now faithfully and Vigorously put in Execution"; urges all ministers to bear "witness against the more Spiritual Sins" such as "the Contempt of the everlasting Gospel, with a shameful want of due Family-Instruction, which are the Roots of Bitterness in the midst of us"; encourages the churches; and expects the towns to look after the education of youth, and to avoid "Factions and Quarrels"; signed "Isaac Addington Secr.," and dated "March 13. 1688^o."; last page blank.

[Proclamation appointing a Fast, March 6, 1689-90.] Broadside. 8vo.

Heading "At a | General Court | held at Charlestown by Adjournment. | Feb. 12th 1688^o."; states that "the Land we live in . . . is under many awful Frowns of God"; that "He will preserve us from the Rage of our Heathen Enemies . . . guard us against Foreign Invasion; take away the prevailing and mortal Distempers of the Fever and Small Pox" and "provide for us a Settlement of our Liberties"; signed "By the Court, | Isaac Addington, Secr."

See Rev. William DeLoss Love's "Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England" (pp. 271, 272).

Propositions | Made by the Sachems of the three Maquas Castles, to the | Mayor, Aldermen, and Communalty of the City of | Albany, and Military Officers of the said City, and | County in the City-Hall, February 25th, 1688^o. | Peiter Schuyler Mayor, with ten more Gentlemen, then present | Interpreted by Arnout & Hille. | The Names of the Sachims, Sinonguiness Speaker, Rode, | Sagoddiockquifax, Oguedagoa, Tosoquatho, Odagurasse, Anharenda, | Jagogthera. No titlepage. 12mo. pp. 12.

Pages 1-12, text; colophon, "Boston Printed by S. Green. Sold by Benjamin Harris at the | London Coffee-House. 1690."

At the top of the first page is the autograph signature, "John Bailly."

The Serviceable Man. | — | A | Discourse | Made unto the | General Court
| of the | Massachusetts Colony, New-England, | at the Anniversary
| Election | 28d. 3m. 1690. | — | By Cotton Mather Minister of | the
Gospel. | — | [Two lines of Latin.] | — || Boston, Printed by Samuel
Green, for Joseph | Browning at the corner of the Prison | Lane next
the Exchange. 1690. 16mo. pp. (4), 64. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso*, Vote of the House of Representatives, "May 29, 1690," signed "Ebenezer Prout Clerk"; 2 pp. "To my Countrey," signed "Cotton Mather"; 1-64, "The Serviceable Man. | — | To the | General Court | at the | Election; | 28 d. 3. m. 1690," headpiece a line of ten urn-shaped border pieces, running headlines.

Near the top of the titlepage of one of the copies in the hand of Mr. Checkley is written: "The Gift of the Author to Sam^l Checkley: 1 []"

The Wonderful Works of God | Commemorated. | — | Praises | Bespoke
for the God of Heaven, | in a Thanksgiving | Sermon; | Delivered on
Decemb. 19. 1689. | Containing | Just Reflections upon the Excel-
lent Things done by the Great God, | more Generally in Creation and
Re- | demption, and in the Govern- | ment of the World; But more
Par- | ticularly in the Remarkable Revol- | tions of Providence which
are every | where the matter of present Observation: | With a Postscript
giving an Account of some very | stupendous Accidents, which have
lately happened | in France. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | To which
is Added a Sermon Preached unto the | Convention of the Massachuset-
Colony in | New-England.—With a short Narrative of several Pro-
digies, which New- | England hath of late had the Alarms of Heaven
in. | — || Printed at Boston by S. Green. & Sold by Joseph |
Browning at the corner of the Prison Lane, and | Benj. Harris at the
London Coffee-House. 1690. 16mo. pp. (8), 62 [64]. [Three
copies.]

Titlepage, *verso*, copy of Thanksgiving Proclamation, signed "Isaac Addington Secr," and dated at "Boston Decemb. | 3^d. 1689:"; 6 pp. "To the Right Worshipful | Sir Henry Ashurst, Baronet," signed "Cotton Mather," running headlines; 1-55, "Praises | bespoke for the God of Heaven, | in a Thanksgiving | Sermon," headpiece a brace, eight urn-shaped border pieces, and one of another variety, running headlines; 56, "A Passage in Mr. Flavels Thanksgiving | Sermon, Preached Febr. 14. 1689"; 59-62[64], "A Postscript. | Endeavouring the Satisfaction of them | that are inquisitive after the late Stu- | pendous Extasies and Prophecies in | France"; followed by "The Way to Prosperity" with new page numbers and signature letters.

On the *recto* of a fly-leaf at the beginning of one copy is written: "John Bouker His Booke 1690."

The Way to Prosperity. | — | A | Sermon | preached to the Honorable | Convention | of the | Governovr, Council, and Representatives | of the Massachuset-Colony in New-England; | on May 23. 1689. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | [Ten border pieces as a centre-piece.] | — | [Three lines from Jer. xxiii. 28.] | — || Boston. | Printed by Richard Pierce. for Benjamin | Harris. Anno Domini MDCXC. 16mo. pp. (7), 26 [36], 5, (7). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso*, "A Prophesey in the Divine Herbert's | Church-Militant," between two lines of border pieces; 5 pp. "The Preface," signed "Cotton Mather," headpiece a line of border pieces, and a similar line inverted, running headlines; 1-36 [36], "The Way to | Prosperity," headpiece similar to the last; 1-5, "Mantissa"; 7 pp. "An Appendix | touching | Prodigies | in New-England," headpiece a brace, eight urn-shaped border pieces, and two braces, running headlines; list of "Errata" at the end, seven lines; last page blank; follows "The Wonderful Works of God."

The Way to Prosperity. | [title the same as before]. || Boston. | Printed by R. Pierce. for Joseph Brunning, | Obadiah Gill, and James Woode. MDCXC. 16mo. pp. (7), 26 [36], 5, (7).

Collation same as in the preceding title.

[J | T[J | th[J | A[J | By[J | th[].
16mo. pp. (8), 106.

Titlepage, only a stub remaining, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "The Epistle | to the | Reader," headpiece a line of border pieces and a line of similar pieces inverted; 2 pp. "An Epistolatory word to those called Quakers"; 1-106, "A Dialogue between a Young Professor and | a Quaker," headpiece similar to the first; running headlines.

Judging from appearances, this book was printed in Boston about 1690, and for that reason the title is given here. Probably it is a reprint of an English publication.

1691.

Vt Fluctus fluctum, sic annus annum trudit. | — | News from the Stars. | — | An | Almanack | containing an Account of Coelestial Mo- | tions, Aspects, &c. For the Year of | the Christian Empire, 1691. |

	Years
Of the World,	5640
Since the Floud,	3984.
And Suffering of Christ.	1658.
Planting Massach. Colony,	63.
Founding of Harvard Colledge,	49.
From Leap-Year,	8.

| — | Whose Vulgar Notes be, |

Cycle of the ● 1.	{ Dominic. Let.	D.
Epact. 11.	{ Roman Indict.	14.
Cycle of the ☉ 20.	{ Number of Direct	22

| — | Respecting the Meridian of Boston, in New-England, whose Latitude is 44. d. 30. min. | Longitude, 315. Deg. | — | By Henry Newman, Philomath. | — || Printed by R. Pierce for Benjamin Harris at | the London Coffee-House in Boston, 1691. 16mo. pp. (25).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, including several stars; 24 pp., beginning on *verso* of title, January to December, each month covering two pages; at the bottom of 25th page "Advertisement" about the issue of a second Impression of "The New-England Primer enlarged"; last page blank.

The Barren | Fig Trees | Doom. | Or, | a Brief Discourse wherein is set forth | the woful Danger of all who abide Un- | fruitful under Gospel-Privileges, | and Gods Husbandry. | Being the Substance of Sixteen | Sermons | Preached on Christ's Parable of the | Fig-Tree. | — | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church | in Boston. | — | [Four lines from Matt. iii. 10.] || Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, and | John Allen. 1691. Price Bound 2s. 6d. 16mo. pp. 300.

Titlepage wanting; 4 pp. "The Epistle to the Reader" wanting; 1-300, text, headpiece two lines of border pieces.

Little Flocks Guarded against | Grievous Wolves. | — | An Address | Unto those Parts of New-England which are | most exposed unto Assaults, from the Mo- | dern Teachers of the misled Quakers. | In a Letter, | which impartially Discovers the manifold Hae- | resies and Blasphemies, and the Strong De- | lusions of even the most Refined | Quakerism; | And thereupon Demonstrates the Truth of those | Principles and Assertions, which are most | opposite thereunto. | With just Reflections upon the extream Igno- | rance and Wickedness, of George | Keith, Who is the Seducer that | now most Ravines upon the | Churches in this Wilderness. | — | Written by Cotton Mather. | — | A Character of the Ring-Leaders among the | Quakers. | [Four lines from 1 Tim. i. 6, 7.] | — || Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, & John | Allen, at the London-Coffee-House. 1691. 16mo. pp. (2), 110. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso*, "To the Reader"; 1-110, "Qvakerism display'd, | and | George Keith | detected; | in a | letter, | addressed unto those parts of New-England, | which are most in danger of being there- | by Seduced," signed, on page 110, "Cotton Mather," and dated "Sept. 1. 1691"; underneath are two lines of Latin; running headlines.

The Movrnrs | Cordial | Against Excessive | Sorrow | Discovering what Grounds of Hope | Gods People have concerning their | Dead | Friends | — | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a | Church in Boston. | — | [Five

lines from 2 Cor. v. 1.] | — || Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, and | John Allen. 1691. | Very Suitable to be given at Funerals. 16mo. pp. 4, 137.

Titlepage, surrounded by four wide rules, *verso* blank; 3, 4, "Readers," signed "Samuel Willard," headpiece a wide rule; 1-137, text, headpiece a wide rule, underneath extract from 1 Thess. iv. 13, and another wide rule, running headlines; last page, "Advertisements," of Cotton Mather's "Quakerism Displayed," of James Janeway's "Token for Children," of a Boston Almanack for 1692, and of an "Excellent Antidote" for medical purposes.

A | Narrative | of | the Proceedings | of | Sir Edmond Androsse | and his
Complices, | Who Acted by an Illegal and Arbitrary Com- | mission
from the Late K. James, during | his Government in | New England.
| — | By several Gentlemen who were of his Council. | — || Printed in
the Year 1691. 12mo. pp. 48.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1 p. "To the | Reader," dated at "B. N. E. Feb. 4. 1691."; 4-47, text, pages 9-12 wanting; 48, "Reader."

[Proclamation relating to various matters.] Folio. pp. 2.

A cut of the Colonial arms; "At a | General Court | for Their Majesties Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in | New England, Sitting at Boston, upon Adjournment, | December. 22th. 1691"; sets forth the importance of "the Guarding and Defending of the Seas and Coasts" against "divers Piratical Sea Rovers and other Enemies" who disturb the intercourse of trade; and gives an Enactment of the General Court laying certain duties "on all Goods and Commodities coming in and going out of This their Majesties Colony, and on all Ships and other Deck Vessels" to be collected between January 15, 1691-2, to May 10, 1692, — also making certain conditions concerning the same. This contains also, at the foot of the second page, a statement concerning the French Protestants and "many others of a contrary Religion" in this country, and an Order of the General Court, because it is a "time of War between the two Crowns of *England* and *France*," making it illegal for any "of the French Nation . . . to take up their Residence" in any seaport, or frontier town, but such as shall be licensed by the Governor and Council; and leaving other discretion in the hands of Selectmen. "Printed and Published by Order of the Court. | Isaac Addington, Secr."

Promise-Keeping | A Great | Duty. | As it was Delivered in a | Sermon |
— | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church | in Boston. | — | [Three
lines from Prov. xxv. 14.] | — || Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris,
and | John Allen, at the London-Coffee-House. | 1691. 16mo. pp.
(1), 28.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-28, "Promise-Keeping | a Great | Duty," headpiece two lines of border pieces; last leaf blank.

Near the top of the *verso* of the blank leaf at the end is written, "Samuel Checkley his Booke 1691."

A Scriptural Catechism. | — | The Heads of the Christian | Religion | Plainly, briefly, and fully delivered in a | Catechism, | Which endeavours a sufficient Answer to every | Question, barely with a pertinent Sentence of | Sacred Scripture, and Enables the Learner at | once with ease to confirm as well as assert the | great Articles of the Faith once delivered unto | the Saints. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | [One line from John xxi. 15.] | — || Boston, Printed by R: Pierce, for Nicholas Buttolph, | at the corner Shop, next to Guttridge's Coffee- | House. 1691. 16mo. pp. (2), 18.

Titlepage, *verso* "X Commandments," ten lines in verse within two border lines; 1-18 "Lambs | led unto Green Pastures and Still Waters, | by a Scriptural | Catechism," headpiece a line of border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar inverted pieces, running headlines; pages 19 to 21 missing; follows "Addresses to Old Men" (Boston, 1690).

The | Sinfulness of Worshipping | God | with Men's | Institutions | as it was delivered in a | Sermon | — | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church in | Boston. | — | [Two lines from 1 Cor. xi. 23; two lines from Matt. xxviii. 20.] | — || Printed by Benjamin Harris, and John Allen, at | the London-Coffee-house. 1691. 16mo. pp. (1), 29.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-29, "The Sinfulness of Worshipping | God | with Men's | Institutions," headpiece of two lines of border pieces; last page blank.

Near the top of the titlepage is written, "Samuel Checkley's Book 1691."

The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion, | in America. | — | The Life of the Renowned | John Eliot | a Person justly Famous in the | Church of God, | not only as an Eminent Christian, | and an Excellent Minister, among the | English, | but also, | as a Memorable Evangelist among the | Indians, of New-England; | With some Account concerning the late and | strange Success of the Gospel, in those parts | of the World, which for many Ages have | lain Buried in Pagan Ignorance. | — | Written by | Cotton Mather. | — | [Two lines from Luke xii. 43.] | — || Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, and John | Allen, for Joseph Brunning at the corner of | the Prison-Lane. 1691. 16mo. pp. (8), 152.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 5 pp. "To the Right Honourable | Philip Lord Wharton. | A no less Noble than Aged Patron | of Learning and Virtue; | And a Favourite of that Great King Whose | Throne is in the Heavens, and whose Kingdom | Ruleth over all," signed "Cotton Mather," headpiece two lines of border pieces; 1 p. "The Life | of the Renowned | John Eliot" and one line of Latin, nothing more on the page; 3 pp. "The Introduction," headpiece similar to the last one, only lower line inverted; 1 p. blank; 5-152, text; list of "Errata" at foot of page 152, six lines; running headlines.

1692.

Acts | and Laws, | Passed by the Great and General Court | or Assembly of
 Their Majesties Pro- | vince of the Massachusetts-Bay, in | New-Eng-
 land. | Begun at Boston, the Eighth Day of June, 1692. And Con- |
 tinued by Adjournment, unto Wednesday the Twelfth | Day of October
 following: Being the Second Sessions. | Anno Regni Guilielmi, et
 Mariae, Regis et Reginae Angliae, Scotiae, | Franciae, et Hiberniae,
 Quarto. | [16 border pieces arranged in the form of a diamond.] | —||
 Boston | Printed by Benjamin Harris, Printer to His Excellency, | the
 Governour and Council. 1692. 4to. pp. (1), 90.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-90, text, various headlines, portions of pages
 65 and 66, and of the last leaf wanting.

Boston | Almanack | for the | Year our Lord God 1692. | Being Bissextile

	Years
Of the World,	5641
Since the Flovd,	3985
Suffering of Christ,	1659
Planting Massach. Colony	64

| Whose Vulgar Notes be, |

Golden Numb. 2 } { Cicle of the Sun 21

Epact 22 } { Dominic. Letter C.B.

| Calculated for the Meridian of Boston in | New-England, where the
 North Pole | is Elevated 42 gr. 30 min. | — | By H. B. [Benjamin Har-
 ris ?] | — || Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, and | John Allen: And
 are to be Sold at the | London-Coffee-House. 1692. 16mo. pp. (20).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, about eclipses &c.
 four lines of poetry at the bottom, signed H. B.; 12 pp. January to Decem-
 ber; 1 p. "To Their Most Sacred Majesties | King William, and Queen
 Mary," twenty lines of poetry; 5 pp. bills, bonds, and indentures, &c.;
 last page, beginning in the upper part of the page, "Advertisements" of
 an "Excellent Antidote" for medical purposes, of Cotton Mather's
 "Little Flocks Guarded," and of James Janeway's "Token for Children."
 Rubricated.

A Brief and True | Narrative | of some Remarkable Passages Relating to
 sundry Persons | Afflicted by | VVitchcraft, | at | Salem Village: |
 Which happened from the Nineteenth of March, to the | Fifth of April,
 1692. | — | Collected by Deodat Lawson. | — | [Eight border pieces
 arranged in the form of a square.] | — || Boston, Printed for Benjamin
 Harris and are to be Sold at his | Shop, over-against the Old-Meeting-
 House. 1692. 12mo. pp. 9, (1).

Titlepage, *verso*, "The Bookseller to the Reader," signed "Benjamin
 Harris"; 3-10, text.

A | Letter | from the most Ingenious | Mr. Lodowick | Rhode-Island, Febr.
1. 1691, 2. No titlepage. 16mo. pp. 8. [Two copies.]

Pages 1-8, text, signed "Christianus Lodowick"; a reply to "Quakerism Displayed,"—which is the running headline of Cotton Mather's "Little Flocks Guarded against Grievous Wolves," given in this list under the year 1691.

Monthly Observations | and | Predictions, | for this Present Year, 1692. |
With | Astrological Judgments | on the whole Year. | All Taken from
Mr. Patridge's | Almanack: | To which is Added, an Account of a |
Plot | which was lately Discovered in England: And | which was Fore-
told by the said John | Patridge, in his this Years Almanack. | Pub-
lished for General Satisfaction. | — || Printed at Boston: And are to
be Sold by | Benj. Harris, at the London-Coffee-House. | 1692. 12mo.
pp. 16.

Titlepage; 2-11, "Monthly Observations," beginning on the *verso* of the title; 11-13, "Astrological Judgments"; "Finis" near the top of page 13; underneath, and as far as page 16, news relating to events between April 21 and May 5, brought from Hull in England by a vessel arriving in Boston, Capt. Walley Commander, on August 5; twenty-four lines of poetry at the end, on page 16.

Optanda. | — | Good men Described, | and | Good Things propounded. | A |
Serious Consideration | of | Two very Important Cases: | I. What
should be our Spirits, | and | II. What should be our Studies, | that
so | all Things may Go well among us. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — |
In Two Sermons; Whereof One, was | Preached unto the Governour, |
and General Court, of the Pro- | vince of the Massachusetts-Bay, in
New- | England; at their First Session: June 9. | 1692. | — | Published
by Authority | — || Boston, Printed and Sold by Benjamin | Harris, at
the London-Coffee-House. 1692. 16mo. pp. (6), 99.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To His Excellency, | Sir William Phipps,
Kt. | Governour of the Massachusetts Province, | and General of New-Eng-
land," signed "Cotton Mather"; 1-99, "Good Men | Described. | In a Ser-
mon, Directed unto the | Governour, of New- | England"; list of "Errata"
at the foot of page 99, five lines.

[Proclamation appointing Thanksgiving July 14, 1692.] Broadside. Folio.

"By the | Governour, Council, | and | Representatives, | Convened in
a Great and General Court, or Assembly of | Their Majesties Province of
the Massachusetts-Bay: | Held at Boston the 8th of June. 1692"; refers to
the continued peace in the three Kingdoms; to the "safe Arrival to His Ex-
cellency, our Governour, and the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, who have
Industriously Endeavoured the Service of this People, and have brought over
with them a Settlement of Government"; speaks of the "comfortable hopes
of an Harvest," the "Restraints upon our Enemies," especially their Defeat
"in a late Attack upon the Eastern Parts"; signed "By Order of the
Governour & Council, &c. | Isaac Addington, Secr."

[Proclamation relating to the orderly behavior of soldiers and seamen, and the enforcement of laws against Vice. Imprint at foot of the page] Printed by Benjamin Harris, Printer to his Excellency, the Governour and Council. | 1692. Broadside. Folio.

A cut of the arms of Great Britain; "By His | Excellency | the | Governor"; states that some among the Soldiers and Seamen "have passed the Bounds of their Duty, and my Order, by putting the same in Execution in a violent and disorderly manner," etc.; and requires "All Justices of the Peace, Constables, Tithingmen, or what-ever other Officers, as well Civil as Military . . . to dischardge the Duty of their places, with all fidelity," and especially to see that "all the wholesome Laws here in Force against Vices of all kinds" be "immediately and impartially put in Execution"; "Given at Boston, and Dated the 27th day of July, 1692."

Some Miscellany | Observations | on our present Debates respecting | Witchcrafts, in a Dialogue | between S. & B. | — | By P. E. and J. A. | — || Philadelphia, Printed by William Bradford, for Hezekiah Vsher. | 1692. No titlepage. 16mo. pp. 16.

Prince, in his catalogue, under "1691-1700," says, "This was wrote by y^e Rev^d Mr. Willard." See Calef's "More Wonders of the Invisible World" (London, 1700), page 38; and also "The Congregational Quarterly" (XI. 400-415) for July, 1869, where a reprint of the pamphlet is given. It has been supposed that "S. & B." who carry on the Dialogue were intended for Stoughton and Brattle, or perhaps for Salem and Boston; and the initials "P. E. and J. A." were probably used to mislead the reader in regard to the authorship.

1693.

Acts | and | Laws, | Passed by the Great and General | Court or Assembly of Their | Majesties Province of the | Massachusetts-Bay, in | New-England. | Convened and held at Boston, the Thirty-first | Day of May, 1693. | Anno Regni Guilelmi, et Mariae, Regis et Reginae, Angliae, | Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, Quinto. | [16 border pieces arranged in the form of a diamond.] | — || Boston. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, and Sold by | Samuel Phillips. 1693. 4to. pp. 15.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 3-15, text, various headlines; last page blank.

Acts | and | Laws, | [title continues same as above]. | Begun at Boston, the Thirty-first Day of May. 1693. | And Continued by Adjournment unto Thursday the Sixth | Day of July following: Being the Second Sessions. | [continues same as last title.] 4to. pp. 4.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 3, 4, text, headlines.

Acts | and | Laws, [title continues same as before]. | Convened and Held at Boston, the Eight Day | of November. 1693. | [same as in last title]. | [Cut of the Arms of Great Britain.] | — || [same imprint as before]. 4to. pp. (2). 19-48.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 19-48, text, various headlines.

Tulley 1693 | — | An | Almanack | for the Year of our Lord, | MDCXCIII. | Being first after Leap-Year. | And from the Creation. | 5642. | Wherein is Contained, Astronomical Obser- | vations from the Suns Ingress into Aries, and | the other Cardinal Points, with an Account | of the Eclipses, Conjunctions, and other | Configurations of the Celestial Bodies. | With a brief Discourse of the natural causes of | Watry Meteors, as Snow, Hail, Rain, &c. | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston in | New-England, where the North Pole is Elevated 42. | gr. 30 min. But may indifferently serve any part | of New-England. | — | By John Tulley | — || Boston Printed, by Benjamin Harris at the | London-Coffee-House. 1693. 16mo. pp. (21).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, vulgar notes, zodiac, etc.; 12 pp. January to December; 1 p. "a Table of all the Kings and Queens since the Conquest," and seven lines of poetry; 1 p. "Some few Lines by another Hand, we shall leave to | the Interpretation of Time, & the Intelligent | Reader"; 8 pp. "Of the Eclipses this present | Year, 1693," four pages in the middle wanting; at the bottom of 8th page "Advertisement" of Wonders of the Invisible World "Sold by Benjamin Harris"; a leaf pasted on at the end headed "A Table of the Courts," in two columns, with "Advertisement" of Acts and Laws of 1692, at bottom of the second column, underneath appears "Printed & sold by Ben. Harris," *verso* blank.

Tulley 1693 | [title continues same as before]. || Boston Printed, by Benjamin Harris for | Samuel Phillips. 1693. 16mo. pp. (26).

Collation same as before to foot of 16th page; a copy of the leaf similar to the one at the end of the other edition is here inserted, facing "Of the Eclipses," *recto* blank; collation same to foot of the last page where the last line is "Sold by Samuel Phillips."

Christ's Fidelity | the only | Shield | against | Satans Malignity. | Asserted in a | Sermon | Delivered at Salem-Village, the 24th of | March, 1692. Being Lecture-day there, and | a time of Publick Examination, of some Sus- | pected for Witchcraft. | — | By Deodat Lawson, formerly Preacher of the | Gospel there | — | [Four lines from Rev. xii. 12; two lines from Rom. xvi. 20.] | — || Boston Printed, by B. Harris, & Sold by Nicholas | Buttolph, next to Guttridge's Coffee-House. 1693. 16mo. pp. (7), 79.

Titlepage, *verso*, "Licensed ac- | cording to | Order"; 2 pp. "To the Wor- shipful | and | Worthily Honoured | Bartholomew Gidney | John Hathorne

| Jonathan Corwin Esqrs. | Together with the Reverend | Mr. John Higginson Pastor, | and | Mr. Nicholas Noyes Teacher | of the Church of Christ at Salem," signed "Deodat Lawson"; Address to the public signed "Increase Mather, Coll. Harv. Praes. | Charles Morton | James Allen. | Samuel Willard. | John Bailey | Cotton Mather."; 3 pp. "To all my Christian Friends and Acquaintance; | the Inhabitants of Salem-Village," signed "Deodat Lawson"; 1 p. blank; 7 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Deodat Lawson," wanting; 1-79, "Christ's Fidelity | the only | Shield | against | Satans Malignity"; last page blank; running headlines.

On the *verso* of the fly-leaf at the beginning is written, "William Griggs his Book 1692."

The | Doctrine | of the | Covenant | of | Redemption. | Wherein is laid the Foundation of all | our Hopes and Happiness. | Briefly Opened and Improved. | — | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church | in Boston. | — | [Three lines from Psalms lxxxix. 3.] | — || Boston, Printed by Benj. Harris over | against the Old-Meeting-House. 1693. 16mo. pp. (8), 165.

Titlepage; 7 pp. beginning on the *verso* of the first leaf, "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, New-England. | February 6th. 1693"; 1-165, text; running headlines.

On the *recto* of the first fly-leaf at the beginning is the autograph signature "Iohannes-Winthrop"; and on the *recto* of the second that of "Wait. Winthrop Novemb: 17th 1693."

The Duty & Property | of a | Religious Housholder | Opened | in a | Sermon | Delivered at Charlestown, on | Lords Day December. 25. 1692. | — | By Deodat Lawson, Preacher | of the Gospel. | — | [Three lines from Jer. x. 25; three lines from Gen. xviii. 19.] | — || Boston in New-England. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, | and Sold by Samuel Phillips, | at the Exchange. 1693. 16mo. pp. (8), 64.

Titlepage, *verso*, "Imprimatur, | Increase Mather. | July. 27. | 1693," all within two border lines, the lower one inverted; 1 p. "To the Worshipful | and | Worthily Honoured | Samuel Sewal Esq.," signed "Deodat Lawson," headpiece a line of border pieces, two lines of stars, and a line of similar border pieces; 5 pp. "To the | Reader," signed "Deodat Lawson," and dated at "Boston. N. E. | May. 12. | 1693," headpiece a line of border pieces, and a line of similar inverted pieces; 1-64, "The Duty & Property | of a Religious House- | holder," headpiece similar to the last with the addition of two lines of stars between; running headlines.

The Great | Blessing, | of | Primitive | Counsellours. | Discoursed in a | Sermon, | preached in the Audience of the Governour, Council, | and Representatives, of the Province of the Massachusetts- | Bay, in New-

England. May 31st. 1693. Being the Day for the Election of Counsellours, in that Province. | — | By Increase Mather. | President of Harvard Colledge in Cambridge, and Teacher of a Church at Boston, in New-England. | — | [One line of Latin.] || Boston, | Printed and Sold, by Benjamin Harris, Over-against the | Old-Meeting-House. 1693. 12mo. pp. 23.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; (3)-8, "To the Inhabitants | of the Province of the Massachusets-Bay, | in | New-England"; 9-23, "Primitive | Counsellors, | a Great | Blessing"; last page, "Advertisements," of Cotton Mather's "The Day and Work of the Day," of "The Englishmans Right," and of "An account of the late terrible Earthquake in Sicily."

The | Judgment | of Several Eminent | Divines | of the | Congregational VVay. | Concerning A | Pastors Power. | Occasionally to Exert Ministerial Acts | in another Church, besides | that which is His Own Particular | Flock | — || Boston Printed by Benjamin Harris, and are | to be Sold by Richard Wilkins. 1693. 16mo. pp. (2), 13.

Titlepage, *verso*, letter to the public from "James Allen. | Samuel Willard. | Michael Wigglesworth. | Cotton Mather. | Nehemiah Walter," headpiece a line of border pieces; 1-13, text; headpiece similar to the last; last page blank.

Warnings from the Dead. | — | Or | Solemn Admonitions | unto | All People; | but Especially unto | Young Persons | to Beware | of such Evils as would bring | them to the Dead. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | In Two Discourses, | Occasioned by a Sentence of Death, | Executed on some Unhappy Malefactors. Together with the | Last Confession, made by a | Young Woman, who Dyed on June | 8, 1693. One of these Malefactors. | — || Boston in New-England; | Printed by Bartholomew Green, for | Samuel Phillips, at the West End of | the Exchange. 1693. 16mo. pp. (1), 67 [76].

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-34, "A Blessed Medicine for Sinful | Madness. | — | A Discourse, Occasioned by a Sentence | of Death, passed upon several | Malefactors, who where then in the | Congregation"; 35-67 [76], "An Holy Rebuke to the | Unclean Spirit. | — | Uttered on a Day when Two Per- | sons were Executed for Murder- | ing of their Bastard-Children"; running headlines.

The Wonders of the Invisible World. | — | Observations | as well Historical as Theological, upon the Nature, the | Number, and the Operations of the | Devils. | Accompany'd with, | I. Some Accounts of the Grievous Molestations by Dæ | mons and Witchcrafts, which have lately | annoy'd the Countrey; and the Trials of some eminent | Malefactors Executed upon occasion thereof: with several | Remarkable Curiosities therein occurring. | II. Some Counsails, Directing a due Improvement

of the terrible things, lately done, by the Unusual & Amazing | Range of Evil Spirits, in Our Neighbourhood: & | the methods to prevent the Wrongs which those Evil | Angels may intend against all sorts of people among us; | especially in Accusations of the Innocent. | III. Some Conjectures upon the great Events, likely | to befall, the World in General, and New-England in Particular; as also upon the Advances of | the Time, when we shall see better Dayes. | IV. A Short Narrative of a late Outrage committed by a | knot of Witches in Swedenland, very much Resembling, and so far Explaining, That under which our parts | of America have laboured! | V. The Devil Discovered: In a Brief Discourse upon | those Temptations, which are the more Ordinary Devices | of the Wicked One. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — || Boston Printed by Benj. Harris for Sam. Phillips. 1693. 16mo. pp. (32), 151, (1), 32.

Titlepage, *verso*, "Published by the Special | Command of His Excellency, the Governor of the Province of | the Massachusetts-Bay in | New-England," between two lines of border pieces; 5 pp. "The Author's Defence"; 25 pp. "Enchantments | Encountered," running headlines; 1-151, "A | Discourse: | on | the Wonders of the Invisible World. | — | Uttered (in part) on Aug. 4. 1692," running headlines; 1 p. list of "Errata," seven lines; 1-32, "The | — | Devil Discovered," running headlines.

1694.

Acts | and | Laws, | Passed by the Great and General | Court or Assembly of Their | Majesties Province of the | Massachusetts-Bay, in | New-England. | Begun at Boston, the Eighth Day of November, 1693. And | Continued by Adjournment unto Wednesday the Fourteenth | Day of February following: Being the Second Sessions. | Anno Regni Guilielmi, et Mariae, Regis et Reginae, Angliae, | Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, Sexto | [A cut of the arms of Great Britain] | — || Boston. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, and Sold by | Samuel Phillips. 1694. 4to. pp. (1), 49-60.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 49-60, text, various headlines.

Acts, | and | Laws, | [title continues same as before]. | Convened and Held at Boston, on Wednesday the | Thirtieth of May. 1694. | [same as last title]. 4to. pp. (1), 61-76.

Pages 61-76, text; collation same as before.

Acts | and | Laws, | [title continues same as before]. | Begun at Boston, the Thirtieth Day of May, 1694. And | Continued by Adjournment unto Wednesday the Fifth | Day of September following: Being the Second Sessions. | Anno Regni Guilielmi, et Mariae, Regis et Reginae, | Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, Sexto. | [same as before]. 4to. pp. (1), 77-85.

Pages 77-85, text; collation same as before; last page blank.

Acts | and | Laws, | [title continues same as before]. Tuesday the Sixteenth
| Day of October following: Being the Third Sessions. | [same as be-
fore]. 4to. pp. (2), 87-95.

Pages 87-95, text; collation same as before; slightly imperfect.

1694. | — | An | Almanack | of the Coelestiall Motions, Aspects | and
Eclipses, &c. For the Year of | our Lord God, MDCXCIV. | And of
the World, | 5643. | Being the Second after Bissextile or Leap | Year,
and of the Reign of Their Ma- | jesties William and Mary King | and
Queen of Great Brittain, France, | and Ireland &c. (which began | Feb.
13. 1688, 9.) the Sixth Year. | Calculated for the Meridian of Boston in
| N. E. 69. deg. 20. min. to the Westward | of London, & 42. deg. 30.
min. North | Latitude, but may indifferently serve the | most part of
New-England. | — | By Philo-Mathemat. | — || Boston, Printed by
B. Green, for Samuel | Phillips, near the South-East end of the Ex-
| change, by the Rose & Crown Tavern. 1694. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "1694," vulgar
notes, zodiac, etc.; 12 pp. January to December; 1 p. "Of the Eclipses
which will happen this Year | 1694"; 1 p. "A Postscript Concerning the
Tides, Weather, &c."

An | Answer | to | George Keith's | Libel. | Against A | Catechism | Pub-
lished by Francis Makemie. | — | To which is Added, by way of Post-
| script. A Brief Narrative of a Late | Difference among the Quakers,
be- | gun at Philadelphia. | — || Boston, | Printed, by Benjamin
Harris, at the | Sign of the Bible, over-against | the Blew-Anchor. |
MDCXCIII. 16mo. pp. (12), 103.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, "Imprimatur, | Increase
Mather | March 31st. | 1694."; 3 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "Increase
Mather. | James Allen | Samuel Willard | John Bailly | Cotton Mather";
1 p. blank; 6 pp. "An Epistle to the Reader," signed "At Rehoboth in
Pocamok Maryland. | This 26 July, 1692. | Francis Makemie," eight lines
below headed "Reader"; 1-4, "Several mixed Quæries, to be resolved by |
Quakers in this juncture, for the Justifica- | tion of themselves and satisfac-
tion of all. | July 26th. 1692"; 5-20, "A True Copy of | George Keith's
Paper, | Delivered to | Mr. George Layfield, | at Pocamok in Mary-land";
20-103, "A Short Answer, to | George Keiths Lybel, | Against a | Cate-
chism | Published, by F. M. | And left in the Hands of, | Mr. George Lay-
field"; 1 p. "Advertisement," of John Oliver's new book, entitled, "A
Present to be given to Teeming Women, by their Husbands or Friends,"
soon to be "Reprinted and Sold at Boston in New-England, by Benjamin
Harris."

On a fly-leaf at the beginning is written, "S Willard's Book.
1694. Ex dono Patris."

A Brief | Narrative | of | the Success which the Gospel | hath had, among
the | Indians, | of | Martha's-Vineyard (and the Places Adjacent) in
New-England. | With | Some Remarkable Curiosities, concerning the |
Numbers, the Customes, and the Present Cir- | cumstances of the Indians
on that Island. | Further Explaining and Confirming the Ac- | count
given of those matters, by Mr. Cotton | Mather in the Life of the Re-
nowned | Mr. John Eliot. | — | By Matthew Mayhew. | — | Whereto
is added, | An Account concerning the Present State of | Christianity
among the Indians, in | other Parts of New-England: Expressed | in the
Letters of several Worthy Persons, | best Acquainted therewithall. |
| — || Boston in N. E. Printed by Bartholomew Green, | Sold by Michael
Perry, under the Exchange, 1694. 16mo. pp. 55.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To His Ex-
cellency | Sir. William Phipps Knight:," etc., signed "Matthew Mayhew,"
and dated at "Martha's Vineyard, | June 18. 1694," headline two lines of
border pieces; 5-15, "Of the Indians Inhabiting | in New-England, (and |
Adjacent Provinces," headline two lines of border pieces; 16-31, "Of the
Conversion of the | Indians, inhabiting certain | Islands near adjoyning | to
the Continent of New- | England; and the Propa- | gation of the Gospel by |
some sent, to the Maine- | land from thence"; 32-40, "Of the Indian Gov-
ern- | ment when Christian"; 41-45, "Postscript"; 46-55, "A Further
Account, con- | cerning the present | State of Christianity a- | mong the In-
dians | in other parts of | New-England," headpiece a line of border pieces
and a line of similar inverted pieces; last page blank.

The | Character | of a Good | Ruler. |—As it was Recommended in a | Sermon
| Preached before his Excellency the | Governour, and the Honoura- |
ble Counsellors, and Assem- | bly of the Representatives | of the Pro-
vince of Massachusetts-Bay | in New-England. | On May 30. 1694. |
Which was the Day for Election of | Counsellors for that Province.
| — | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a | Church in Boston. | — ||
Boston Printed by Benjamin Harris, for | Michael Perry, under the
West | End of the Town-House. 1694. 16mo. pp. (5), 31.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso*, "Published by Order
| of Authority," within two border lines; 3 pp. "To the | Reader," signed
"Samuel Willard"; 1 p. blank; 1-31, "The | Character | of a | Good |
Ruler"; 1 p. blank; running headlines; last leaf blank.

Early Religion, | Urged in a | Sermon, | upon | the Duties Wherein, |
and the Reasons Wherefore, | Young People, | should Become | Reli-
gious. | Whereto are Added, | the Extracts of several Papers, Written
| by several Persons, who here Dying in their | Youth, left behind them
those Admonitions for | the Young Survivors; with Brief Memoirs rela-
| ting to the Exemplary Lives of some such, | that have gone from
hence to their | Everlasting Rest. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | [Two

lines from Psalms cxix. 9.] | — || Boston, Printed, by B. H. for Michael Perry, | under the West-End of the Town-House 1694. 16mo. pp. (1), 117.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 1-117, "Early Religion | Urged. | On a Day of Prayer, kept by the Congregation | at Reading, for the Success of the Gospel, on the | Hearts of the Young in that Congregation. | Anno 1693"; 1 p. "A Catalogue of some other Books," all by this Author, thirty-one titles.

A | Narrative | of The Planting of the Massachusetts | Colony | Anno 1628. With the Lords Signal | Presence the First Thirty | Years. | Also a Caution from New-Englands Apostle, | the Great | Cotton, | How to Escape the Calamity, which might | Befall them or their Posterity. | And Confirmed by the Evangelist | Norton | With Prognosticks from the Famous | Dr. Owen. | Concerning the Fate of these Churches, and Animadversions | upon the Anger of God, in sending of Evil Angels | among us. | — | Published by Old Planters, the Authors of the Old | Mens Tears. | — | [Three lines from Psalms lxxviii. 2, 3, 4; four lines from Jer. vi. 16.] | — || Boston Printed and Sold by Benjamin Harris, at the | sign of the Bible over-against the Blew-Anchor. 1694. 16mo. pp. (4), 75, (1). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Honourable | Simon Broadstreet Esq; | late Governour of the | Massachusetts-Colony," signed "J. S." [Joshua Scottow]; 1-75, "A | Narrative | of the Planting of the | Massachusetts-Colony &c."; 75, and 1 p. "A Funeral | Elegy, | upon the Death of the truly Reverend | Mr. John Cotton. | Late Teacher of a Church of Christ at Boston | in New-England: Who Died the Twenty | Third, was Buried the Twenty Ninth of | December. 1652," signed "John Norton"; an erratum of two lines at foot of the last page.

On the *verso* of the titlepage is written the following in the hand of Thomas Prince: "To M^r Bayly Bestowed by y^e author. Sept. 18. 1694. N E. * N B. y^e Line wth y^e * wth y^e name in y^e Title Page [By M^r Scotway] w^e wrote wth y^e Rev M^r Bailey's own hand on y^e Inside of y^e cover."

Reformation | the Great Duty | of an | Afflicted People. | Setting forth | the Sin and Danger there is | in Neglecting of it, under the | Continued and Repeated Judg- | ments of God. | Being the Substance of what was | Preached on a Solemn Day of | Humiliation kept by the | Third Gathered Church in Boston, | on August. 23d. 1694. | — | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of the said Church. | — | [Four lines from Zech. i. 3.] | — || Boston in New-England, | Printed and Sold by Bartholomew Green, | 1694. 16mo. pp. 76.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* and 2 pp. "To the | Reader," signed, "Samuel Willard," headpiece a line of border pieces, and a similar line inverted; 5-76, "Reformation the Great Duty | of an Afflicted People," headpiece two lines of different shaped border pieces; running headlines.

Their Majesties Colony | of | Connecticut | in New-England | Vindicated, | from the Abuses | of a Pamphlet, Licensed and Printed | at New-York 1694. Intituled, | Some Seasonable Considerations for the | Good People of Connecticut. | By an Answer Thereunto. | — | [Five border pieces in a short line.] | [Two lines from Exod. xxii. 28; two lines from Prov. x. 18; two lines from Prov. xiv. 3.] | — || Boston in New-England. | Printed by Bartholomew Green. Anno Dom. 1694. 12mo. pp. 43. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, *verso*, "Hartford, April. 23d. 1694," an Order to print the pamphlet, signed "Robert Treat, Governour. | John Allyn Secretary"; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "J. A." [John Allyn] and "W. P." [William Pitkin]; 5-43, "An Answer to A | Pamphlet, | Intituled | "Some Seasonable Considerations for | the Good people of Connecticut," | Printed at New-York, 1694," headpiece a line of border pieces, a line of daggers, a line of stars, and a line of similar border pieces; last page blank.

1695.

Acts | and | Laws | Passed by the Great and General | Court or Assembly of Their | Majesties Province of the | Massachusetts-Bay in | New-England. | Begun at Boston the Thirtieth Day of May, 1694. And | Continued by several adjournments unto Wednesday the Twenty- | seventh Day of February following: Being the Fourth Sessions. | Anno Regni Guilielmi, et Mariae, Regis et Reginae, | Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, Septimo. | — || Boston. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, Printer to His Excellency, | the Governour and Council. 1695. 4to. pp. 99-108.

Titlepage wanting; 99-108, text; pages 97, 98, 109 to 114 wanting; pages 101 and 102 imperfect; running headlines.

Acts | and | Laws, | [title continues same as before] His | Majesties Province [same as before] | Begun and Held at Boston, on Wednesday the | Twenty-ninth of May. 1695. | Anno Regni Guilielmi, Tertii, Angliae, Scotiae, | Franciae, et Hiberniae, Regis, Septimo. | [A cut of the arms of Great Britain.] | — || Boston. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, Printer to the Governour | and Council. 1695. 4to. pp. (1), 117-134.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 117-134, text; various headlines.

Acts | and | Laws, | Passed by the Great and General Court | or Assembly
of His Majesties Province | of the Massachusetts-Bay, in | New-England.
| Begun at Boston the Twenty-ninth Day of May, 1695. | and con-
tinued by Adjournment until Wednesday the | Fourteenth of August
following. | [same as before]. | — || Boston. | Printed by Bartholomew
Green and John Allen, Printers | to the Governour and Council. 1695.
4to. pp. (1), 137, 138.

Pages 137, 138, text; collation same as before.

Acts | and | Laws, | [title continues same as before]. | and continued by sev-
eral Adjournments until Wednesday | the Twentieth of November fol-
lowing | [same as before]. 4to. pp. (1), 141-150.

Pages 141-150, text; collation same as before.

Tulley, 1695 | — | An | Almanack | for the Year of our Lord, MDCXCV |
Being Third of the Leap-Year | And from the Creation 5644. | Wherein
is Contained Astronomical Obser- | vations from the Suns Ingress into
Aries, and | the other Cardinal Points, with an Account | of the Eclipses,
Conjunctions, and other | Configurations of the Celestial Bodies. | To
which is Added, An Account of the Cru- | elty of the Papists acted
upon the Bodies | of some of the Godly Martyrs. | Calculated for and
fitted to the Meridian of Boston | in New-England, where the North
Pole is Elevated | 42 gr. 30 min. But may indifferently serve any |
part of New-England. | — | By John Tulley | — || Boston, Printed for
John Usher, by Ben- | jamin Harris, who formerly lived over | against
the Old-Meeting-House, is now Re- | moved to the Sign of the Bible,
over | against the Blew-Anchor. 1695. 16mo. pp. (23).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* "MDCXCV,"
vulgar notes, characters, zodiacal constellations, etc.; 12 pp. January to
December; 9 pp. "Of the Eclipses this Year. 1695," of the four quarters
of the year, and "An Account of the Cruelty of the Papists, acted upon
the | Bodies of some the Godly Martyrs," running headlines over the last
part; 1 p. "Advertisement" of John Oliver's "Present to be given to
Teeming Women," and of Joshua Scottow's "Narrative of the Planting of
the Massachusetts-Colony."

Durable Riches. | — | Two Brief | Discourses, | occasioned | by the Im-
poverishing Blast of Hea- | ven, which the Undertakings of | Men, both
by Sea and Land, | have met withal. | The One, handling, The true |
Cause of Loosing; | The other, giving, The true | Way of Thriving.
| — | By Cotton Mather. | — | [Four lines of Latin.] | — || Boston,
Printed by John Allen, for | Vavasour Harris, and are to be Sold |
at his Shop over-against the Old Meet- | ing-House. 1695. 16mo.
pp. (2), 33, 34, (1).

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, "Preface," signed "Cotton Mather"; 1-33, "The | True Cause of | Loosing"; 1 p. blank; 1-34, "The | True Way of | Thriving"; 1 p. ten lines of Latin; last page, "Advertisement," of Cotton Mather's "Help for Distressed Parents," between two border lines.

The | Earthquake | Naples; September, 21. 1694. [Imprint at the bottom of page] Boston, N. E. Reprinted by B. Green. February 21. 1694, 5. Broadside. 8vo.

Help for Distressed Parents. Or, Counsels and Comforts for Godly Parents Afflicted with Ungodly Children: And Warnings unto Children, to beware of all those Evil Courses, which would be Afflictive unto their Parents. By Mr. Cotton Mather. Sold by Vavasour Harris, at the Sign of the Bible, over-against the Blew Anchor, in Boston. 1695. 16mo. pp. 62, (6).

Titlepage wanting; 1-62, "Help for Distressed | Parents. | — | Offered, at the Lecture in Boston, | 14. d. 12. m. 1694."; 6 pp. wanting, with the exception of some stubs which show that the letterpress extended to the last page; 2 pp. "A Catalogue of some other Books," thirty-three titles "All by this Author"; underneath on the second page is the following: —

Advertisement.

UPON the Desire of some Well disposed | Persons, There is now in the Press, | A Select Part of the CHURCH HISTO- | RY of *New England*; Containing the *Lives* | of Four Eminent and Renowned Persons, | who all Successively Dy'd in the Immediate | Service of *One Church in Boston*; to wit, | Mr. JOHN COTTON, Mr. JOHN | NORTON, Mr. JOHN WILSON, and | Mr. JOHN DAVENPORT. With an Ap- | pendix, Containing the Life of the Famous | Mr. THOMAS HOOKER, Pastor of the | Church at *Hartford in Connecticut*.

The title of this pamphlet is taken from the advertisement found at the end of "Durable Riches," by the same author, and already noted in the collation of that work. The advertisement given above refers to the next title.

Johannes in Eremo. | — | Memoirs, Relating to the | Lives, | of the | Ever-Memorable, | Mr. John Cotton, | who Dyed, 23. d. 10. m. 1652. | Mr. John Norton, | who Dyed, 5. d. 2. m. 1663. | Mr. John Wilson, | who Dyed 7. d. 6 m. 1667. | Mr. John Davenport, | who Dyed, 15. d. 1. m. 1670. | Reverend and Renowned Ministers of the | Gospel, All, in the more Immediate Service | of *One Church*, in Boston; | and | Mr. Thomas Hooker, | who Dyed, 7. d. 5. m. 1647. | Pastor of the Church at *Hartford*; *New-England*. | — | Written, by Cotton Mather. | — | [Three lines of Latin.] | — || Printed for and Sold by Michael Perry, at his Shop, | under the West End of the Town-House. 1695. 16mo. pp. 32, 80, 39, 46, 30, 45.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, "Faithfully Collected," and list of errata, eleven lines; 3-12, "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, New-England, | May. 16. 1695," headpiece a line of border pieces, two lines of stars, and a line of similar pieces inverted; 13-27, "The | Introduction," signed "Cotton Mather"; 28-32, "Advertisement," and "A Schaeme, | of the Whole Work"; 1-80, "Cottonus Redivivus. | — | Or, | the Life | of | Mr. John Cotton"; 1-39, "Nortonus Honoratus | — | The Life | of | Mr. John Norton," headpiece a line of border pieces and two lines of stars; 1 p. blank; 1-46, "Memoria Wilsonia. | — | The Life | of | Mr. John Wilson," headpiece a line of border pieces, a line of daggers, and a line of similar border pieces inverted; 2 pp. blank; 1-30, "Chrysostomus Nov-Anglorum. | — | The Life | of | Mr. John Davenport"; 2 pp. blank; 1-45, separate title, see "Piscator Evangelicus," below; 2 pp. "A Catalogue of some other Books," thirty-four titles, "All by this Author"; running headlines; last page blank.

Piscator Evangelicus. | — | Or, | the Life of | Mr. Thomas Hooker, | the Renowned, | Pastor of Hartford-Church, | and | Pillar of Connecticut-Colony, | in | New-England. | — | Essay'd by Cotton Mather. | — | [Two lines of Latin.] | — || Printed in the Year 1695. 16mo. pp. 45.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, "To the Churches in the Colony of | Connecticut," signed "Cotton Mather"; 3-45, "Piscator Evangelicus. | — | The Life | of | Mr. Thomas Hooker"; running headlines. This work forms a part of "Johannes in Erema."

Memoria Wilsoniana. | — | Or, | Some Dues | unto | the Memory of the | Truly | Reverend & Renowned | Mr. John Wilson, | the First | Pastor of Boston: Who Expired | August. 7. 1667. Aged, 79. | — | Paid by Cotton Mather. | — | [Two lines of Latin.] | — || Printed for and Sold by Michael Perry, | at his Shop under the West-End of the | Town-House in Boston, in N. E. 1695. 16mo. pp. (2), 46.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso*, "To | Edward Bromfield Esq.,," signed "C. Mather"; 1-46, "Memoria Wilsoniana, | — | The Life | of | Mr. John Wilson"; last leaf blank; printed on the same forms as the similar part in "Johannes in Erema"; signature "B" begins with page 1; badly cut by the binder.

Mans Extremity, | Gods | Opportunity. | Or, | a Display of Gods Sovereign Grace, | in Saving a People whose Re- | covery, as to Men and Means is next | to desperate: | As it was delivered in A Sermon | Preached before the Honourable | Lieutenant Governour, & Counsel- | lors, and the Assembly of Repre | sentatives of the Province of the | Massachusetts Bay in New England. | On May 29. 1695. | Which was the Day for Election | of Counsellors for that Province | — | By the Reverend Mr. Samvel Torrey, | Pastor of the Church in Weymouth. | — | [One line from Isaiah lvii. 18.] | — || Boston, Printed by Bartholomew Green, | for Michael Perry, under the West | end of the Town-house. 1695. 16mo. pp. (4), 60.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso*, "Published by Order of | Authority" between two lines of border pieces; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "S. Willard"; 1-60, "Mans Extremity, | Gods Opportvnity," headpiece a line of border pieces, and a line of similar pieces inverted; running headlines.

Observanda. | — | The | Life and Death | of the Late | Q. Mary. | Prefaced, with some Observations | upon the Turns of Divine | Providence, now bringing of | mighty Changes, upon the | World. | Whereto is added, | the Address of Condolence, | made unto His Majesty, | by the Nonconformist Ministers, | on the Decease of that | Illustrious Queen. [By Cotton Mather.] | — || Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green, | for Samuel Phillips, at the Brick Shop near | the Old Meeting-House. 1695. 16mo. pp. 56. [Three copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a wide border line, *verso* blank; 3-31, "Observable Turns | of | Providence," headpiece a wide rule; 32-49, "Dues Paid unto the Me- | mory of Q. Mary," headpiece like the last one; 50-52, "The | Address of Condolence | to | His Majesty, | by the | Dissenting Ministers," similar headpiece to the last; list of "Errata" at foot of page 52, three lines below a wide rule; 53-56, "Postscript. | For the Entertainment of the Reader, the Book- | seller has been willing here to add, the manner | of the Queens Funeral. | Whitehal, March 5th. 1694," headpiece like the last; running headlines.

On the titlepage of one copy is the autograph signature "Eliph: Adams," and on another that of "Samuel Checkley 16[95]."

The | Psalms | Hymns | and | Spiritual Songs, | of the | Old and New-Testament, faithfully Translated into | English Metre. | for the use, edification and Comfort of | the Saints in publick and private; especially in New-England. | — | [One line "2 Tim. iii. 16, 17"; five lines from Col. iii. 16; one line from Eph. v. 18, 19; one line "James v. 13."] | — | The Eighth Edition. | — || Boston, Printed by John Allen, and | Vavasour Harris, for Samuel Phillips, at the Brick-Shop, near the | Town-House. 1695. 16mo. pp. 376, (7).

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, "To the Godly Reader"; 3-376, text; 7 pp. "A Table for the whole Book of Psalms"; last page blank.

On the *recto* of a fly-leaf at the beginning is written: "Susanna White Her Book Anno Domini 1700."

The Bay Psalm Book (Cambridge, 1640), the first volume printed in the Colonies, was the original version of this collection of Psalms and Hymns. It passed through very many editions from time to time, more or less changed and amended in

phraseology; and for a long period was used by the churches in New England, and even in old England and Scotland. The Society owns a copy of the reprint (Cambridge, 1862) in facsimile of the original edition, where in the introduction a bibliographical account of the book is given. The editor of the reprint was our late associate Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, a former Librarian of this Society, who was fortunate enough to possess one of the few copies of the original edition. See Proceedings (XV. 11) for October, 1876.

1696.

[An Act for preventing Frauds, and regulating abuses in the Plantation Trade.] No titlepage. Folio. pp. 8.

A cut of the arms of Great Britain; Anno Regni | Guilielmi III. Regis. | Angliae, Scotiae, Francia & Hiberniae, Septimo & Octavo. | At the Parliament begun at Westminster the Two and twentieth Day of | November, Anno Dom. 1695. In the Seventh Year of the Reign of our | Sovereign Lord William the Third, by the Grace of God, of England, | Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. | — | London, Printed by Charles Bill, and the Executrix of Thomas Newcomb, | decess'd; Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty. Reprinted at | Boston in New-England by Bartholomew Green & John Allen, | Printers to the Governour & Council. 1696. | — | An Act for Preventing Frauds, and Regulating | Abuses in the Plantation Trade.

Pages 1-8, text; running headlines.

Acts | and | Laws, | Passed by the Great and General Court | or Assembly of His Majesties Province | of the Massachusetts-Bay, in | New-England. | Begun & Held at Boston the Twenty-ninth Day of May, 1695. | and continued by several Adjournments until Wednesday | the Twenty-sixth of February following. | Anno Regni Guilielmi Tertii, Angliae, Scotiae, | Francia, et Hiberniae, Regis, Octavo. | [Cut of the arms of Great Britain.] | — || Boston. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen, Printers | to the Governour and Council. 1696. 4to. pp. (1), 159-157.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 153-157, text, various headlines; last page blank.

Acts | and Laws, | [title continues same as before]. | Begun and Held at Boston on Wednesday the | Twenty-seventh of May, 1696. | [same as last title]. 4to. pp. (1), 159-175.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 159-175, text, various headlines; last page blank.

Pages 159-175, text; collation same as before.

[Acts and Laws, September, 1696.] No titlepage. 4to. pp. 177-180.

A cut of the arms of Great Britain; 177-180, "Acts & Laws, | Passed by the Great & General Court or | Assembly of His Majesties Province of | the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England. | Begun at Boston the Twenty seventh Day of May, 1696. | and continued by Adjournment until Wednesday the | Sixteenth of September following. | Anno Regni Guilielmi Tertii, Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et | Hiberniae, Regis, Octavo. | — || Boston. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen, Printers to | the Governor and Council. 1696"; various headlines.

Acts | and | Laws | [title continues same as last but two]. | Begun at Boston the Twenty-seventh of May, 1696. | and continued by several Adjournments until Wednesday | the Eighteenth of November following. | [same as last title but two]. 4to. pp. (1), 181-197.

Pages 181-197, text; collation same as last but two.

Tulley, 1696. | — | An | Almanack, | for the Year of our Lord, | M DC-XC VI. | Being Bissextile or Leap-Year, | and from the Creation, | 5645. | Wherein is Contained Astronomical Observa- | tions from the Svns Ingress into Aries, and | the other Cardinal Points, with an account | of the Eclipses, Conjunctions, and other | Configurations of the Caelestial Bodies. | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston, | in New-England, where the North Pole is | Elevated 42 gr. 30 min. But may indifferently | serve any part of New-England. | — | By John Tulley. | — | Licensed by Authority. | — || Boston, N. E. Printed by Bartholomew Green, | and John Allen, for John Usher, and | are to be Sold at his Shop below the | Town-House, 1696. 16mo. pp. (16.) [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "M DC XC VI.," vulgar notes, characters, etc.; 12 pp. January to December; 1 p. "Of the Four Quarters of the year 1696," and "Of the Eclipses this year 1696"; 1 p. "Concerning Astrology & Meteorology."

A Good Master well Served. | — | A Brief | Discourse | on the Necessary | Properties & Practices | of a Good | Servant | in every-kind of Servitude: And of the | Methods that should be taken by the | Heads of a Family, to Obtain such | a Servant. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | [Three lines from Joel ii. 29.] | — || Boston in New-England. | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. | 1696. 16mo. pp. 55.

Titlepage surrounded by two border lines, *verso*, Address to the Reader; 3-55, "A Good Master well Served," running headlines; last page "Advertisement," of Nehemiah Walter's "Unfruitful Hearers," "Sold by Michael Perry, at his Shop under the West end of the Town-House, in Boston"; badly cut by binder.

Massachusetts | or | the first Planters of New-England, | the End and Manner
 of their coming thi- | ther, and Abode there : In several | Epistles
 | — | [Three lines from Psalms lxxxiv. 3; three lines from John iv. 21;
 two lines from Rev. xiv. 4; nine lines of Latin.] | — || Boston in New-
 England, Printed by B. Green, and | J. Allen. Sold by Richard
 Wilkins, at his Shop | near the Old-Meeting-House. 1696. 16mo.
 pp. (1), 56.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-5, "The | Humble | Request | of His Majesties
 Loyal Subjects, | the Governour and the Company | late gone for New-Eng-
 land : | To the rest of their Brethren, in and of | the Church of England. | For
 the obtaining of their Prayers, and the | removal of suspicions and miscon-
 structions | of their Intentions," signed "Jo. Winthrop. Gov. | Charles Fines.
 | George Phillips. | &c. | Rich. Saltonstall. | Isaac Johnson. | Tho. Dudley.
 | William Coddington. | &c.," dated "From Yarmouth | Aboard the Ar-
 bella. | April 7. 1630."; 1 p. blank; (7, 8), "To the | Right Honourable, |
 My very good Lady, | the Lady | Bridget | Countess of | Lincoln," signed
 "T. D." [Thomas Dudley], and dated at "Boston in New- | England, March
 | 12th. 1630"; 9-27, text; 28-40, "The Preface of the Reverend Mr. John
 | Allin, of Dedham, and of Mr. Thomas She- | pard of Cambridge in New-
 England, before | their Defence of the Answer made unto the Nine | Ques-
 tions," signed "John Allin" and "Tho. Shepard," and dated "From
 New-England, | November 28. | 1645."; 41-56, "In Domini Nortoni Li-
 brum, ad Lectorem | Praefatio Apologetica," signed "Johannes Cotton | in
 Ecclesia Bostoniensi | Presbyter docens."

Dr. Young, in his *Chronicles of Massachusetts* (340 n.), says :
 "It is not unlikely that it [Dudley's letter, pp. 7-27] was printed
 at the suggestion of Joshua Scottow, who seems to have been the
 earliest person in the Colony who had an antiquarian turn of
 mind." This was the first appearance in print of the letter,
 which has been republished in the *Collections* (VIII. 36-47).

Massachusetts | or | The first Planters of New-England, | the End & Manner
 of their coming thither, | and Abode there : In several | Epistles | — |
 [title continues same as before, with some of the lines a little shorter].
 16mo. pp. (1), 56.

Collation same as before.

On the *recto* of the fly-leaf at the beginning, in Judge Sewall's
 hand, is written : "Ipsvici, Maij, 21. 1707. Feria quarta. | Auris,
 mens, oculus, manus, et pes; munere fungi | Dum pergunt, prae-
 stat di[s]cere velle mori. | S. S. I. R." (See his *Diary*, II. 339,
 III. 392.)

1697.

Acts | and | Laws, | [title continues same as the second one under 1696]. |
Twenty-sixth of May, 1697. | [same] Nono. | [same] 1697. 4to. pp.
(1), 199-228.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 199-228,
text, various headlines.

Acts | and Laws, | [title continues same as the last one]. | Begun and Held
at Boston the Twenty-sixth of May, 1697. | and continued by several
Prorogations until Wednesday the | Thirteenth of October following:
being the Third Session. | [same]. 4to. pp. (1), 229-247.

Pages 229-247, text; collation same as before; last page blank.

Tulley, 1697. | — | An | Almanack | for the Year of our Lord, | M DC XC-
VII. | Being First after Leap-Year, and from the | Creation, 5646. |
Wherein is Contained Astronomical Observations | from the Suns In-
gress into Aries, & the other | Cardinal Points, with an Account of the
| Eclipses, Conjunctions, and other Configura- | tions of the Caelestial
Bodies: Unto which is | added a brief account of the late Comet | or
Æthereal blaze. | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston |
in New-England, where the North Pole is | Elevated 42. gr. 30. min.
But may indifferently | serve any part of New-England. | — | By John
Tulley. | — | Licensed by Authority. | — || Boston, N. E. Printed by
Bartholomew G[reen] | and John Allen, for John Usher, and | are to
be Sold at his Shop below the | Town-House. 1697. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "M DC XC VII,"
vulgar notes, etc.; 12 pp. January to December; 2 pp. quarters, eclipses,
comets, etc.; at the foot of the last page "Advertisement" of Cotton
Mather's "Great Examples of Judgment and Mercy," which "will be
speedily Published," "Printed for & Sold by Joseph Wheeler, at his Shop
at the head of the Dock in Boston, Price stitch't 8d." Underneath is the
following paragraph: —

*There are Two Fairs to be Held in the Town of Boston Annu- | ally, one
on the last Tuesday in May, the other on the last Tuesday | in Octob. each
Fair to continue four days: Also Two Fairs to be | Held at Providence
Yearly, the second Wednesday of June, & first | VWednesday of Octob. each
to continue three days."*

Mr. Sibley gives the year of publication of Mather's "Great
Examples" as 1696, though it is advertised in this Almanac
for 1697 to "be speedily Published." The explanation, doubtless,
lies in the fact that the almanac was put to press in 1696.

Ecclesiastes. | — | The Life | of the | Reverend & Excellent, | Jonathan Mitchel; | A Pastor of the Church, | and | a Glory of the Colledge, | in | Cambridge, New-England. | — | Written by Cotton Mather. | — | [Three lines of Latin.] | — || Massachvset; | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. | Sold at the Booksellers Shops | in Boston. 1697. 16mo. pp. 3-32.

Titlepage wanting; 3-32, "The Epistle Dedicatory. | To the Church at Cambridge | in New-England, | and | to the Students of the Colledge there"; signed "Increase Mather," and dated "May 7, 1697," running headlines; pages 33-111 wanting.

Kneeling to | God, | at Parting with Friends: | or the | Fraternal | Intercessory Cry | of Faith & Love: | — | Setting forth and Recommending | the Primitive Mode of taking Leave | — | By J. Danforth, Pastor of the | Church of Christ in Dorchester. | — | [One line from 1 Thess. v. 25; one line from Col. i. 9; three lines from 1 Sam. xii. 23.] | — || Boston, Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen. | Sold by S. Phillips, at the Brick Shop. 1697. | 16mo. pp. 72.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, "The Dedication," of three pages in large capitals; at the end of the last page, "Licensed by Authority. | — | Published by T. Tilestone, Senior, | H. Leadbetter, N. Clap Senior, W. Prat, | D. Preston, N. Glover; and Diverse | Others. Anno Dom. M DC XC VII"; 5-63, "Kneeling to God | at Parting with Friends," at the end a line of "Errata," below this a "Memorandum" followed by three lines "To fill up the Vacant Pages the following | Poems, formerly Composed, are | here suffixed"; 64, 65, a poem "Upon the Triumphant Translation | of a Mother in Our Israel, Viz. | Mrs. Anne Eliot. | From This Life to a Better. | on March 24th. 1687. Aetatis Suae. 84," signed "J. D."; 66-72, a poem "To the Blessed Memory of the Venerable | Mr. John Eliot | Teacher to the Church of Christ in | Roxbury, and a Propagator of the | Gospel to the Indians in N-England. . Who | rested from his Labours, May, 20. Anno | Dom. 1690. Aetatis Suae. 86," signed "J. D."; running headlines; slightly imperfect.

The note after the "Errata" on page 63 is as follows:—

Memorandum. Unto the Discourse, uttered | in Publick, upon this Text, some what above | a year agoe, some Addition in these Printed | Sheets, is made out of a Sermon Preached in | Private some time since, unto a Society of | Christians, keeping a Day of Prayer on the be- | half of some of their Society, that were at that | time, upon their Removal from them.

New England Persecutors Mauld With their own Weapons; Giving Some Account of the bloody Laws made at Boston against the Kings Subjects that dissented from their way of Worship. Together with a brief Account of the Imprisonment and Tryal of Thomas Maule of Salem, for publishing a Book entitled, Truth held forth and maintained, &c. By Theo. Philathes. . . . 12mo. pp. (3), 62.

Titlepage wanting; 8 pp. "The Preface," signed "Tho. Philathes," running headlines; 1 p. blank; 1-62, "Persecutors Maul'd with their | own Weapons."

This work was printed probably by William Bradford, in New York. See Sabin's Dictionary (XI. 504) number 46,934, from which the title is copied.

A Remembrance | of | Former Times | for this | Generation; | and | Our Degeneracy Lamented. | — | The First Part. | — | [Three lines from Jer. viii. 5; six lines from Jer. iii. 12.] | — | By W. J. Esq. | — || Boston, N. E. Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for | Duncan Campbell, at his Shop over-against the Old- | Meeting-House. 1697. 16mo. pp. 32.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 8-18, "A | Remembrance | of Former Times for this | Generation | — | The First Part"; 19-32, "The Second Part | — | For a further Awakening I shall add the Mourn- | ers Lamentations for the Sins and Degeneracy | of the Times: And Gods Awful Judgments | long continued and further threatned. | As also to stir up Christians to deep Humiliation, | fervent Prayer, and thorow Reformation. | From the Forty fourth Psalm."

Was the author of this tract Prof. William Jameson of the University of Glasgow?

A | Sermon | Preached before the | General Assembly | of the Colony | of | Connecticut | At Hartford in New-England. | May 13. 1697. | Being | the Day for Electing the Governour, | Deputy Governour and | Assistants, for that Colony. [By Gurdon Saltonstall.] | — | Published by Authority. | — || Boston in New England. | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for | Duncan Campbell, over-against the | Old Meeting-House. 1697. 16mo. pp. 80.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 8-80, "A Sermon | Preach'd before the | General Assembly of the Colony | of | Connecticut."

Two Questions, | Viz. | I. Whether an account of the Work of Grace | is to be required of those that are Ad- | mitted to full Communion in the Church? | II. Whether the whole Church is to be | Judge thereof? | Judiciously Answered. | — | By Mr. Thomas Shepard, sometimes a famous | Pastor of the Church of Cambridge, | in New-England. | — | [Three lines from Heb. xiii. 7.] | — || Boston in N. E. | Printed and Sold by Bartholomew Green, | and John Allen, | 1697. 16mo. pp. 15.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 8-15, text; 1 p. blank.

The Way to Excel. | — | Meditations. | Awakened by the Death of | the Reverend | Mr. Joshua Moody; | with some Short Character | of that | Eminent Person : | Who Slept in Jesus, 4d. 5m. 1697. | In the Sixty fifth year of his Age. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | [Seven lines from Josh. xxiv. 22, 23, 29.] | — || Boston, in N. E. | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. | 1697. 16mo. pp. 32.

Titlepage, surrounded by a wide border line, *verso* blank; 3, 4, "Reader," headpiece a wide rule; 5-32, "The Way to Excel," headpiece like the last, running headlines; "Finis" between two wide rules.

1698.

Acts | and | Laws, | [title continues like the first one under 1697]. | Begun and Held at Boston on Wednesday, the | Twenty-fifth of May, 1698 | [same] Decimo. | [same]. 1698. 4to. pp. (1), 251-300.

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso* blank; 251-300, text, various headlines.

Acts | and | Laws, | [same as last title]. | Begun and Held at Boston the Twenty-fifth Day of May, 1698. | and continued by Prorogation until Tuesday the Fifteenth | of November following: being the Second Session. | [same as before]. 4to. pp. (1), 301-321.

Pages 301-321, text; collation similar to last title; last page blank.

Tulley, 1698. | — | An | Almanack | for the Year of our Lord, | M DC XC-VIII. | Being Second after Leap-Year, | and from the Creation, | 5647. | Wherein is Contained the Lunations, Courts, | Spring-tides, Planets, Aspects and Weather, | the Rising and Setting of the Sun, to- | gether with the Sun and Moons place, and | time of Full Sea, or High-Water, with an | account of the Eclipses, Conjunctions, and | other Configurations of the Caelestial Bodies. | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston | in New-England, where the North Pole is | Elevated 42. gr. 30. min. But may indifferently | serve any part of New-England. | — | By John Tulley. | — | Licensed by Authority. | — || Boston, N. E. Printed by Bartholomew Green, | and John Allen. Sold at the Printing-House at the South end of the Town. 1698. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "M DC XC VIII," vulgar notes, etc.; 12 pp. January to December; 2 pp. "Of the Eclipses this year, 1698," eighteen lines of poetry, and "A Description of the High Ways, & Roads"; at the foot of the last page is the following:—

Advertisement.

AT the Barber Chyrurgeons Shop, joyn- | ing to the Post-House, in Boston, | is Bought all Sorts of Womens Hair, and | Perriwiggs Made and Sold Reasonably.

Contemplations | on | Mortality. Wherein | the Terrors of Death | are laid open, for a Warning to Sinners: | And the Joyes of Communion with | Christ for Comfort to Believers. | — | By Samuel Lee. M. A. Sometime Fellow | of Wadham Colledge. Oxon. | — | [Four lines from Phil. iii. 20, 21.] | — | Bernard, To the Knights of the Temple. | The death of Christ is the death of my death; | because he died that I should live: for how is it | possible that he should not live, for whom | life hath dyed. | — || Boston in N. E. | Reprinted by B. Green, and J. Allen, for | Samuel Phillips, at the Brick Shop. 1698. 16mo. pp. (9), 149.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 7 pp. "To His Highly | Honoured Father, | Mr. Samuel Lee," signed "S. L.," and dated "July 30. 1669."; 1 p. blank; 1-149, "Contemplations | on | Mortality"; running headlines; last page blank.

New-Englands | Duty and Interest, | to be an | Habitation of Justice, | and | Mountain of Holiness. | Containing | Doctrine, Caution & Comfort | with | Something relating to the Restaurations, | Reformations and Benedictions, | Promised to the Church and World in | the latter dayes; With grounds of Hope, | that America in General, & New-England | in Particular, may have a Part therein. | Preached to the General Assembly of the Province | of the Massachusetts-Bay, at the | Anniversary Election. | May 25. 1698. | — | By Nicholas Noyes, Teacher | of the Church at Salem. | — | Published by Order of Authority. | — || Boston in New-England. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen. | Printers to the Governour & Council. 1698. 16mo. pp. (12), 98. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, scriptural and Latin quotations; 10 pp. "The Epistle Dedicatory. | To his Excellency | Richard Earl of | Bellomont, | and | Lord Coote Colooney, | in the kingdom of Ireland. | Governour | of New-England, New-York, New Hampshire; | and Vice-Admiral of those Seas," signed "John Higginson. | Pastor of the Church of Salem. | Ætatis. 82," and dated at "Salem, June 20. | 1698," running headlines; 1-88, "New-Englands | Duty and Interest, | to be an | Habitation of Justice, | and | Mountain of Holiness"; 89-99, "Typographus Lectori, | The Reverend Mr. Grindal Rawson Pastor of the | Church in Mendon, and the Reverend Mr. Samuel | Danforth Pastor of the Church in Taunton, spent | from May, 30. to June 24. 1698. in visiting the | several Plantations of the Indians, within this Pro- | vince. And the Remainder of this Sheet may be | well employed in giving an Account of it,"

"Signed { Grindal Rawson } Preachers to the Indians
by { Samuel Danforth } in their own Tongue."
and dated at "Boston; July, 12th. | 1698"; p. 99, a fac-simile copy in manuscript.

The | Psalms | Hymns, | and | Spiritual Songs, | of the | Old & New-Testament: | Faithfully | Translated into English Meetre. | For the use, Edification and Com- | fort of the Saints in publick and | private, espe-

cially in New-England. | — | [One line "2 Tim. 3. 16, 17"; five lines from Col. iii. 16; one line from Eph. v. 18, 19; one line "James 5. 13."] | — | [The Ninth Edition.] | — || Boston, Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, | for Michael Perry, under the West- | End of the Town house. 1698. 16mo. pp. 420, (10), 10.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, "To the Godly Reader"; (8)-410, text; 411-418, "A Table for the whole Book | of Psalms"; 419, 420, "The Tunes of the Psalms. | With the Bass set under each Tune. | Some few directions for ordering the Voice in | Setting these following Tunes of the Psalms"; 10 pp. tunes; 1-10, continuation of text.

The Shorter | Catechism, | Composed by the | Reverend Assembly of | Divines | With the Proofs thereof out of the | Scriptvres, in Words at length. | Which are either some of the formerly quoted | Places, or others gathered from their other | Writings; All fitted, both for Brevity & | Clearness, to this their Form of Sound Words. | For the benefit of Christians in General, and | of Youth, and Children in Vnderstanding, in | Particular; that they may with more Ease | acquaint themselves with the Truth according | to the Scriptures, and with the Scriptures | themselves. | — || Boston, in New-England. | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. | 1698. 16mo. pp. (1), 46.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1-46, "The Shorter | Catechism | of the | Reverend Assembly of | Divines," running headlines.

Votes | of the | House of Representatives for his Majesties Province | of New-York in America. | Die Martis A. M. 21 Mart. 1698. No title-page. 8vo. pp. 6.

Pages 1-6, text; remaining pages wanting.

The Worst Enemy Conquered. | — | A Brief Discourse | on the Methods and Motives to pursue | A Victory | over those Habits of | Sin, | which War against the Soul. | Delivered, on June 6th. 1698. the Day for | Election of Officers, in the Artillery- | Company, at Boston. | — | By Mr. Joseph Belcher, Pastor | of the Church in Dedham. | — | [Two lines of Latin.] | — || Boston in New-England. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen. | 1698. 16mo. pp. 38.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 3, 4, "Preface," signed "Cotton Mather"; 5-38, "The Worst Enemy Conquered."

1699.

Acts | and | Laws, | of His | Majesties Province of the Massachusetts- | Bay, in New-England. | — | [A cut of the arms of Great Britain.] | — || Boston. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen, (Printers |

to His Excellency the Governour and Council,) | for, and Sold by Michael Perry at his Shop over against | the Town-House, and Benjamin Eliot under the West- | End of the Town-House. 1699. 4to. pp. 158.

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso*, "Re-printed, | By Order of His Excellency the Governour, | Council and Assembly. | Isaac Addington Secr." within two border lines, the lower one inverted; 3-158, text, containing Acts from Oct. 12, 1692 to the session beginning May 31, 1699; "Finis" at the foot of p. 159; followed by pages 159-260, containing Acts from March 13, 1700, to Oct. 27, 1703; various headlines.

Tulley, 1699. | — | An | Almanack | for the Year of our Lord, M DC XC IX. | Being Third after Leap-Year, | and from the Creation, | 5648. | Wherein is Contained the Lunations, Courts, | Spring Tides, Planets, Aspects and Weather, | and Rising and Setting of the Sun, to- | gether with the Sun and Moons place, and | time of Full Sea, or High-Water, with an | account of the Eclipses, Conjunctions, and | other Configurations of the Caelestial Bodies. | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston | in New-England, where the North Pole is | Elevated 42. gr. 30 min. But may indifferently | serve any part of New-England. | — | By John Tulley. | — | Licensed by Authority. | — || Boston, N. E. Printed by Bartholomew Green, | and John Allen Sold at the Printing-House | at the South end of the Town. 1699. 16mo. pp. (16). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "M DC XC IX," vulgar notes, etc.; 12 pp. January to December; 1 p. "Of the Four Quarters of the Year, 1699," and "Of the Eclipses this Year, 1699"; 1 p. "A General Admonition," and below "Finis" appears an "Advertisement" of Cotton Mather's "Pillars of Salt," and his "Decennium Luctuosum," "Both Sold by Samuel Phillips at the Brick Shop near | the Town-House in Boston."

The Faith of the Fathers. | — | Or, | the Articles of the | True Religion, | all of them Exhibited | in the Express Words of the | Old Testament. | Partly, | to confirm those who do profess that Reli- | gion of God, and His Messiah. | But Chiefly, | to Engage the Jewish Nation, unto | the Religion of their Patriarchs; | And, Bring down the Hearts of the Fathers into | the Children, and the Disobedient unto the | Wisdom of the Just; and so, To make Ready | a People prepared for the Lord. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | [Four lines from Luke xxiv. 27.] | — || Boston in New-England. | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. 1699. 16mo. pp. 24.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, four lines from Isa. xl. 3, 5, two lines of stars, and below, "The Memorable Words of Rabbi Samuel | Marochianus, in his Book, about, The | Coming of the Messiah"; 3, 4, "To the | Jewish Nation"; 5-24, "The Faith of the Fathers. Or, the Whole Religion, of our Blessed Lord- | Messiah; Taught, In the Express | Words of the Old Testament."

The | Man of War. | A Sermon | Preached to the Artillery Company | at
Boston, on June 5. 1699. | Being the Anniversary day for their | Election
| of Officers. | — | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church | in
Boston. | — | [One line from Psalms xviii. 34.] | — | [Two lines of
Latin.] | — || Boston, Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, | for Michael
Perry, and are to be Sold at his | Shop over against the Town-House.
1699. 16mo. pp. 30.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 3-30, "The Man |
of | War," running headlines; 1 p. "Advertisement" of Willard's "Spiritual
Desertions," "Printed for and Sold by Benjamin Eliot, | at his Shop under
the West End of the | Town House. 1699," *verso* blank.

Order of their Excellencies the Lords | Justices in Council, confirming sev-
eral | Acts and Laws of the Province of the | Massachusetts-Bay, made
in the years, | 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697. | At the | Council Chamber | at
Whitehall, the 24. of November, 1698. | Present, | Their Excellencies
the Lords Justices. No titlepage. Folio. pp. 4.

Pages 1-3, heading given above, text, and at the end between two rules,
"Published at Boston, April 27th. 1699"; 3, 4, "Order of their Excel-
lencies the Lords | Justices in Council, Repealing several | Acts of the
Province of the Massachusetts- | Bay, made in the years, 1695, 1696 & 1697.
| At the | Council Chamber | at Whitehall the 24. day November, 1698. |
Present, | Their Excellencies the Lords Justices," and at the end between
two rules, "Published at Boston, April 27th. 1699." Underneath is the
colophon, "Boston in New-England, Printed by Bartholomew Green, and
| John Allen, Printers to the Governour and Council | 1699." Both parts
are signed "John Povey."

[Proclamation concerning the observance of the Lords Day. Imprint at foot
of the page] Boston, Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen,
Printers to His Excellency | the Governour and Council. 1699. Broad-
side. Folio.

"Province of the | Massachusetts- | Bay in New- | England"; a cut of
the arms of Great Britain; "By His Excellency, | Richard Earl of Bellomont,
| Captain General and Governour in Chief of His Majesties | Province of the
Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, &c.—and Vice Admiral of the same.
| A Proclamation"; refers to the fact that "not only Children and Youth,
but many persons of riper years, do too often prophane the said Day by fre-
quenting of Taverns and Ale-houses for Tipling and Drinking, walking
abroad in the streets and fields for diversion and recreation, and otherwise
mispent the said Holy Time"; and requires all officers to see "that the
Laws made for the Observation of the said Day" are "vigorously put in
Execution." "Given at the Council Chamber in Boston, the Twenty-first
day of June . . . 1699. | Bellomont." "By Order of His Ex- | cellency &
Council, | Isaac Addington, Secr."

[Proclamation for the arrest and conviction of Joseph Bradish and others. Imprint at bottom for the most part cut off] Boston, Printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen, Printers to the Governour & Council. 1699. Broadside. Folio.

"Province of the | Massachusetts- | Bay in New- | England"; a cut of the arms of Great Britain; "By the Honorable, | William Stoughton Esq. | Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief. | A Proclamation"; requiring "all Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Constables," and other officers and subjects to arrest Joseph Bradish and his accomplices, who belonged to the crew of the Ship Adventure of London, "of between three & four hundred Tuns, mounted with Twenty two Guns, Thomas Gulleck Commander . . . being on a Voyage from London . . unto Borneo in India in the Year of our Lord 1698"; and who, "piratically & feloniously did seize and run away with the said Ship and her Lading . . unto Block Island within His Majesties Colony of Rhode Island. Where . . said Joseph Bradish, and his Accomplices have sunk the said Ship, and dispersed themselves into divers parts and places"; such persons to be "Proceeded against as the Law directs." "Given at the Council Chamber in Boston, the First day of April, 1699, . . . | William Stoughton."

To His Excellency, | Richard, | Earl of Bellomont, Baron of Coloony, in | the Kingdom of Ireland, Governour | and Commander in Chief of the Provinces | of the Massachusetts-Bay, New York and | New-Hampshire. The Address of the Ministers met at Boston in | New England, May 31st. 1699. [Imprint at foot of second page] Boston, Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen, Printers | to His Excellency the Governour and Council. 1699. 4to. pp. 2.

A letter of congratulation upon his arrival saying, besides other things, that "we believe, That Your Excellency will on all occasions express the good-will of a Common Father unto the Churches of Non-conformists . . . in New-England," calling his attention to the importance of obtaining "from His Majesty, a Settlement of that our University"; signed, "Increase Mather, | In the Name, and at the Desire of the Ministers, in the | Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, who Met | at Boston, May 31. 1699."

Thirty | Important Cases, | Resolved | With Evidence of | Scripture | and | Reason. | [Mostly,] | By Several Pastors of Adjacent Churches, | meeting in Cambridge, | New-England | [With some other memorable matters] | Now published for | General Benefit. [By Cotton Mather.] || Boston in New England. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, & John Allen | Sold at the Book-sellers Shops. 1699. 16mo. pp. 3-78.

Titlepage wanting; 3-6, "Advertisement," signed "Cotton Mather"; 7-77, text; 77, 78, "At a | General Meeting of | Ministers | from | Diverse parts of the Province of the | Massachusetts Bay; Assembled at | Boston, May 27. 1697. | [The Following Instrument, was generally Signed; | Which is in here Inserted and Published, | In Perpetuum Rei Memoriam.]" ; 1 p. containing three lines of "Errata" wanting.

A | Watch | for a | Wise Man's Observation. | In Two Parts. | First, A Divine Poem, | on the | Three Persons in the Holy-Trinity, the Four Evangelists, the Ten Commandments, and the Twelve Apostles. | III. A Preparation, by a Holy Life, for the Hour of Death, that we may all be fitted for our Latter End when we shall go hence, | and be no more seen. | [Imprint at the bottom] Boston, Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Michael Perry, and are to be Sold at his Shop over against the Town House. 1699. Broadside. Folio.

This broadside is printed in three columns and contains two poems, the first one filling the first column and the tops of the second and third; near the top of the second and third columns is "The | Second Part, Containing, A Preparation for Death," over which is a line of border pieces. At the beginning of the first column of the sheet is the representation of the face of a clock, with a single hand pointing to twelve o'clock.

Wunnamptamoe | Sampooaonk | Wussampoowontamun | Nashpe moeuwebko- | munganash ut | New-England. | Qushkenumun en Indiane | Unnontowaonganit. | — | Nashpe | Grindal Rawson, &c. | — | [One line of Indian from Eph. iv. 5; two lines of Indian from Col. ii. 5.] | — || Mushauwomuk. | Printeun nashpe Bartholomew Green, kah | John Allen. 1699. 16mo. pp. (12), 3-161, (4).

First page blank; title, "A Confession of Faith . . 1680," wanting; titlepage in Indian, *verso* blank; 10 pp. "The Epistle Dedicatory. | — | To the Honorable | William Stoughton Esq. | Lieutenant Governour of His | Majesties Province of the Massachusetts | Bay in New England. | And | to the Reverend | Increase Mather D. D. | Teacher of the Second Church of Christ | in Boston, and President of Harvard | Colledge in Cambridge"; 1 leaf wanting; 3-161, "Wunnamptamoe | Sampooaonk," pp. 159 and 160 and lower part of 161 wanting; 4 pp. "A Table of the Chapters in the Confessi- | on of Faith," beginning on the *verso* of p. 161; English on the *verso* and Indian on the *recto* of the leaves, excepting "The Epistle Dedicatory"; running headlines; last page blank.

1700.

Acts and Laws, | Passed by the Great and General Court or Assembly of the | Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England: Begun and | Held at Boston, the Thirty-first of May, 1699. And continued | by several Prorogations unto Wednesday the Thirteenth of | March following, and then Sat. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 159-176.

Pages 159-176, text; various headlines; follows "Acts and Laws," 1699, with continuous paging.

Acts and Laws, | Passed by the Great & General Court or Assembly of His Majesties | Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England: Begun and | Held at Boston, on Wednesday the Twenty-ninth of May, 1700. No titlepage. 4to. pp. 177-192.

A cut of the arms of Great Britain above the heading; 177-192, text, various headlines; followed by "Acts and Laws" from 1701 to 1703, which complete the volume.

Tulley, 1700. | — | An | Almanack | for the Year of our Lord, 1700. | Being Bissextile or Leap-Year, and from | the Creation, 5649. And from the | Discovery of America by Chr. Columbus, 208. | Wherein is Contained the Lunations, Courts, | Spring Tides, Planets, Aspects and Weather, the Rising and Setting of the Sun, to- | gether with the Sun and Moons place, and | time of Full Sea, or High-Water, with an | account of the Eclipses, Conjunctions, and | other Configurations of the Caelestial Bodies. | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of Boston | in New-England, where the North Pole is Ele- | vated 42 gr. 30 min. But may indifferently | serve any part of New-England. | Unto which is added, Natural Prognostics for | the judgment of the Weather. | — | By John Tulley. | — | Licensed by Authority. | — || Boston, Printed by Bartholomew Green, | & John Allen. Sold at the Printing-House | at the South end of the Town. 1700. 16mo. pp. (16).

Titlepage, surrounded by a line of border pieces, *verso*, "Of the Eclipses this Year, 1700"; 12 pp. January to December; 2 pp. "Natural Prognosticks for the judgment of the Weather"; below "Finis" is an "Advertisement" of Cotton Mather's "Everlasting Gospel," which "Speedily may be Published," to be "Sold by Nicholas Buttolph at his Shop at the corner of Gutteridges Coffee-House."

A | Brief Narration of the sufferings of the People | called Quakers; who were put to death at | Boston in New-England. | Also | An account from their own hands, of their | Coming to Boston, and of their staying | in their Iurisdiction after Banishment. | With | a Precious Epistle of William Robinson, to us his fellow- | Prisoners, and other Epistles hereunto Annexed. No titlepage. 12mo. pp. 38.

Pages 1-15, text; (16) blank; 17-20, "William Robinsons Paper to the Court before | he was sentenced to Death, Concerning the cause | of their coming into those parts, for which | they were put to Death; which the Gover- | nour in a great rage and furie said, | should not be Read, and that the | Court would not hear it"; 21-23, "Marmaduke Stevensons Paper, of his call to the | work and service of the Lord, given forth by him | a little before he was put to Death: And | after he had reached his sentence"; 24-28, "Here followeth an Epistle of William Robinsons | written by him a Little before he was put | to Death"; 29-38, "A Spot unto New-England's Glory," relating to Mary Dyer.

At the end of the text in the first part (page 15), on two slips of paper, there appear the printed words, "Rhode-Island 1700," and "Daniel Gould," which are pasted on the page; underneath these slips is, in manuscript, "By Daniel Gould Rhode Island

1700," presumably the autograph signature of the author. At the end of the pamphlet are similar printed slips, and under "Finis," in the same handwriting, the words, "Rhode Island 1700 Daniel Gould." Prince, in his Catalogue, says: "I suppose twas Printed in 1690, w^a y^e Book was to w^e it answers"; but as this was only a supposition on his part, I place the title under 1700, in accordance with the printed slips and the writing.

The | Fountain Opened: | Or, | the Great Gospel Privilege of having | Christ exhibited to Sinfull Men. | Wherein | also is proved that there shall be | a National Calling of the | Jews | from Zech. XIII. 1. | — | By Samuel Willard, | Teacher of a Church in Boston. | — | [Two lines from 1 Cor. ii. 2.] | — | [One line of Latin.] | — || Boston in New-England, | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, | for Samuel Sewall Junior. 1700. 16mo. pp. (4), 208, (2). [Three copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Samuel Willard"; 1-166, "The | Fountain Opened, &c."; below "Finis" on page 166, "Rather than this Page should stand Empty, | the Reader may be gratified with the last | Clause of Dr. Thomas Goodwin's Exposition | of the Revelation: which is as followeth," sixteen lines of quotation; 167-208, "Evangelical Perfection. | Or | How far the Gospel requires Believers to | Aspire after being compleatly Perfect. | As it was Delivered on a Lecture at Boston, | on June 10th. 1694. | — | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church | in Boston"; 2 pp. "A Brief Account of principal matters | contained in the foregoing Treatise"; running headlines; list of "Errata" at foot of the last page, four lines.

One copy of this book was the subject of some remarks at a meeting of this Society, on March 12, 1885. (See Proceedings, 2d series, II. 41-43.) On the stub of a fly-leaf at the beginning are the words in Judge Sewall's handwriting, "For William [Hirst?] June, 10" [1720?].

Good Souldiers | a Great | Blessing; | being so represented in A | Sermon | Preached on the day for Election | of Officers, in the Honourable | Artillery Company in Boston, | June 3d. 1700. | — | By Benjamin Wadsworth, | Pastor of a Church in Boston. | — | [Two lines from 1 Sam. xviii. 17.] | — || Boston in New England, | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for | Samuel Phillips, at the Brick-Shop near | the Old Meeting-House. 1700. 16mo. pp. 28. [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 3-28, "Good Souldiers | a Great | Blessing," running headlines; a leaf at the beginning and end blank.

Near the top of the titlepage is written, "pertinet ad Authorem. An. 1702"; and at the foot of page 28 appear the words: "This Sermon was preached and printed, at y^e desire of y^e Honourable Artillery company. twas y^e first of mine, y^t ever appeared in print."

Gospel Order | Revived, | Being an Answer to a Book lately set | forth by the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, President | of Harvard Colledge, &c. Entituled | The Order of the Gospel, &c | Dedicated to the Churches of Christ in New-England. | — | By sundry Ministers of the Gospel in New-England. | — | [Two lines from Prov. xviii. 17; two lines from Isa. viii. 20. | — || Printed in the Year 1700. 12mo. pp. (11), 40. [Two copies.]

First page blank, *verso*, "Advertisement" [given below]; titlepage, *verso* blank; 8 pp. "The Epistle Dedicatory, | to the Churches of Christ in N. England," running headlines; 1-40, "Gospel Order Revived, &c." Under the "Advertisement" is pasted a list of "Errata," fourteen lines, all below the heading in two columns.

Advertisement.

THe Reader is desired to take Notice, that the Press | in Boston is so much under the aw of the Reverend | Author, whom we answer, and his Friends, that we | could not obtain of the Printer there to print the following Sheets, which is the only true Reason why we | have sent the Copy so far for its Impression.

For an account of this work, which was printed in New York, by William Bradford, see Thomas's "History of Printing" (I. 290, 291); and also the collation of "The Printers Advertisement," given on page 525 of this List.

Gospel Order | Revived, | [title continues same as before]. 12mo. pp. (11), 40.

Collation same as before; following words added to the Advertisement: "and where | it printed with some Difficulty"; has no list of errata.

His Excellency, | the Earl of Bellomont's | Speech | to the | Honorable the Council and House of Representatives, Conven'd | in General Assembly, at Boston, in His Majesties Province of the | Massachusetts Bay in New-England, on Wednesday the 29. of May. 1700. 4to. pp. 2. [Slightly imperfect.]

He gives advice in regard to the "Settlement of the College"; concerning the fortification of Boston Harbor; about helping "Ministers in the remote parts of the Province"; specially recommends to their care "the

French Minister of this Town, who is destitute of a Maintenance, because there are so very few French Families here"; refers to the French Protestants being encouraged among them, saying that they "would have been of great use for Peopling this Country, and enriching it by trade"; speaks of "the Circumstances we are in with the Eastern Indians," saying "that the French Missionaries have debauch'd 'em from their former Obedience to the King"; refers to "the parting with Canada to the French, and the Eastern Country call'd Acadie or Nova-Scotia"; recommends a "Law to prevent the escape of Pyrates and other Offenders out of Prison," and also one "that shall effectually prevent the Clipping and Debasing the Current Coin, and also the Exportation thereof"; and urges them to bring "the Eastern Indians . . . under the Obedience of His Majesty," etc.; signed "By Vertue of an Order of the House of Representatives, I do | Appoint Bartholomew Green, and John Allen, to Print His | Excellency's Speech. | John Leverett Speaker."

Love's | Pedigree. | Or | a Discourse shewing the Grace of | Love in a Believer to be of | a Divine Original | Delivered in a | Sermon | preached at the Lecture in Boston, | Febr. 29. 1700. | — | By S. Willard, Teacher of a Church there. | — | [Three lines from James i. 17.] | — || Boston, in N. E. Printed by B. Green, and | J. Allen. Sold by Benjamin Eliot, at his Shop | under the West End of the Town-House. 1700. 16mo. pp. 28.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 3-28, "Loves Pedigree"; running headlines.

Near the top of the titlepage is written, "Sam^l Checkley 1700."

Morality | not to be | Relied on for Life. | Or, | a Brief Discourse, discovering the | One Thing Wanting, | which leaves | the legalist Short of Life Eternal. | Delivered in a Sermon on the Lecture | in Boston, May, 23d. 1700. | — | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of | a Church in Boston. | — | [Four lines from Titus iii. 5.] | — || Boston, in N. E. Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen, | for Benjamin Eliot, at his Shop under the | West End of the Town House. 1700. 16mo. pp. 28.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 3-28, "Morality | not to be Relied on for Life"; running headlines.

The Order of the | Gospel, | Professed and Practised by the | Churches of Christ in | New-England, Justified, by the | Scripture, and by the Writings | of many Learned men, both | Ancient and Modern Divines; | In Answer to several Questions, | relating to Church Discipline | — | By Increase Mather, President of | Harvard Colledge in Cambridge, and | Teacher of a Church at Boston | in New England. | — | [Three

lines from Jer. ii. 21, 36; two lines from Col. ii. 5.] — || Boston, Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen, | for Nicholas Buttolph, at his Shop at the | Corner of Gutteridges Office-House. 1700. 16mo. pp. 143, (1). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, four lines of Latin between two border lines; 3-12, "The Epistle Dedicatory. | — | To the | Churches of Christ | in | New-England," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston. 1 m. | 1700."; 13-143, "The | Order of the Churches | in New-England. | Vindicated"; p. 143, below "The End" is a list of "Errata," seven lines; below this on the next page, "The Contents"; running headlines.

In the upper margin of the titlepage of one copy is written, "Sam^l Checkley: 1700 12^d."

The Peril | of the | Times | Displayed. | Or | the Danger of Mens taking up | with a | Form of Godliness, | But Denying the Power of it. | Being | the Substance of several Sermons | Preached: | — | By Samvel Willard, | Teacher of a Church in Boston. N. E. | — | [One line of Latin.] | — || Boston, Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen. | Sold by Benjamin Eliot. 1700. 16mo. pp. 3-12.

Titlepage wanting; 3-12, "To the | Reader," signed "Increase Mather," and dated at "Boston, New England | November, 1699"; 13-168, wanting. See copy in the Prince Library.

A Pillar of Gratitude. | — | Or, | A brief Recapitulation, of the Match= | less Favours, with which the | God of Heaven hath obliged the | Hearty Praises, of His | New-English Israel. | A Sermon delivered in the Audi- | ence of His Excellency, the | Earl of Bellomont, Captain | General, and Governour in | Chief, and of the Council & | Representatives, of the Gene- | ral Assembly of the Pro- | vince of the Massachusetts Bay Con- | vened at Boston, in New England. | On May 29 1700 the Day, for Election | of Counsellors, in that Province. | — | By Cotton Mather. | — | Whereto there is Appendiced, an Extract of | some Accounts, conceiving the Won- | derful Success of the Glorious Gos- | pel, in the East | Indies. | — | [One line of Latin.] | — || Boston, Printed by B Green, & J Allen. 1700. 16mo. pp. 48.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 3-44, "A Pillar of Gratitude. | At the Opening of the Great and Gene- | ral Assembly, of the Province of | Massachuset Bay, New England. | 29d. 3m. 1700," running headlines; 45-48, "An Appendix. | Giving a more particular Account of the | Glorious and Wonderful Success which | the Gospel hath had in the East-Indies. | [Touched in the foregoing Sermon]."

The | Printers | Advertisement. [Colophon at the foot of page 6] Boston, Printed by John Allen. 1700. No titlepage. 12mo. pp. 10.

Page 1, "The | Printers | Advertisement," signed "Bartholomew Green," and dated at "Boston, December | 21st. 1700"; 1 p. further statement by the printer, "Dated in Boston, December 24th, 1700"; 3-5, "The | Depositions | of | Thomas Brattle, Gent. | and | Zechariah Tuthill, Merchant," "The | Depositions | of | John Mico, & Zechariah Tuthill, Merchants," signed by them respectively and each dated at "Boston, December 27, 1700"; 5, 6, statement of Thomas Brattle, signed by him and dated at "Boston, December 27, 1700"; 7, 8, "The Deposition of | Bartholomew Green, Printer," signed by him and dated at "Boston, January 4th. 1700"; 8, 9, "The Deposition of John Allen and Timothy Green, Printers," signed by them and dated at "Boston January, 4th. 1700"; 9, 10, "To the Candid Reader," signed "B. Green," and dated at "Boston, Jan. 10. 1700, 1"; colophon at the end of page 10, "Boston, Printed by Bartholomew Green, 1701."

This relates to "Gospel Order Revived," mentioned above, and is a reply to the Advertisement there printed.

The Selling | of | Joseph | A Memorial. [Colophon] Boston of the Massachusetts; | Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen, June, 24th. 1700. No titlepage. Folio. pp. 3.

This tract was written by Judge Sewall. See Proceedings (VII. 161-165) for October, 1863, and Collections (5th series, VI. 16-20), for a reprint of the same.

The Truly | Blessed Man : | Or, | the way to be Happy here, | and | For Ever : | Being the Substance of Divers | Sermons | preached on, Psalm XXXII. | — | By Samuel Willard, | Teacher of a Church in Boston. N. E. | — | [Six lines from Isa. xii. 1, 2.] | — || Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green, | and J. Allen, for Michael Perry. | 1700. 16mo. pp. 652, (3). [Two copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 3-6, "To the | Reader," signed "Samuel Willard"; 7-652, "The Truly | Blessed Man : | Or, the Way to be | Happy here, and for ever"; list of "Errata" at the end of page 652, ten lines; 3 pp. "The | Contents | of the principal matters, Contained in the | foregoing Treatise"; last page blank.

One copy has at the beginning, opposite to the titlepage, Judge Sewall's leaflet mentioned below:—

Upon Mr. Samuel Willard, his first | coming into the Assembly, and Praying, | after a long and dangerous Fit of | Sickness; November 21. 1700. at | 3. in the Afternoon, being a Day of | Publick Thanksgiving. | Mr. Pemberton's Text, Psal. 118. 27. 16mo. 1 p.

These verses in three stanzas were written by Judge Sewall, who mentions them in his Diary under the same date, where he gives the first two. In the upper margin are written two lines, "Donum Sam^l. Sewal Esq." in one hand, and "To Ann Winthrop" in another. The leaflet is pasted into a copy of Willard's "The Truly Blessed Man," between the fly-leaf and the titlepage. Prince says that this was "Print^d at Boston. 1700."

A | Vindication | of the Divine | Authority | of | Ruling Elders | in the | Churches of Christ: | Asserted by the Ministers & Elders, met | together in a Provincial Assembly, | Novemb. 2d. 1649. And Printed in London, 1650. Beginning at Page 34. to 48. | Transcribed out of the same Book. | Whereunto is added, | An Answer to the Question, Whether are not | the Brethren, and not the Elders of the Church | only, to Judge concerning the Qualifications. | and Fitness, of those who are Admitted into | their Communion? By the Reverend Mr. | Increase Mather, in his Book Entitled, | The Order of the Gospel: Printed in the | year, 1700. Beginning at Page 23. to 29. | — | Reprinted for Publick Good. 16mo. pp. (1), 28. [Three copies.]

Titlepage, surrounded by two border lines, *verso* blank; 1-19, "A | Vindication | of the | Divine Authority of Ruling Elders, &c. | In Answer to an Objection"; 20, 21, "An Article, Agreed upon by the Elders | and Messengers of the Churches, | Assembled in the Synod, at Boston | in New-England, Sept. 10th. 1679"; 22-28, "Question"; last leaf of signature "C" wanting.

A Warning to the | Flocks | against | Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing. | Or, | A Faithful Advice, from several | Ministers of the Gospel, in and | near Boston, unto the Churches | of New England, relating to the | Dangers that may arise from | Impostors, | Pretending to be Ministers. | With | a Brief History of some Impostors, | Remarkably and Seasonably detected; | Written, by One of the Ministers in Boston, | to assert that Advice and prevent future Mischiefs. || Boston, Printed for the Booksellers. 1700. 16mo. pp. 3-79.

Titlepage, wanting; 3-10, "A Faithful Advice, | from | Several Ministers of the Gospel, | in and near Boston, unto the Churches | of New-England; relating to the | Dangers that may arise from Impostors, | pretending to be Ministers," signed "Increase Mather | James Allen | Samuel Willard | Moses Fiske | Benjamin Woodbridge | Nehemiah Hobart | John Danforth | Cotton Mather | Nehemiah Walter | Jonathan Pierpont | Joseph Belcher | Benjamin Wadsworth | Benjamin Coleman," and dated at "Boston, Decemb-28. 1699"; 11-28, "An History, of Some | Imposters, | Remarkably and Seasonably detected, in | the Churches of New-England; Written | to maintain the Advice Published by | some of the Pastors in those Churches | relating to Impostures, and prevent all | future Mischiefs from them"; 29-52,

"Boston, 25 d. | 10 m. 1699. | A Letter, | containing a Remarkable History,
| of an | Imposter," signed "Cotton Mather"; 53, "Postscript"; 54-79,
"Something to be known, | by all the Churches. | — | Or, | Short Remarks
upon the Remarkable | Dispensations of the Lord Jesus | Christ, unto His
Churches, dis- | covering Secret Offenders and Im- | postors, among them. |
— | At Boston Lecture, 14. d. 10. m. 1699," running headlines; last page
"Advertisement," of Increase Mather's "Order of the Gospel," between two
lines of border pieces.

This title is taken from the tract in the Boston Athenæum;
and the imperfect copy in this Library has been the cause of
some confusion among bibliographers. Sabin ascribes the author-
ship both to Increase Mather (XI. 465) in connection with
others, and to his son Cotton (XI. 447); and Mr. Sibley (I. 454,
III. 69, 74) falls into a similar mistake. Dr. Dexter also, in his
"Congregationalism" (pp. 114, 115), confounds the titles. The
first part of the pamphlet, as far as page 53, is reprinted in the
Magnalia (Book VII. Chap. V. pp. 30-41).

Wednesday | January 1. 1701. | A little before Break-a-day at Boston of the
| Massachusets. 12mo. 1 p.

These verses, in three stanzas, were written by Judge Sewall,
who entered in his Diary (II. 27), under date of January 1,
1700-1, that the "Bell-man said these verses a little before
Break-a-day, which I printed and gave them." The verses were
printed on page 28 of the same volume; and the reprint of
another broadside with three additional verses is given with
some introductory remarks in the Proceedings (2d series, I. 13,
14) for January, 1884.

The | Young Mans claim | unto the | Sacrament of the | Lords-Supper. | Or,
| the Examination of a Person | approaching to the Table | of the Lord.
| Compos'd | by the Reverend Mr. John Quick, | Minister of the Gos-
pel, in London. | And now, in a Second Impression, Offer'd | unto the
Churches of New England; | by Sundry Ministers of those | Churches,
Approving of it, and | Attesting to it. | With a Defence of those
Churches, from | what is Offensive to them, in a Dis- | course late Pub-
lished, under the | Title of, The Doctrine of In- | stituted Churches. |
By certain Ministers of the Gospel, in Boston. || Boston, Printed by B.
Green, and J. Allen, | for Samuel Phillips, at the Brick Shop near | the
Old Meeting House. 1700. 16mo. pp. 92.

Titlepage wanting; 1-59, "A Defence of Evangelical | Churches, | in |
a Soft Answer to what may Offend | the Churches of New-England | in an
Hard Attempt against them, | under the Title of, The Doctrine | of Insti-

tuted Churches. | And, | a Short Account of the Discourse | about, A Claim to the Lords Table, | here Published and Commended, | as a Treatise worthy of Great | Acceptance in the Churches," signed "Increase Mather" and "Cotton Mather"; 1 p. blank; 61, 62, "Advertisement"; 63, 64, "An Attestation," signed "John Higginson | William Hubbard | Zechariah Symmes Sen. | Samuel Cheever | Nicholas Noyes | Jeremiah Shepard | Joseph Gerrish | Edward Paison"; 65-70, "The Preface | to the | Baptized Youth | come unto Years of Discretion; | and | capable of Examining themselves. | The best Blessings!" by John Quick, running headlines; 71-92, "The | Young Mau's Claim | unto the | Sacrament | of the | Lord's Supper."

The titlepage of this work is copied from Sabin (XVI. 198), number 67,164.

At a meeting of the Historical Society, on May 12, 1892 (Proceedings, 2d series, VII. 414, 415), I stated the reasons for supposing that William Brattle was the author of the Almanac for 1694, but by an oversight in the description of the pamphlet in the foregoing list his name was omitted. Without much doubt the Almanac for 1680, mentioned under that year, was made by John Foster, the pioneer printer of Boston, though his name does not appear on the titlepage. He prepared one for 1681, with a similar title, *mutatis mutandis*, which was printed with the same ornamentation and issued evidently from the same press. The Almanac for 1687 may have been written by William Williams, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1683, who also made one for 1685, on which his name appears as the author. The two Almanacs were printed at the same office, and the general make-up of each is identical with that of the other.

Judge Sewall, in his Diary (II. 263), under date of September 17, 1709, says, "Mr. Green finishes printing Mr. Whiting's Oration," which, perhaps, is the pamphlet mentioned under 1649. The font of type and its general appearance would seem to show that it might have been published in 1709, though Prince, in his Catalogue compiled some years later, refers the date of printing to 1649. Possibly the tract was reprinted in 1709.

The following supplementary titles are found in my own library; and as they are accessible, I append them here to the list of those belonging to the Historical Society.

Spent Buell 1783
USEFUL INSTRUCTIONS

for a professing People in Times of great

SECURITY AND DEGENERACY:

Delivered in several

S E R M O N S

on Solemn Occasions:

Nath^l Huntington & Dono amici Jos. Green
14 April. 1895.

By Mr. Samuel Willard Pastor of the Church of Christ
at Groton.

Ezek. 3. 17. Son of Man, I have made thee a Watchman to the
House of Israel: therefore hear the Word at my mouth, and give them
warning from me.

Amos 3. 8. The Lord God hath spoken, who can but Prophecy?

Jer. 2. 31. O Generation, See ye the Word of the Lord: have
I been a wilderness unto Israel? a Land of darkness? wherefore say
my People, we are Lords, we will come no more unto thee.

Haggai. 1. 5. 7. Thus saith the Lord, Consider your ways.

CAMBRIDGE:

Printed by Samuel Green.

1 6 7 3

To his Beloved Friends the Inhabitants of
G R O T O N.



That it was not a desire to appear in publick, but to answer your requests, gave light to the ensuing Sermons, ye are my witnesses, and that in the publishing of them, I have not endeavoured to varnish and paint them over with flourish of men-pleasing words; the thing it self may speak: in the reading you shall finde nothing but what was delivered in Preaching. Touching the occasion of them I need not advertise you, you may well enough call to minde, the loud voice of speaking providences, which forbade me in such a day to be silent: The sad bandes of God whic^e was upon the poor possessed Creature, which produced that on Isai. 26. 9. hath sounded through this Wilderness, but you were eye witnesses of it; the Lord affect your hearts, and give you to learn righteousness. The other two were also upon solemn Occasions, the hand of God upon this Land, and us in particular, bids Ministers to cry aloud; the Lord God hath spoken, who can but Prophecie? I know mans corruption is not willing to be closely dealt withal, but I hope many of you have not so learned Christ. My hearts desire and prayer for you is, that you may be prepared for shaking times, and the nearer they approach the more need have we to be haltened and roused from our loytering. If these poor labours of mine, may help in that great business, I have my ends fully answered; and my desire for you is, that those affections may be blown up again in the reading which were kindled in the preaching, I know I have but a while to be among you, if God please to make me by these, or any other weak endeavours, to be under him instrumental of your eternal good, I shall dye with joy; and so meet you all at the right hand of our Judge in that great day, is the highest ambition of

Your unworthy Minister.

1657.

A Copy of Verses | made by that Reverend Man of God Mr. John Wilson,
Pastor to the | first Church in Boston; On the sudden Death of | M^r
Joseph Briscoe, | who was translated from Earth to Heaven Jan. 1.
1657. Broadside. Folio.

Surrounded by a wide border line; between the heading and the verses,
the following lines, relating to his death by drowning, and an anagram
appear:—

*Not by a Fiery Chariot as Elisha was,
But by the Water, which was the outward cause:
And now at Rest with Christ his Saviour dear,
Though he hath left his dear Relations here*

Joseph Briscoe } Anagram.
Job cries hopes. }

Perhaps this sheet was printed later than 1657.

1673.

Vseful Instructions | for a professing People in Times of great | Security
and Degeneracy: | Delivered in several | Sermons | on Solemn Occa-
sions: | — | By Mr. Samuel Willard Pastor of the Church of Christ |
at Groton | — | [Three lines from Ezek. iii. 17; one line from Amos
iii. 8; three lines from Jer. ii. 31; one line from Haggai i. 5, 7.] | — ||
Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green. | 1673. 16mo. pp. (4), 80.

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1 p. "Christian Reader," signed "Vrian Oakes"
and "Thomas Shepard"; 1 p. "To his Beloved Friends the Inhabitants of
| Groton," signed "S. W.," headpiece a line of acorn-shaped border pieces;
1-19, "Jer. 7. 12. | But go ye now unto my Place which is in Shiloh, &c.,"
and text; 1 p. blank; 21-43, "Isaiah. 26. 9. | When thy Judgements are in
the Earth, the | Inhabitants of the World will learn | Righteousness," and
text, headpiece, a line of acorn-shaped border pieces, and a similar line in-
verted; 44-80, "Isaiah 21. 11, 12," in five lines, and text.

Mr. Love in his "Fast and Thanksgiving Days" (p. 516) says
that the first of these sermons was delivered on June 16, 1670,
and the third, June 13, 1672. The second was preached prob-
ably during the winter of 1671-2, and was occasioned by a case
of witchcraft at Groton. See Collections (4th series, VIII. 555-
570) for a letter written by Mr. Willard to Cotton Mather, de-
scribing the case in detail. See also Green's "Groton in the
Witchcraft Times" (pp. 7-21). Mr. Brinley had a copy of Wil-
lard's book, which I have been told was bought by the Library

of Congress; and there is an imperfect one in the library of Harvard College. Across the titlepage of my copy is written the following in Hunting's hand: "Nathⁿ Hunting E dono amici Jos. Green | 14 April. 1695." At the date of this writing Green was a senior at Harvard College; and Hunting, who had graduated two years previously, was afterward married to Green's sister Mary. Joseph Green was a son of John and Ruth (Mitchelson) Green, and born at Cambridge, on November 24, 1675. He died on November 26, 1715, at Salem Village (now Danvers), where he had been the settled minister for seventeen years. He was my great-great-great-grandfather.

A fac-simile of the titlepage and preface is here given.

1698.

The | Tryal | of | Assurance, | set forth in a | Sermon; | Preached at Boston upon a Lecture day. | July 7th. 1698. | — | By Solomon Stoddard, Pastor of the Church | in Northampton. | — | [Two lines from 2 Pet. i. 10.] | — || Boston in New-England, | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. Sold by | Michael Perry, under the Exchange. [1698.] 16mo. pp. 20.

Titlepage, closely cut at the bottom by the binder, *verso* blank; 1-20, "The Tryal of | Assurance"; last leaf blank.

Near the top of the titlepage are the words, "Samuel Checkley 169[8]."

1699.

A Meet Help. | — | Or, | a Wedding | Sermon, | Preached at New-Castle in New-England, | June 19th. 1694. | At the Marriage of | Mr. John Clark, | and | Mrs. Elizabeth Woodbridge. | — | By Mr. John Cotton, Pastor of the | Church at Hampton. | — | [Three lines from Heb. xiii. 4; three lines from Hosea iii. 3; one line from Cant. ii. 16.] | — || Boston, Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen. Sold | by Michael Perry, at his Shop over against the | Town house. 1699. 16mo. pp. 24.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank; 3-5, "To the Candid | Reader," signed "Per Auditorem"; 1 p. blank; 7-24, "A Meet Help. | Or, A Wedding | Sermon," headpiece two lines of border pieces; running headlines.

Near the top of the titlepage appears, "Samuel Checkley. 1699."

The | Surest Way to the Great^{est} | Honour: | Discoursed in a Sermon, | delivered | in the Audience of His Excellency the | Earl of Bellomont, Captain | General and Governour in Chief, | and of the Council, and

Repre- | sentatives of the General Assembly | of the Province of the
Massachusetts | Bay, convened at Boston in New- | England, May 31st.
1699. Being | the day for the Election of | Counsellors in that Prov-
ince. | — | By Increase Mather. | — || Boston. | Printed by Barthol-
omew Green, & John Allen, | for Samuel Phillips, and are to be sold
at | the Brick Shop near the Old. | Meeting-House. 1699. 16mo.
pp. (8), 3-42.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso*, "Published by the Ap-
point- | ment of His Excellency, & | of the Honorable Council, | and Rep-
resentatives, of His | Majesties Province of the | Massachusetts-Bay in
New- | England," between two lines of border pieces; 6 pp. "The Epistle
Dedicatory. | — | To His Excellency, | Richard, Earl of | Bellomont, | Cap-
tain General and Governour in | Chief of the Provinces of the Massa- |
chusetts-Bay in New-England, | and of New-York, &c.," signed "Increase
Mather," and dated at "Boston, June 7: | 1699"; one leaf blank; 3-42,
"The Surest Way to the | Greatest Honour"; list of "Errata," two lines;
running headlines.

Near the top of the titlepage is the autograph signature,
"Samuel Checkley: 99."

The three preceding titles are taken from a volume of bound
pamphlets, which once belonged to Samuel Checkley, but for
several generations has been in the possession of my family.
It is bound uniformly with another volume of earlier tracts in
the Historical Library, containing various titles already men-
tioned in this list, and which also once belonged to Mr. Checkley.

1700.

An Epistle | To the Christian | Indians, | Giving them | A Short Account, of
what the | English | Desire them to Know and to Do, | In order to their
Happiness. | — | Written by an English Minister [Cotton Mather], at
the | Desire of an English Magistrate, | who sends unto them this |
Token of Love. | — || Boston | Printed by Bartholomew Green and
John Allen | 1700. 16mo. pp. 4-11, double.

One leaf, *verso* Indian title, wanting; one leaf, English title, and *verso*,
page 1, wanting; three leaves wanting; 4-11, English on the *recto*, and
Indian on the *verso*; 11-14, seven pages double, wanting.

The title of this tract is taken from Mr. Sibley's Harvard
Graduates (III. 74).

For general convenience and ready reference, the following
List of shortened Titles, with the name of Authors and the
year of Publication, is here given:—

Adams, William. God's Eye on the Contrite	1685
— The Necessity of the pouring out, etc.	1679
Albany. Propositions made by the Sachems, etc.	1690
Allen, James. New-England's choicest Blessing	1679
— Serious Advice to delivered Ones from Sickness	1679
Allin, John. Animadversions upon the Antisynodalia	1664
Almanac. By H. B.	1692
— By William Brattle	1682, 1694
— By John Danforth	1679
— The New England Almanac, by Samuel Danforth	1686
— By John Foster	1680, 1681
— The Boston Ephemeris, by Benjamin Gillam	1684
— The Boston Ephemeris, by Cotton Mather	1683
— The Boston Ephemeris, by Nathaniel Mather	1685, 1686
— Harvard's Ephemeris, by Henry Newman	1690
— By Henry Newman	1691
— Cambridge Ephemeris, by Noadiah Russell	1684
— By John Sherman	1674
— By John Tulley	1687-90, 1693, 1695-1700
— Cambridge Ephemeris, by William Williams	1685, 1687
Andros, Edmund. Letter requesting his surrender, April 18	1689
— A Narrative of the Proceedings of	1691
— Proclamation, January 10	1688
Answer to George Keith's Libel	1694
Arnold, Samuel. David serving his Generation	1674
B., A. Seasonable Motives. To our Duty and Allegiance	1689
B., H. An Almanac	1692
Bailey, John. Man's chief End to Glorifie God	1689
— To my Loving . . . Friends, in and about Limerick	1689
Baxter, Richard. Call of the Unconverted, in Indian	1688
Belcher, Joseph. The Worst Enemy Conquered	1698
Bellomont. His Excellency, the Earl of Bellomont's Speech	1700
Bible. New Testament in Indian, by John Eliot	1661, 1680
— Old Testament in Indian, by John Eliot	1663, 1685
Bond, Samson. A Publick Tryal of the Quakers	1682
Boston. Letter requesting the surrender of Andros	1689
Bradstreet, Mrs. Anne. Several Poems	1678
Brattle, William. Almanacs	1682, 1694
Brez, Guy de. The Rise . . . of the Anabaptists	1668
Burnet, Gilbert. A Sermon . . . before the House of Commons	1689
Cambridge Platform. A Platform of Church-Discipline	1671
Catechism. The Doctrine of Godliness, by John Norton	1660
— The Shorter Catechism	1698
Chauncy, Charles. Anti-Synodalia Scripta Americana	1662
Confession of Faith, in Indian and English. By Grindal Rawson	1700
Connecticut. The Book of the General Laws	1673
— Their Majesties Colony . . . Vindicated	1694

- Corbet, John. Self-Employment in Secret 1684
 Cotton, John. A Discourse about Civil Government 1663
 — God's Promise to his Plantations 1686
 — A Meet Help. Or, a Wedding Sermon 1699
- Danforth, John. An Almanac 1679
 — Kneeling to God, at Parting with Friends 1697
 Danforth, Samuel. An Almanac 1686
 — An Astronomical Description of the late Comet 1665
 — A brief Recognition of New-England's Errand 1671
 Declaration of the Nobility, etc. . . . at Nottingham 1689
 Delamer. The Lord Delf[]r's Speech 1688
 Denison, Daniel. Irenicon, or a Salve for New-England's Sore . . . 1684
- Earthquake, Naples; September 21, 1694 1695
 Election Sermons. Artillery 1674, 1678, 1682, 1687, 1698-1700
 — Connecticut 1674, 1697
 — Massachusetts 1663, 1664, 1670, 1671, 1673, 1674, 1676, 1679,
 1683-85, 1690, 1694, 1695, 1698, 1700
 — Plymouth 1669, 1670, 1674
 Eliot, John. Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, in Indian 1688
 — The Harmony of the Gospels 1678
 — Indian Primer 1684
 — New Testament, in Indian 1661, 1680
 — Old Testament, in Indian 1663, 1685
 — Rules for Holy Living, in Indian 1663
 — Psalms of David, in Indian 1663, 1680
 Expedition against Canada. Orders for enlisting men 1690
- Fast Proclamations 1678, 1690
 Fast Sermons 1678, 1679, 1682, 1684, 1694
 Fisk, John. The Watering of the Olive Plant. (See page 411.) . . 1657
 Fitch, James. A Brief Discourse, etc. 1683
 — An Explanation of the Solemn Advice 1683
 — An Holy Connexion, or a true Agreement 1674
 Foster, John. An Almanac 1680, 1681
- Gillam, Benjamin. An Almanac 1684
 Gospel Order Revived, being an Answer to a Book 1700
 Green, Bartholomew. The Printers Advertisement 1700
- Harvard College. Oration, July 31, 1649, by Samuel Whiting . . . 1649
 — Theses 1643, 1647, 1670, 1678
 Higginson, John. The Cause of God . . . in New-England . . . 1663
 Hoar, Leonard. The Sting of Death and Death Unstung 1680
 Hubbard, William. The Benefit of a Well-Ordered Conversation . . 1684
 — The Happiness of a People 1676
 — A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians 1677

J., W. A Remembrance of Former Times	1697
Jefferies, George. To His Highness . . . Prince of Orange	1689
Joy, George. Innocency's Complaint, etc.	1677
Judgment of Several Eminent Divines	1693
Keith, George. The Presbyterian and Independent . . . Churches	1689
Lawson, Deodat. A Brief and True Narrative of . . . Witchcraft	1692
— Christ's Fidelity the only Shield	1693
— The Duty & Property of a Religious Householder	1693
Lee, Samuel. Contemplations on Mortality	1698
— The Joy of Faith	1687
Lodowick, Christianus. A Letter from	1692
London Gazette. February 9, 1684, No. 2006	1685
Marriage. Proclamation for the Orderly Solemnization of	1686
Massachusetts. Acts and Laws	1692-1700
— The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes	1660
— The General Laws and Liberties	1672
— Several Laws and Orders 1663, 1664, 1672-74,	1677
— Sundry Laws . . . Duty of Tythingmen	1677
— A Copy of the King's Majesties Charter, 1628	1689
— Order requiring the Oath of Allegiance	1678
— To the Elders and Ministers of every Town	1668
Massachusetts or the first Planters of New-England	1696
Mather, Cotton. Addresses to Old Men, and Young Men, etc.	1690
— An Almanac	1683
— A Companion for Communicants	1690
— Durable Riches. Two Brief Discourses	1695
— Early Religion, Urged in a Sermon	1694
— Ecclesiastes. The Life of . . . Jonathan Mitchel	1697
— An Epistle to the Christian Indians	1700
— The Faith of the Fathers	1699
— A Good Master well served	1696
— Help for Distressed Parents	1695
— Johannes in Eremo. Memoirs	1695
— Little Flocks Guarded against Grievous Wolves	1691
— Memorable Providences relating to Witchcrafts	1689
— Memoria Wilsonia	1695
— Military Duties recommended	1687
— Observanda, etc.	1695
— Optanda. Good Men Described	1692
— A Pillar of Gratitude	1700
— Piscator Evangelicus . . . Life of Mr. Thomas Hooker	1695
— The Present State of New-England	1690
— A Scriptural Catechism	1691
— The Serviceable Man. A Discourse	1690
— Souldiers Counsell'd and Comforted	1689
— Thirty Important Cases, Resolved	1699
— The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion	1691

Mather, Cotton. A Warning to the Flocks against Wolves . . .	1700
— Warnings from the Dead . . .	1693
— The Way to Excel. Meditations . . .	1697
— The Way to Prosperity. A Sermon . . .	1690
— The Wonderful Works of God Commemorated . . .	1690
— The Wonders of the Invisible World . . .	1693
Mather, Eleazer. A Serious Exhortation . . .	1671
Mather, Increase. An Arrow against Profane . . . Dancing . . .	1684
— A Brief Discourse . . . [on] Common Prayer, etc. . .	1689
— A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians . . .	1676
— A Call from Heaven . . .	1685
— A Discourse Concerning . . . Apostasy . . .	1679, 1685
— A Discourse Concerning . . . Baptisme . . .	1675
— The Divine Right of Infant-Baptisme . . .	1680
— The Doctrine of Divine Providence . . .	1684
— An Earnest Exhortation, etc. . .	1676
— An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences . . .	1684
— The First Principles of New-England . . .	1675
— The Great Blessing, of Primitive Counsellours . . .	1693
— Heaven's Alarm to the World . . .	1682
— An Historical Discourse concerning . . . Prayer . . .	1677
— KOMHTOTPAΦIA. . . Concerning Comets . . .	1683
— The Latter Sign Discoursed of . . .	1682
— The Life and Death of . . . Mr. Richard Mather . . .	1670
— The Mystery of Christ . . .	1686
— A Narrative of the Miseries of New-England . . .	1689
— The Order of the Gospel, Professed . . .	1700
— Pray for the Rising Generation . . .	1679, 1685
— A Relation of the Troubles, etc. . .	1677
— Remember now thy Creator . . .	1685
— Returning unto God, etc. . .	1680
— A Sermon . . . When two men were Executed . . .	1685
— A Sermon . . . on a Publick Fast . . .	1682
— The Surest Way to the Greatest Honour . . .	1699
— The Times of men are in the hand of God . . .	1675
— To His Excellency . . . Bellomont . . .	1699
— Wo to Drunkards. Two Sermons . . .	1673
Mather, Nathaniel. Almanacs . . .	1685, 1686
— A Sermon . . . on . . . the Constant Exercise of Grace . . .	1684
Mather, Richard. The Summe of Certain Sermons . . .	1652
Mather, Samuel. A Testimony . . . against Idolatry, etc. . .	1670
Maule, Thomas. New England Persecutors Mauld . . .	1697
Mayhew, Matthew. A Brief Narrative of the Success, etc. . .	1694
Mitchel, Jonathan. Nehemiah on the Wall . . .	1671
Mohawk Indians, A Relation . . . concerning the . . .	1689
Moody, Joshua. A Practical Discourse . . . [on] Communion . . .	1685
Narragansett Country. Advertisement . . .	1686
— A Declaration, etc., by John Winthrop . . .	1645

Narragansett Country. Notice of Meeting, dated June 8	1686
— Proclamations relating to the	1683, 1686
Newman, Henry. Almanacs	1690, 1691
New York. Votes of the House of Representatives	1698
Nicolls, R. The Conditions of New Planters	1665
Norton, John. A Copy of the Letter . . . to Mr. John Dury	1664
— The Doctrine of Godliness	1660
— The Heart of N-England rent	1659
— The Life and Death of . . . Mr. John Cotton	1657
— Three Choice and Profitable Sermons	1664
Nowell, Samuel. Abraham in Arms	1678
Noyes, Nicholas. New-England's Duty and Interest	1698
Oakes, Urian. An Elegie upon . . . Mr. Thomas Shepard	1677
— New-England Pleaded with	1673
— The Sovereign Efficacy of Divine Providence	1682
— The Unconquerable, all-conquering	1674
Orange, Prince of. Letter to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal	1689
Order . . . confirming several Acts and Laws of the Province	1699
Oxenbridge, John. New-England Freemen Warned	1673
Pain, Philip. Daily Meditations	1670
Palmer, John. The Present State of New-England	1689
Patridge, John. Monthly Observations and Predictions	1692
Plain Case Stated . . . Address to the Prince of Orange	1688
Plantation Trade. An Act for preventing Frauds	1696
Plymouth Colony. An Address Presented to the King, August 7, 1689	1690
— The Book of the General Laws	1672, 1685
Principles of the Protestant Religion Maintained	1690
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— Thanksgiving	1676, 1692
— Narragansett Country	1683
— Miscellaneous	1686, 1688, 1690-92, 1699
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Psalms of David, in Indian, by John Eliot	1663, 1680
Psalms Hymns and Spiritual Songs	1695, 1698
Publick Occurrences [a newspaper]. Order to suppress	1690
Quakers, A Brief Narration of the sufferings of the	1700
— A Dialogue between a Young Professor and a Quaker	1690
Quick, John. The Young Mans claim unto the Sacrament	1700
Rawson, Grindal. Confession of Faith, in Indian and English	1700
Reasons for the Inditement of the Duke of York	1680
Relation of Captain Bull, concerning the Mohawks	1689
Russell, Noadiah. An Almanac	1684

Salem Church. A Direction for a Publick Profession	1665
Saltonstall, Gurdon. A Sermon Preached . . . at Hartford . . .	
May 13	1697
Seasonable Motives. To our Duty and Allegiance	1689
Scottow, Joshua. A Narrative of the Planting, etc.	1694
— The Rise . . . of the Anabaptists	1668
Servant, Advertisement of a run-away, Matthew Jones	1684
Sewall, Samuel. The Selling of Joseph. A Memorial	1700
— Upon Mr. Samuel Willard	1700
— Verses	1700
Shepard, Thomas. The Church-Membership of Children	1663
— Eye-Salve, or a Watch-Word	1673
— Two Questions, etc.	1697
Sherman, John. An Almanac	1674
Some Miscellany Observations on . . . Witchcraft	1692
Stoddard, Solomon. The Tryal of Assurance	1698
Stoughton, William. New-England's True Interest	1670
Sunday, Proclamation concerning the observance of	1699
Synod, Boston, 1662. Animadversions, by John Allin	1664
— Anti-Synodalia, by Charles Chauncy	1662
— A Defence of the Answer	1664
— Proposition concerning the Subject of Baptism	1662
Thacher, Thomas. A Brief Rule . . . in the Small Pocks, or Measels	1677
— A Fast of God's chusing, plainly opened	1678
Thanksgiving Proclamations	1676, 1692
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Torrey, Samuel. An Exhortation unto Reformation	1674
— Man's Extremity, Gods Opportunity	1695
— A Plea for the Life of Dying Religion	1683
Tully, John. Almanacs	1687-90, 1693, 1695-1700
Vindication of the Divine Authority of Ruling Elders	1700
Wadsworth, Benjamin. Good Souldiers a Great Blessing	1700
Walley, Thomas. Balm in Gilead to heal Sions Wounds	1669, 1670
Watch for a Wise Man's Observation	1699
Whiting, Samuel. Oratio, etc., Cambridge, July 31	1649
Wigglesworth, Michael. The Day of Doom	1666
Willard, Samuel. The Barren Fig Trees Doom	1691
— The Character of a Good Ruler	1694
— The Doctrine of the Covenant of Redemption	1693
— The Duty of a People, etc.	1680
— The Fountain Opened	1700
— The Fiery Trial no strange thing	1682
— The High Esteem . . . Death of . . . John Hull	1683
— Love's Pedigree. Or a Discourse	1700

Willard, Samuel. The Man of War. A Sermon . . . June 5 . . .	1699
— Morality not to be Relied on for Life	1700
— The Mourner's Cordial	1691
— Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam	1681
— The only way to prevent threatned Calamity	1684
— The Peril of the Times Displayed	1700
— Promise-Keeping. A Great Duty	1691
— Reformation the Great Duty	1694
— A Sermon preached upon . . . John Leveret	1679
— The Sinfulness of Worshipping God	1691
— The Truly Blessed Man	1700
— Useful Instructions for a professing People	1673
Williams, William. Almanacs	1685, 1687
Wilson, John. Verses on the Death of Joseph Brisco	1657
— A Seasonable Watch-Word unto Christians	1677
Winthrop, John. A Declaration of Former Passages	1645

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON announced the death of Sir John R. Seeley, K. C. M. G., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, an Honorary Member of this Society, who died at Cambridge, England, January 13, 1895. He was best known, was in fact world-famed, as the author of "Ecce Homo," but wrote several other works of a more decidedly historical character. He stood high as a teacher and writer of authority in his chosen profession, and his death called forth tributes of respect and honor in England.

Mr. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL communicated for publication in the Proceedings the memoir of the late Edward J. Lowell, which he had been appointed to prepare.



Edward J. Lowell.





MEMOIR

OF

EDWARD JACKSON LOWELL, A.M.

BY A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.

EDWARD JACKSON LOWELL, son of Francis Cabot Lowell and Mary daughter of Samuel P. Gardner, was born in Boston on October 18, 1845. His paternal grandfather, also named Francis Cabot Lowell, graduated from Harvard College in 1793, and was one of the founders of cotton manufactures in this country. In connection with his brother-in-law Patrick T. Jackson, he established the Boston Manufacturing Company at Waltham. The water-power of that place was, however, very small, and after Mr. Lowell's death, in 1817, Mr. Jackson turned his attention to the falls of the Merrimack River at Chelmsford. There he developed manufacturing on a much larger scale, and named the new town after his former associate.

Francis C. Lowell the elder left three sons. John, the oldest of these, called John Lowell, Jr., to distinguish him from an uncle of the same name, was a merchant. While still a young man, he lost in rapid succession his wife and both his children; and his ties with home being broken, he determined to gratify an intense longing for travel by making an extended journey through the East, then comparatively little known. With this object he sailed for Europe, and travelled through the Levant and Egypt, collecting materials for the journal which he intended to publish; but the exposure resulting from a shipwreck in the Red Sea brought on an attack of dysentery, and he reached India only to die at Bombay. Believing, as he stated in his will, that, with its small natural resources, the prosperity of New England must depend on the education of its people, Mr. Lowell left half his property for

the support of public lectures in Boston, a trust which has been administered ever since under the title of the Lowell Institute.

The youngest of the three brothers, Edward Jackson Lowell, from whom our late associate was named, graduated from Harvard College in 1822, and received a degree from the Law School three years later. His career at the Bar was promising, but was cut short by his death in 1830. He developed, early in life, strong literary and historical tastes; and it is said that before he came of age his guardians feeling obliged to remonstrate with him on account of his extravagance, found to their surprise that the money was being spent for books. He accumulated, in fact, before his death a library that was considerable for those days.

Francis C. Lowell, the second of the three brothers, and the father of the subject of this memoir, graduated from Harvard College in 1821. As a young man he was exceedingly delicate, and was hardly expected to live; but a strict regimen, coupled with an extraordinary self-control and an indomitable force of will, enabled him not only to preserve his life until his seventy-second year, but also to accomplish far more than the usual amount of work. He was at one time the Actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, and throughout his life was actively engaged in business, attending his office regularly until within a week of his death. Except for the regular life he was obliged to lead, he never allowed himself to become an invalid, or suffered his health to interfere with his various interests, public and private, or his duties to his friends and to the world.

Edward J. Lowell was the youngest of five children. In August, 1854, when he was less than nine years old, his mother died, and in accordance with her wish that he should receive a part of his education in Europe, his father took him abroad in the following winter. Mr. Francis C. Lowell had been away only a few months when he was called home by the condition of his business affairs; but before his return he placed his son in Sillig's school at Bellerive near Vevey on the Lake of Geneva, then at the height of its reputation. Here our late associate spent three years at the time of life when the mind is most impressionable, and he acquired a sympathy with French ideas, a comprehension of French modes of

thought, that were of incalculable value to him in his historical work. This great advantage was won without any corresponding loss, for it did not prevent his being thoroughly American, or affect the intensity of his patriotism.

After leaving Sillig's school, Mr. Lowell travelled with his father in Italy, visiting Rome and Naples. He then came home and went to one of the leading schools in Boston to prepare for college; but like many men at the present day, he felt in after life profoundly dissatisfied with this part of his education. He became convinced that the training he then received had been an injury rather than a benefit to him. In the short account of his life written for the class records at the time of his graduation from college, he says: "Here I was stuffed with as much Latin grammar as was consistent with teaching me very little Latin, and during four years learned about as little as was possible for a boy of that age." Nor did the strength of his feeling on the subject diminish as he grew older; and this opinion held by a man of natural literary taste, whose interest in all questions of education was always deep and active, is the strongest possible criticism on the system of teaching in vogue at that time.

As a boy Mr. Lowell was decidedly delicate, and during his last year at school suffered so much from weak eyes that he was obliged to study with a reader. Fortunately this trouble proved to be temporary, and never came back with anything like the same intensity; but although he became gradually better in general health, he was for many years far from robust. In spite of the weakness of his eyesight, and the necessity of making his final preparations for the examinations with the help of a reader, he entered Harvard College, as he had originally intended, in 1863. While there he wrote a good deal of poetry, and acquired no little reputation among his classmates for skill in versification, as is proved by the fact that he was poet of the Institute of 1770, and of the Hasty Pudding Club, and was the Class Odist on Commencement Day. He also wrote a number of poems for the college paper, some of which were afterwards published among the "Verses from the Harvard Advocate." It is somewhat curious that after he left college he wrote very little verse, and never printed a line; and this is the more strange because the love of poetry was a passion with him throughout his life. He knew a great deal

of poetry by heart, and was constantly in the habit of repeating it to himself when alone.

Mr. Lowell graduated in 1867, and spent the summer and autumn of that year in Europe. On January 14, 1868,—shortly after his return,—he married Mary, daughter of Mr. Samuel G. Goodrich, whose school histories, published under the *nom de plume* of Peter Parley, have had a wide celebrity. In 1868 Mr. Lowell, by his father's advice, went into business with Messrs. Hills, Turner & Harmon, importers of foreign glass; but he was not fitted by temperament for the life of a merchant, and the chief pleasure he found in the occupation resulted from the necessity of visiting Belgium, a country of which he was very fond. He soon became convinced that his career had not been well chosen, and in 1870 he decided to give up the glass business and practise law. With this view he studied a year at the Harvard Law School, and spent another year in the office of Messrs. Ropes & Gray. In June, 1872, he was admitted to the Bar, and then opened an office on Pemberton Square in connection with Mr. Brooks Adams. But this experience also was not destined to be of any long duration, for Mr. Lowell did not feel the *gaudium certaminis* that makes arguing in court an occupation so intensely attractive to many men as to overcome all difficulties, and after two years of practice he met with an obstacle that was to him insuperable. In the spring of 1874 he was left a widower with three small children; and the strong sense of his duty towards those about him, that was always a characteristic of his nature, made it impossible for him to pursue his profession and at the same time give to his children the personal care he thought necessary. He therefore abandoned the law in the autumn of 1874, and devoted himself to his children and to study.

On June 19, 1877, Mr. Lowell was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. George Jones, one of the founders, and for many years the manager, of the "New York Times." He did not, however, attempt to resume the practice of the law, and indeed he had at this time no definite plans for the future. Although always a student of history, he had as yet formed no intention of making himself a historian; but it was not long before he became engaged in serious historical research.

In the summer of 1879 he went to Europe to give his

children the benefit of an early and thorough training in the German and French languages; an advantage of which his own experience had taught him the value. For this purpose he passed two winters in Dresden and two in Paris, spending the summers mainly at Homburg and in Switzerland, and making journeys to Italy and Spain. During his stay in Germany he began the historical writing that was destined to be his chief public work in life. He became interested in the history of the mercenary troops employed by England in the Revolutionary War, and took advantage of his sojourn in Germany to collect documents in the archives of the smaller States, the most important of these being the manuscripts at Arolsen in the Principality of Waldeck, and at Cassel and Marburg in the territory formerly belonging to the Elector of Hesse. He gave a brief description of the material to be found in those places in a paper on "The German Manuscript Sources for the History of the Revolutionary War" communicated to this Society several years later. (Proceedings, 2d series, vol. iii. p. 219.) The results of his researches were published first in the winter of 1880-81 in the form of a series of letters to the "New York Times," and afterwards more fully in a volume entitled "The Hessians and Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War," which appeared early in 1884, after his return to America. This book won for him at once a high place among students of our Revolutionary period, and shortly after it was published he was elected a member of this Society.

Mr. Lowell was now definitely engaged in a pursuit that was thoroughly congenial to him, and he devoted himself to it with the determination to make it his life's work. His winters were spent in Boston, and, except for four years when he went to the Adirondacks on account of hay fever, his summers were passed at Cotuit, on the southern side of Cape Cod. So long as his father was alive, he was in the habit of living in summer at the family place at Waltham; but after his father's death in 1874 the place was sold, and Mr. Lowell bought a house at Cotuit, a spot to which he had been attached from boyhood. Here he led a quiet life, carrying on his literary work, and spending his leisure hours with his friends and among his flowers. He soon turned his attention to a broader field of historical investigation than he had

hitherto pursued. In 1888 he published an article in Mr. Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," entitled "The United States of America, 1775-82: Their Political Struggles with Europe." He then proposed to write a life of Lafayette as a vehicle for a comparative study of the American and French Revolutions, and accumulated a considerable amount of material with that object; but finding that another man was already engaged in the same work, and had nearly prepared it for publication, he changed his plan and determined to examine the condition of France at the outbreak of the Revolution. This was the most extensive subject that Mr. Lowell had yet undertaken, and he approached it with a generous regard for all the various classes and parties, and a broad interest in every aspect it presented, political, philosophic, religious, social, and economic,—in short, with the true historical spirit in its highest and best sense. Mr. Lowell used to say that God made him a Whig and he could not be anything else; but as a historian he was far more than a Whig. He had, in fact, no pet theory to prove, no favorite party to justify, and hence he was able to form his judgments without prejudice. He saw the evil in the old Régime without exaggerating it, and he appreciated both the strength and the weakness in the position of its opponents. Moreover, his keen sympathy with everything human made the French under the monarchy, with their aspirations, their fears, and their prejudices, living men in his eyes, and enabled him to portray their condition in a way that is comprehensible and lifelike to a degree rarely attained by historians dealing with that period.

His book entitled "The Eve of the French Revolution" appeared in the autumn of 1892. The author's conception of the subject cannot be expressed better than in his own words taken from the preface, where he says:—

"There is, however, another way of looking at that great revolution of which we habitually set the beginning in 1789. That date is, indeed, momentous; more so than any other in modern history. It marks the outbreak in legislation and politics of ideas which had already been working for a century, and which have changed the face of the civilized world. These ideas are not all true nor all noble. They have in them a large admixture of speculative error and of spiritual baseness. They require to-day to be modified and readjusted. But

they represent sides of truth which in 1789, and still more in 1689, were too much overlooked and neglected. They suited the stage of civilization which the world had reached, and men needed to emphasize them. Their very exaggeration was perhaps necessary to enable them to fight, and in a measure to supplant, the older doctrines which were in possession of the human mind."

The book is devoted to the consideration of these ideas and of the condition of France at the time they began to influence her destiny. In order to lay a solid foundation for his work, the author made a careful study of the theories of political writers from Aristotle and Plato to Montesquieu and Rousseau; and although only a small part of this study appears directly in his book, it gives breadth and color to the whole. In regard to the state of the country, Mr. Lowell belonged distinctly to the modern school which attributes the Revolution not to the peculiar wretchedness of the French people, but to the fact that they had become sufficiently prosperous and well educated to see the evils in their government and crave a better one. In his concluding chapter he remarks:—

"The condition of the people of France, both in Paris and in the provinces, was far less bad than it is often represented to have been. The foregoing chapters should have given the impression of a great, prosperous, modern country. The face of Europe has changed since 1789 more through the enormous number and variety of mechanical inventions that have marked the nineteenth century than through a corresponding increase in mental or moral growth. . . . But while France was great, prosperous, and growing, and a model to her neighbors, she was deeply discontented. The condition of other countries was less good than hers, but the minds of the people of those countries had not risen above their condition. France had become conscious that her government did not correspond to her degree of civilization."

In the winter of 1893 Mr. Lowell again went to Europe. He sailed for the Mediterranean with his wife and daughter, landed at Genoa, and after spending two or three weeks in Rome and Naples, pushed on to Greece. The fact that for several years he had been the treasurer of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, gave him unusual opportunities, and with his strong natural love for art he enjoyed his travels in Greece exceedingly. After leaving that country he passed a month in Rome, and then journeyed by Perugia

to Florence, intending to spend some time in the North of Italy; but he was called back to America by illness in his family. He had not been at home many months before he began to feel unwell. At first he seemed merely tired, and throughout the winter of 1894 there appeared to be no serious cause for anxiety; but in April his condition suddenly became alarming, and on May 11 he died at Cotuit of a tumor on the brain. At no time had life appeared to offer to him a brighter prospect; at no time was his usefulness to the world so great as when he died. His scholarship was ripe. His activity and capacity for work had been increasing year by year. The wisdom, which he had a happy faculty of embodying in aphorisms, even more perhaps in conversation than in writing, was deep and strong. At the time of his death he had planned a book on the influence of the French Revolution in other countries, but had only begun to work upon it when his strength failed.

At the meetings of this Society Mr. Lowell was a constant attendant, and during the earlier part of his membership he made communications relating to the history of the Hessian mercenaries (*Proceedings*, 2d series, vol. iii. p. 219, and vol. iv. p. 2). In later years his studies were in a field farther removed from the subjects commonly discussed here, and he did not often speak, but he never failed to take an active part in the work of the Society. He served on the Council, and on a number of committees, of which the most important was that on the Pickering papers, under whose care was prepared the valuable index of those manuscripts now going through the press. Mr. Lowell was also a member of the American Historical Association, the New York Historical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts. During the last nine years of his life he gave a great deal of time to the Boston Athenæum, where his varied interests in history, literature, and art made his services as a trustee peculiarly valuable. Apart from the historical works already mentioned, his writings consisted for the most part of magazine articles, editorials, and reviews of books; the most notable of the former being his essays on the Bayeux Tapestry, on the Life of Benvenuto Cellini, and on Clothes Historically Considered, published in *Scribner's Magazine* (March, 1887, Octo-

ber, 1889, and September, 1893), and an article entitled "A Liberal Education" which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* (January, 1888). The last thing he wrote was a memoir of Lord Tennyson for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

In speaking of his writings one feels that a part, and only a small part, of his life has been touched. His strong social instincts, and his quick and comprehensive sympathy made the other side of his life peculiarly rich and full; but while his literary work may be described and estimated, the worth of his personal character cannot be measured. The devotion to his family, the affection for his friends, the thoughtful courtesy and kindness to every one with whom he was brought into contact, and above all, the conscientious sense of duty, simple, quiet, unostentatious, lenient towards others, inexorable towards himself, will never be forgotten by those who knew him.

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